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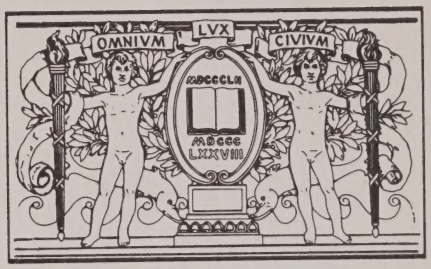

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THE

NORTH AMERICAN

REVIEW.

VOL. XXXII.

Boston,

GRAY & BOWEN, 141 WASHINGTON STREET.

1831.

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BOSTON,
Congress Street Steam-Power Press,
W. L. LEWIS, PRINTER.

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NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

No. LXX.

JANUARY, 1831.

ART. I.—*Del' arte di vedere nelle belle arte del desegno, secondo i principii di Sulzer e di Mengs.* Venezia, 1798. 12mo.

This little work is frequently put into the hands of travellers at Rome, as a good guide, in the survey of the productions of the ancient and modern arts. It is anonymous, but we believe it is the composition of Milizia, a highly approved modern writer on architecture. It inculcates the doctrines of the modern German school in matters of taste, as may be inferred from the title; and its chief fault perhaps is an affectation of originality, and misplaced emphasis of expression. The following passage will be sufficient to indicate the principles, which are inculcated in the work, and will serve, at the same time, as a suitable introduction to the remarks, which we propose to submit to the indulgence of our readers.

'The artist, who should imitate nature, such as she is, would entirely fail of his object. It is not worth so much trouble, to imitate that, which we have constantly under our eyes. The true worth of art is, to develope that, which in nature is never found united in one object. For this reason, those, who confine themselves merely to copying nature, are called *naturalists*, and whatever amount of labor they may put into their copies, they can deserve no great applause. There are occasions, when such imitation would be censurable, and the more so, the more faithful it is. Who could endure the sight of torments and monsters, if so faithfully represented as to seem real? If the Laocoon terrified us, it would cease to be a wonder

of the Fine Arts, whose object is to please, whatever be the subject, whether joyful or sad, majestic or light, tender or scornful. Terror is not delight. Accordingly eyes painted to represent nature, or of enamel or silver, as they sometimes were in ancient statues, are of ill effect; and still worse, coloring the entire statue. A fine engraving would be better than a colored statue.

'It would appear from these principles that portraits and busts are not the legitimate object of the sculptor. If it is merely a likeness, then the merit is not great. It is a fault, if the simplicity of nature is abandoned. To have value as a work of art, it must partake of the *beau ideal;* and this may be best effected by preserving a resemblance in the countenance, making as it were the eulogy of it, and idealizing all the rest.'

We have been particularly led to the consideration of the subject of Statuary by the circumstance that within two or three years a statue of our beloved Washington, from the chisel of the most renowned living artist, has been erected in Boston. The expense of this beautiful work of art has been defrayed from contributions, collected more than twenty years since, in Massachusetts; which from the length of time necessary to the completion of such a statue, and the excellent care taken of the fund, have accumulated to a sum sufficient to defray the entire expenses of its erection. It is therefore a tribute of veneration from the individuals united in it, to the memory of the Father of his country.

This is the second work of the class, with which our country is now enriched. The legislature of North Carolina, several years ago, procured a statue of Washington from the chisel of Canova. The possession of these two works, from the two first artists of the age, is of great importance to the study and practice of sculpture in America; and, considering the great demand on the time of the surviving as of the deceased Master, it is a piece of good fortune to the country, which the lovers of art cannot too highly appreciate.

We do not propose, at this time, to enter into a comparison of the two works; nor into a detailed consideration of that most recently exhibited to the public admiration, the statue of Washington by Chantrey. Most of the judgments formed, at the present day, of either, will be likely to proceed upon the ground of likeness to the original; a ground of minor importance, and of uncertain opinion. It is only when the generation

of those who recollect the original shall have entirely passed off; and the multiplicity of different portraits shall have produced indistinctness in the prevailing conceptions of the countenance of the illustrious original, that the merits of these works can be discussed purely on principles of taste.

The occasion has, however, seemed to us a favorable one, for some general consideration of this department of fine art, as it existed in its greatest perfection, among the ancient Greeks. If we can ascertain the causes of that perfection, we can inquire with greater safety, into the probability of its revival in modern times, and what is of chief importance to us, in our own country. It is an art certainly deserving the studious attention of the man of taste, as in the highest degree beautiful and attractive in itself,—singular in its history, and in some respects endued with advantages, over every other effort of human genius to express and immortalize itself. Books are written in languages, which become obsolete, or (to use the more expressive popular phrase) *dead*. Eloquence and poetry lose a part of their raciness, by filtration through the dictionary and grammar. Magnificent edifices have scarce ever been preserved for many ages, in their original state. Those which, like the pyramids, are built for permanence, are rarely beautiful. But the creations of statuary, from the nature of this art, are susceptible of almost perfect preservation; and in some few instances have been preserved nearly uninjured, presenting to our eyes almost the same spectacle, which they did to the eyes of those, for whom they were originally produced, two thousand years ago. The productions of this art, more exclusively than those of architecture, belong purely to taste. Architecture is by necessity, to a certain degree, a useful art, and in a climate like ours, not a little of the beauty of almost any building, must be sacrificed to its purposes of utility. A Grecian temple, for instance, without any entrance for light or air, except at the door, would poorly serve the purposes either of church or bank. But Statuary, in its highest application, is addressed purely to the taste, and like poetry, though capable of being made useful, aims in itself at another object, the refined pleasure produced by the survey of a beautiful work of art.

Many of the metaphysical writers on the subject, therefore, particularly among the Germans, are apt to interweave in their essays on subjects of art, attempts to define beauty and settle

some ultimate principles of taste. Not many have the courage to imitate Winckelmann, and admit, at the outset, that beauty cannot be defined, nor the principles of taste reduced to any ulterior foundation. It is somewhat singular, that, as men have been obliged to borrow from their corporeal senses the word, by which they designate the intellectual power, and have called the faculty, whereby we take cognizance of beauty, *taste*, they have not been more willing to allow, that the intellectual, like the bodily taste, is a final principle, and that beauty is no more susceptible of analysis than *sweet*, or *bitter*.

It is granting much to admit, that it is even as susceptible of analysis, as what are called the sensible properties of things. Though it is doubtful whether any two persons mean *precisely* the same thing, by sweet and bitter; yet there is as little doubt, that they mean nearly the same thing. Whereas that beauty is naturally the same or nearly the same to any two individuals is much more questionable. To all useful purposes, the search for its ulterior principle may be abandoned, and taste may be considered as a faculty to be formed, cultivated, improved, and perverted, and beauty as a thing to be ascertained by induction, comparison, and experience.

The art of Statuary, taking it in the elevated sense we have already indicated, may be considered a lost art in the world. We say not this, from bigotry toward the ancients; for the decline of the art may be traced in part to causes, intimately connected with the best features of modern society. But a single country only, at the present day, and we might say a single city,—Rome,—exhibits any thing like a school of Statuary, and that is avowedly founded on the study of the antique. Thither a few gifted geniuses repair to imbibe that traditionary instruction, and to behold those ancient models, which are almost exclusively confined to that spot. From the skill, which they acquire in Italy, and from the study of ancient remains, in other parts of the world, a few artists of renown have formed themselves out of Italy. Among these, the most eminent living, is Chantrey in England, who even during the life-time of Canova, was thought by many good judges of the art in England, to equal, if not to surpass, that celebrated sculptor. But Chantrey, like Canova, Thorwaldsen, and the other best artists of the day, can scarce lay claim to the character of inventive excellence, as being in their relation to the ancient sculptors, what Chatham and Burke are to the ancient orators.

The ancient sculptors, as we shall presently state more in detail, enjoyed the honorable prerogative of exhibiting in ivory and gold, in marble and in brass, the national divinities, the deified heroes, and great men, whose genius and exploits seemed to have something in them of divine. The 'human face divine' is almost the only divine thing, which modern sculptors are called to execute; and that not as rendered truly divine by the chisel of the creative artist, but faithfully copied, with all the blemishes of humanity. Nine tenths of the commissions given to the greatest sculptors of the day, are the portraits of 'prosperous gentlemen' and ladies, curious to have their likeness, as it is called, in marble. It is plain, that a demand for such works can do little to form the powers of the artist, for great efforts of invention, or to create a school of art. A Poet, who spent the greater part of his life in composing obituary verses for a fee, would stand in somewhat the same relation to the art of poetry, that the sculptor does to the art of Statuary, whose chisel can be always commanded for a bust. In some form or other, portrait-making has taken precedence of every other kind of sculpture in modern times. The popular principles of judging, applied to any work in marble, will consequently be found to refer to a greater or less degree of historical truth and natural resemblance. Now though a fine likeness in marble of a friend or a public benefactor is a very desirable thing, which no man of sense undervalues, yet it cannot in itself be regarded, as a great effort of genius. It is evidently a mechanical affair, giving less scope to the imagination of the artist, than the planning and erection of a fine edifice. That we possess the former can hardly be considered as interfering with the doctrine, that we have lost that sublimer art, of the same name, which produced the Jupiter Olympius.

There is indeed one species of modern sculpture, which admits a pretty free exercise of inventive genius, and which has perhaps had a principal agency in preserving the art in so high a degree of excellence as it still exhibits; and this is the monuments of great men. The characters of great public benefactors, illustrious commanders, sublime geniuses, and devoted patriots are precious in the memory of men; and in the grateful task of immortalizing them, some of the most valuable productions of modern sculpture have had their origin. The monument of the princess of Saxe-Teschen at Vienna, (if not a little too theatrical for marble) representing a funeral proces-

sion, in which an aged pensioner, and orphan children are represented as following their benefactress to the tomb, is one of the most pleasing works of Canova. Two little infants, in one of the English cathedrals, by Chantrey, represented on their tomb, as fallen gently asleep, clasped in each others' white arms, are also of great sweetness and beauty. The two heroic statues of Washington, by the rival artists of the day, may be regarded as monuments of an elevated order. Works of this class possess a dignity, a character, and a charm as far removed from that of likeness, and the perception of resemblance, as the heart is from the senses.

We do not propose, at the present time, to pursue this topic, nor inquire how far, in a class of works of this general description, historical truth is to be studied in detail. A controversy exists on this head, but as often happens, the difference is more in the theory, than in practice. Mr. Chantrey professes to be a resolute champion of historical truth; that is to say, of the modern costume, in the statues of distinguished characters of modern times. Canova, on the other hand, pleaded for the imitation only of those parts of nature, which are pleasing, and as such contributed to the final object of the art. In the result, it will perhaps be found, that each of these masters has endeavored to avoid the literal fulfilment of his own canons of taste. The mantle of Canova's Washington and the position in the chair, particularly the latter, are strongly in modern taste; and the cloak, in which Chantrey has enveloped the hero has an exceedingly Roman *sinus*. We should, at any rate, like to see the man, who would venture into the streets, with such a 'modern costume.' Nor is this the only instance, where Mr. Chantrey has shewn, that, in defending modern costume he means a kind of sculptor's costume, devised to conceal nearly all the peculiarities of the real modern dress; which we believe, whenever it is faithfully imitated, to be, as far as it goes, fatal to the effect of the art. On the other hand, in leaving any part of General Washington's person naked, especially while he is employed in writing his valedictory address, seated in a superb chair of state, we must own, we think Canova has carried the antique to a point beyond the reach of our notions of congruity. It is not because we know General Washington did not dress so, but because such an exhibition is out of taste, and not pleasing.

No art is more eminently Grecian, than that of noble sculp-

ture. Some of the great nations, who preceded the Greeks, lavished on the arts all the resources of powerful monarchies; but from causes partly physical and partly political, brought that of sculpture to no great excellence. The Babylonians erected their stupendous temple; an artificial mountain of bricks; but we have no accounts of any school of sculpture among them. On the ruins of Persepolis, are still to be seen no inconsiderable remains of a grave and solemn style of sculpture, quite equal to the earlier Grecian manner. In fact the old Persian Mardichora, as Heeren defines the monster on these ruins, bears a very tolerable comparison with the lions of the gateway of Mycenæ. The Egyptians, in the magnitude and solidity of their edifices, surpassed every thing which the Greeks attempted; but their representations of the human form never lost the stiffness of the first essays; the arms remained attached to the sides of the body, and the limbs stiff and inflexible. As the Greeks derived the rudiments of all their arts from the Egyptians or Phenicians, there is no difficulty in admitting, that from them also, they took their first lessons in Statuary. In fact, in adopting the national divinities of Egypt, it was scarcely possible, that the Greeks should not adopt the traditional mode of representing them. Accordingly, on the oldest Grecian coins, the figures betray an Egyptian stiffness; and though there are no statues in existence from the age of the earliest coins, yet the older the statues are, the more they exhibit of this *immobility*.

The rudiments of Statuary in Greece have been the subject of considerable controversy, as we had occasion to state more particularly in this journal some time ago. It is a controversy, however, interesting only to the critic and the antiquary, into which we have no temptation now to enter. It respects that early period in Greece, before her civilization was mature; when the art was little else than the imitation of Egyptian models; and before it had begun to feel the operation of those causes, which led to its subsequent perfection. As Greece did in the art of sculpture eventually attain a perfection, in which as she had no predecessor she may be allowed to be self-taught, and in which she has been the instructress of all nations, which have succeeded her in ancient or modern times, we shall endeavor in the remainder of this article, to indicate what may be supposed to be the chief causes, contributing to the attainment of this perfection.

1. The first unquestionably is the climate of the country; holding a middle place between the cold and unfriendly regions of the north, and the oppressive temperature of the tropics. No perfection, we believe, in any noble arts, has, in any age of the world, been attained in climates so hot, as to destroy the European complexion; and it is perhaps equally without example, that this perfection can be reached in any very high latitude. As all the experience of the world then points to the temperate zone, as the region of high improvement in the arts of civilization, so certainly there is no country, which so truly as Greece, may be regarded as presenting the happiest mean in this temperature. With respect to the art of sculpture, the favorable influence of a genial climate is perhaps more immediate, than in the case of any of the other arts. Statues exposed to the air, in a mild climate, do not suffer; they are neither weather-beaten by tempests, nor disjointed by frost, nor spotted with smoke. The Caryatides, which, till the recent bombardments, supported the portico of the temple of Erectheus, in the Athenian Acropolis, were, with the exception of what has been done by violent and barbarous hands, as fresh and beautiful as when first erected. The joints between the tambours, in the columns of the Parthenon, remain, for aught the weather has done, as close and almost imperceptible as ever.

But the immediate effect on the preservation of works of art is but the first of the modes, in which a genial climate promotes its progress. The same quality of climate leads to an out-doors' existence, not less propitious to the advancement of Statuary. In climates exposed to great vicissitudes, to violent heats and excessive colds, man is driven from the open face of day, to take refuge beneath roofs, and within the enclosure of walls. It is true, he can carry the works of art with him to these retreats, and in the progress of luxury, if not of refinement, this is done. The most beautiful productions of the genius and taste of the sculptor are then secluded within the recesses of palaces, and concealed in halls and galleries, which none but a favored few can approach. The Laocoon group was actually found at Rome, in an interior apartment of one of the imperial palaces, in a room without a window or a skylight, and where it was only visible by torches to courtiers. But it needs not be said, that these are not the circumstances most favorable to the

growth of the art. It is not thus, that it can first operate on the public feeling, and then by a strong reaction advance itself, under the *stimulus* of a diffusive popular taste. Nor were the brilliant works of the best age of Greece thus secluded from the public gaze. They were set up on lofty pedestals, in the market-place, the home of the news-loving Greek. The images of the heroes, to whom the ardent imaginations of their countrymen assigned the honors of an apotheosis, stood, as it were, lifted on rich columns of porphyry and marble, toward the heavens they had gone to inhabit. Rows of statesmen, orators, and generals surrounded the public squares and the forum; a memento to the busy throng beneath of the character of their fathers. The friezes of the peripteral temples exhibited pompous sculptured trains of the men and the exploits, which history or tradition had commemorated. The pediments of the public buildings were filled up with imposing groups; marble statues stood aloft on the corners of the roofs, —on the very pinnacle. Pausanias assures us, that in sailing from Cape Sunium toward the Piræus, a distance of near forty miles, the mariner took for his land-mark the golden point of the spear and the glittering shield of that statue of Minerva of ivory and gold, a dazzling Colossus of thirty-nine feet in height, which Phidias had placed on the very summit of the Parthenon. If the opinion of the most learned writer on the temple of Jupiter Olympius, (Quatremère de Quincy) can be trusted, that noble temple was of the hypæthral construction; the court in which the god sat upon his gorgeous throne, was open at the top; and nothing but his own heavens was permitted to cover the head of the father of men and gods. Such, beneath a mild, transparent, exhilarating sky, were the museums and galleries of Greece. The citadel of Athens was the exhibition-room of Phidias. The clear, elastic air and bright sun did for his statues, in the broad face of day, what must be effected in our climates, in closed halls, by blinds, shutters, ground-glass, baise doors, linen curtains, and every bulwark we can command against frosts, mildews, and east winds. This unrestrained exposure, open inspection, and daily intimacy, if we may so express it, with the most admirable works of art, must have produced and nourished a sort of indigenous taste among the Greeks, which becomes a rare accomplishment in colder climates, acquired under circumstances, in which a small part only of the community is placed.

Then we must consider the general effect on man,—senses and mind,—of a genial climate. This is a subject, on which the plainest truth will seem like extravagant romance to those, who have not, in their own experience, compared a northern and a Neapolitan winter. Whoever has compared them, and felt the excitement of the 'common sun, the air, the skies,' in one of the favored regions of the Levant, will agree with us, that no other *stimulus*, no cordial draught, no strain of music, no cheerful conversation approaches in its effect, to the animation imparted to the frame and the feelings, by the simple agency of a fair, clear day, a soft, elastic air, and a bright sun traversing the cloudless heavens, and kindling every thing into life and joy. It is not too much to admit, that such influences must produce a somewhat different race of beings from those, who live in regions, where it is as much as skill and money can effect to keep warm in winter, and cool in summer; where, for six months of the year, hands, limbs, and muscles are rendered comparatively useless, by the quantity of flannel, fur, cloth, and leather, that must be put about them. The organization of man is not so much less exquisite, than that of a grape-vine, as that, while the quality of the wine depends not merely on the country or province, but on the very acre of ground, on which it grew, the human organization should be indifferent to climate and region. On the contrary, we believe, that the diminutive and torpid Laplander, the thick-lipped, low-browed, woolly-headed African, and the blooming child of the Caucasian race, are all 'of one blood,' and that subsequently operating circumstances, (and particularly climate,) acting through a long succession of ages, have produced the difference, which we now witness in appearance, character, and capacity. Now the Greeks enjoyed precisely that climate, which seems most favorable to the production of those effects, whose magnitude in a lapse of ages is so astonishing. We will not further press the consideration, how auspicious it must be to the progress of the Fine Arts. If not yet convinced, we must be, by dwelling on the opposite effects of an unfriendly climate. Does any one think it strange, that the Greenlander or the Esquimaux,—toiling in the summer for his scanty supply of rank and odious sustenance, and laying up his oil and blubber and drift wood for a dreary polar winter, which is to be almost literally slept away, without any light but that of his lamp, in a cavern covered with ice, that never melts,—has never produced a work of fine art?

Does any one think it necessary to go beyond the climate to account for his not doing it?

It is true that, in modern times, for a reason we will state, this circumstance is less decisively operative than it was in antiquity. It is, in some degree, counteracted by the highly perfected state of international communication, mentally by means of the press, and physically, by the improved state of commerce. The extraordinary facilities of communication that now exist, have done much to make the distinction of climates in modern times less important than it was formerly. Of old, refinement was local; books scarce and dear; foreign languages little known; and the human mind in one place isolated from the human mind in almost every other. Arts were invented, and after a limited prevalence, were lost; discoveries and inventions in one region required to be discovered again, and re-invented in another. While the Chaldæans and Egyptians, from their lofty towers, were observing the heavens and calculating eclipses, the Greeks and Romans gazed on them, as a disorder in the sky, and searched the entrails of bullocks, to learn what they portended. The coast of Greece, on a fair day, is in sight of that of Italy; and yet, if tradition say true, the Romans were obliged to send ten ambassadors to Athens, to learn their laws. Such was the state of mental intercourse. And as to physical communication, it is sufficient to say, that the navigation of the high seas was wholly unknown. In this state of things, all the natural differences of character between nations, were much more strongly marked, and permanent. With our art of printing, and our mariner's compass, these differences are not a little softened away. Knowledge and art, discoveries and refinements, like staple products and fruits, are transported from clime to clime, with astonishing rapidity. Causes of improvement may be local, but their operation is diffusive. As in our high latitudes, we can furnish our tables with the pine-apples, the oranges, and the grapes of warmer climates, so the most unpropitious region may enjoy a considerable participation in the benefit of the mental energy, developed in the most favored spot. Within reasonable limits, differences of climate and geographical position, which were anciently of moment, have become comparatively inoperative. The press has carried refinement into the depths of the Hercynian forest. The banks of the Elbe boast their galleries and museums, second only to those on the banks of the Tiber; and in the

dreariest corner of California the solitary Franciscan monk collects about him, in his cell, all the stores of European learning. But with all the powerful influence of the press, in breaking down some of the old partition walls of nations, it is plain that there is a certain portion of the immediate operation of a genial climate, on the Fine Arts, the want of which the press can do nothing to supply.

2°. Connected no doubt to a certain extent, in their origin, with the mild climate of the country, were certain institutions and traits of manners, the operation of which was highly favorable on several of the Fine Arts, and among others that of sculpture. We refer here to the national games and the character of the gymnastic exercises of the Greeks. The assembly at the games, from every part of Greece, stood in stead of almost every other kind of communication and intercourse. In consequence of their organization and popularity, every thing was calculated for the hearing of the ear, and the seeing of the eye. This of course,—to use a modern phraseology,—operated as a bounty on all the arts, that are connected with ocular inspection. With respect to sculpture, the fashion of the age and country associated it in the most important manner with these Panhellenian festivals. The favorite reward of the victor was the privilege of setting up his statue in the Olympian Altis.

When a great deed has been achieved in modern times, a gold medal is bestowed in a morocco case; the freedom of the city is given in a snuff box; or a vote of thanks is passed by Congress. In Greece, when a victor at the Olympic games came home to his own town, the city gates were not thought worthy to let him in; a breach in the walls was made to admit him; pompous sacrifices and games followed; and his statues adorned the market-place. Children were not left to spell out the history of their country or the exploits of their fathers, in compends and abridgments; but wherever they turned their eyes, in the hall at home, in the streets and squares abroad, it spoke to their senses; and awed and delighted them in brass and marble, twice the source of undying fame, once to the men, whose memory was thus preserved; and again to the artist, by whose genius this was effected. It is obvious, that the art, which was thus resorted to, as the last guerdon of merit, the crowning honor of genius, courage, eloquence, and success, could not but be brought to a prompt perfection.

There is another respect, in which the peculiar manners and institutions of the Greeks exercised a propitious influence on the progress of sculpture; it was through the agency of the gymnastic exercises. These exercises were in the highest repute; and were universally and enthusiastically cultivated. The body was regarded, not as the slave, but as the partner of the mind. It is particularly recorded of Pythagoras, (as it is even of Plato, who lived in the most fastidious age of Greece,) that he contended for the prize in wrestling. These exercises were, of course, productive of strength, health, and by necessary consequence, of beauty; to which the Greeks paid the tribute of an admiration almost superstitious, maintaining that beauty was perfection, and in the highest sense using but one word for the fair and the good. Deeming that nature would not have exerted such wondrous skill in our organization, were it unworthy of being kept in its originally healthy and pleasing state, this ancient people gave as much attention, and pains, and time, to the exercises of the body, as to the culture of the mind. Hence, in promoting health, they promoted comeliness of form and feature. That they attained both objects, health as well as beauty, may be partly inferred from the fact, that several of the most afflictive modern diseases were unknown to the Greeks and Romans, (a circumstance considered important by Winckelmann among those, which favored the progress of the arts of design;) while, after all allowance to be made for the flatteries of art, it is impossible to doubt, that the Grecian proportions and features were more perfect than those of any modern nation. Here, therefore, the artist was furnished with the most perfect models; and down to the present day, the copies in marble of the young men, who wrestled and threw the discus in the Grecian gymnasium and stadium, two thousand years ago, remain the best models for the sculptor. The youthful artist, who would learn the symmetry of the human form at the present day, can pursue no such study of nature. He procures a plaster cast of an arm or of a head of some Apollo or Hercules, who, after having been buried fifteen centuries, has been dug up, shattered and mutilated, in the ruins of a Roman bath or palace. This he studies, this is his school. Such was the school of Michael Angelo. The single fragment, called the Torso, a shapeless thing, without head, arms, or legs,—nay, which the artist himself is, from certain appearances, supposed

never to have finished, is itself called the school of Michael Angelo, on account of the study which he bestowed on this one fragment of antiquity. Raphael complains in a letter still extant, that in representing the divine beauties of his Madonnas, he was obliged for want of models in nature, to copy from the ideal image in his own mind; but it is plain to see, what has often been observed, that this ideal image, as afterwards embodied on his canvass, was borrowed from the antique.

As it was the public games, which contributed not a little to the formation of fine models of personal beauty, so the same games gave full opportunity to study these models. Sentiment varies so entirely from period to period, and in different countries at the same time, that after a lapse of ages, it sometimes becomes difficult to believe, that certain peculiarities in manners could ever have existed, which we know historically not only existed, but without any scandal or reproach. Most of the gymnastic exercises were performed with very light clothing, or none at all. The games were, nevertheless, regarded as an inoffensive spectacle;—were performed before whatever was most grave and dignified in Greece;—and St. Paul in his Epistles borrows his imagery and metaphorical expressions more frequently from these games, than from any other source. This then was the school of the artist; and his subjects were not Paris plaster casts of marble images, but the living ingenuous youth of Greece. The modern artist, who would study from a living model, must content himself with such an one, as can be hired for the drawing apartment of the academy. We send out to the Canovas and Chantreys for monumental statues of our venerated hero, and expect of them to represent, in its absolute perfection, the symmetry of the human frame; and yet so inconsistent is public sentiment, that the most effectual, almost the only adequate means of acquiring the skill to do this, is interdicted by the law of decorum; and high-minded and honorable artists are obliged to descend to hired vagabonds, to furnish them with models of the human frame. It is plain that the art must suffer by this state of things, and the artist be degraded and humiliated by the restraints thus imposed upon him, and the progress and cultivation of his art become an ill-adjusted affair, in which an end is demanded, while the most efficient means to effect that end are in discredit.

3°. The progress of sculpture (as also of architecture) was

favored in Greece by the abundance of fine marbles. It not only appears, that no great national school of sculpture has ever grown up in countries not provided with marble quarries; but the progress of Statuary in Greece seems to have kept pace with the gradually extended use of marble. Wood, the oldest material of statues, and clay are too soft and perishable for an art, which aims at permanence in its very nature. For this reason, in part, among the Babylonians, whose country furnished no quarries of marble, we find no trace of an improved school of Statuary; and if they formed images of wood and clay at a very early period, as they seem to have done, it could not be expected that works of so frail a structure should survive the stupendous piles of the same material, which have for ages been reduced to undistinguishable ruins. The Egyptians had quarries in abundance, but they were chiefly of granite and sandstone, neither of them adapted, in appearance or quality, to the finer uses of Statuary. In Greece there were inexhaustible quarries of marble, particularly the two renowned species, the Parian and the Pentelican. Of these, the marble of the island of Paros was the best, being of a finer grain and softer texture, so that it could be wrought to the most delicate imitation of the hair. The marble of Mount Pentelicus had a coarser grain and was somewhat more brittle. Its vicinity to Athens, however, was a great advantage; and according to Winckelmann, nine tenths of the works of sculpture produced at Athens, were of Pentelican marble. It is a singular circumstance, that, notwithstanding the abundance and beauty of this stone, its use in Greece for the purposes of Statuary, dates from a comparatively late period. No certain trace of it is discovered before the age of Solon; and even down to the time of Phidias, the practice prevailed of making the main portion of a statue of wood, and the head, hands, and feet, of marble. It was not long before a similar mode of executing statues was resorted to, from a different cause. When marble statues began to abound, something more costly and exquisite was made use of for works of the highest character. The statue of Minerva, which Phidias executed for the people of Platæa, on occasion of the victory over Mardonius, was in the elder taste,—wood, with extremities of marble. But the Minerva of the Parthenon, which was proverbial for its beautiful proportions, was of ivory and gold, and so was the Jupiter Olympius. Brass or bronze was likewise used in many works of art, and the skill of cast-

ing it reached a perfection never since attained. The cow of Myron was of classic renown; it was standing at Athens in the time of Cicero, and is commended by him in one of his orations. In the time of Justinian it was at Rome; but was, probably, cast into armor in the dark ages, to be hacked to pieces in the senseless squabbles of the rival factions. After the art began to wane from the full-orbed perfection of Phidias, we hear scarce any thing of ivory and gold; and marble became almost exclusively the material of works of art, as it is, upon the whole, by far the best adapted for their various purposes.

That this is the case, we may, besides the experience of Greece, appeal to Italy. Next to Greece, Italy is the only country in which Statuary has permanently flourished; and is, we believe, the only country except Greece, which is certainly known to possess quarries of the finest marble. The Italian sculptors of the present day prefer the marble of Carrara to the Grecian, as more easily wrought. Winckelmann assigns the Parian a preference over the marble of Carrara, in two respects, one of which he calls *mildness*, meaning, we suppose, the opposite of brittleness, the capacity of being wrought into the finest details, without springing, (a quality which he denies the Carrara to possess) and the other, the softer color of the Parian, approaching to the whiteness of a fair skin, and not dazzling white, like the Carrara. It was one of Canova's secrets in the art, to bestow upon his statues a soft waxy appearance, much more agreeable to the eye, as well as more favorable to the effect of the statue, than the shining surface of dazzling white, which is commonly seen in recent works in marble.

The quarries of Pentelicus are still of inexhaustible wealth, and are passed by the traveller on the road from Athens to Marathon. The magnificent structures at Athens, for which they furnished the material, and the thousands of statues from the same source, have made but an inconsiderable excavation on the hill side. You enter a spacious cavern, as it seems to be, and can hardly persuade yourself, that the temples of Minerva and Theseus, and the Propylæa were hewn from the spot. The surface of the cavern is coated with a thin green moss, producing a slight exterior discoloration; and a blow from the hammer discloses in every part of it, the dazzling white stone of which the mountain consists. A living spring

of water flows through the lower part of the quarry; and in some cases, the sides are smoked and blackened with the fires, which the Greek shepherds have kindled within this retreat, when driven by storms from the mountain's side. Were there any facilities in Attica for working the quarry, marble might still be procured to great advantage from Pentelicus, for exportation to any part of the world. There is a regular descent to the sea, both towards Athens on one side, and Marathon on the other; and the blocks might be rolled down hill almost all the way to the Straits of Eubœa, or to the Piræus.

The United States abound in marbles of great beauty; though, we believe, none have yet been discovered in any quantity, which equal the Italian and Grecian marbles. This may possibly, however, be owing to the imperfect search which has yet been made. The geological features of a very considerable district, and the quarries of coarse marble already wrought, leave little doubt, that our country possesses a material adapted to all the purposes of Statuary. For the other purposes to which marble was applied in Greece, we possess in our granite and sienite, a stone, that leaves us nothing to desire, either as regards the more substantial qualities or the external appearance. There is no doubt, that after standing a century in our climate, a granite edifice would appear vastly more beautiful than a similar edifice of marble. As to the coarse calcareous stone, of which St. Peter's and the Coliseum are built, it is not to be compared with our granite, any more than the Portland or Bath free stone in England.

4°. The political constitution of Greece, and the state of liberty in that country, are usually cited as another cause of the perfection to which the arts (and particularly that of Statuary) were brought among them. This element ought not to be omitted in the discussion, though perhaps not of the most determinate operation. The arts were brought to the highest perfection they ever attained in free republican Greece; and they declined after the age of Alexander. But they revived, with a splendor inferior only to that of the classical age, in imperial Rome; and nearly all the beautiful ancient works of Statuary, which have descended to us, are from a period subsequent to Alexander; subsequent to the age of Grecian freedom. The greatest part of what has been done in modern times for the cultivation and improvement of these arts, has been by popes, and sovereign princes, and their nobility.

For the very perfection of any free and liberal art, there must, it is certain, be much genuine political liberty. The mind will not expand; it will not exert its elastic power; genius will not range heaven and earth, in the glory of its creative might, without liberty. It is not enough, that the artist himself be protected, encouraged, and paid; he must see a prosperous, free and happy people around him, or he cannot give himself up, fearlessly and with full heart, to the inspiration within. But this is the indispensable condition only of the very highest excellence, of that last grace and perfection, which power cannot command, which industry cannot work out, which money cannot buy. All that they can—and it is much,—all that a splendid prince can order to be done and will liberally pay for,—and this is very much,—can be done under a paternal despotism.

The arts, in fact, are expensive. Marble or even granite temples, and colossal statues of marble, ivory, and gold are not to be had for a song; and free countries—rather, free governments,—are commonly poor; free, because they are poor. Even the great works of Athens were paid for, by a process, which would awkwardly find a place among the institutions of a free government, as understood by us. Most of them owed their existence to the tribute, which the Athenians extorted from the islands and cities in their alliance. Nor was the freedom of the Athenians themselves precisely of that quality, which we should think worth having. Was a naval expedition to be fitted out, certain individuals, possessing an estimated amount of property, were ordered each to prepare and equip, at his own expense, an armed ship for the public service, by a certain day, on penalty of outlawry. Were the walls of the city in need of repair, other rich citizens had the honor of building them up, at their own expense. The immortal oration of Demosthenes for the crown, pronounced by a competent judge, (Tully) the most exalted flight of human eloquence, grew out of the designation of Demosthenes to repair the city walls, after the disastrous battle of Cheronæa; which he did chiefly at his own expense, and for which an honorary *crown* was voted him in the theatre, the propriety of which Æschines contested; and hence the name.

In accordance with this view of Grecian liberty, we find that private individuals, generally speaking, were not the patrons of art; but that almost every thing was done in the

free ages of the republic by the state; and by the princes, after freedom was subverted. In Rome, individuals were munificent patrons of the arts, but there was no freedom in Rome, in the periods in which the arts flourished; and the riches, which enabled the Luculli and the Agrippas to bestow a generous patronage on the arts, were derived from the presents of suppliant kings, the plunder of the allies, and the spoils of the enemy. Even Gallus, Virgil's sentimental friend,

> —— cujus amor tantum mihi crescit in horas
> Quantum vere novo viridis se subjicit alnus,

plundered Egyptian Thebes,—*exhausit civitatem*,—to such a degree, that Augustus had to call him home,—and confiscate his property.

The effect of our own institutions on the expensive arts is a curious and important question. All that entire liberty can do will be done. But private fortunes, in consequence of the law of distributions, which is the corner-stone of the republic, will always remain small in this country. Our Governments,—both National and State,—as they raise money only by taxation, will always be held to a severe economy, in its disbursement. Nevertheless, we do not despair of doing something respectable for the arts. It is the public sentiment, we believe, that the capitol at Washington should be finished and decorated in a style becoming the metropolis of the Union; and we hope to see its superb rotunda gradually filled up with the statues of the distinguished statesmen and heroes of our annals,—an historical pantheon of liberty. The division of the country into numerous states and the contemporaneous growth of several large commercial cities, although unfavorable to that concentration of patronage and to that condensed *stimulus*, which belong to one metropolitan seat of civilization, may yet operate, by a generous rivalry. Virginia long ago procured for her capital a statue of her greatest son. North Carolina has followed the example, and enriched the country with the only specimen, which it possesses of the chisel of Canova. Is it at all probable, that no other State will imitate this example? On the contrary, we doubt if a half century elapses, before every State in the Union will have set up, as a sort of palladium, the statue of the Father of his country. So too of the example, which Boston has set, in procuring the beautiful work of Chantrey, which we have already mentioned. Will New-York, and

Philadelphia, and Baltimore allow Boston to possess a work of this kind, in the comparison with which they have nothing to exhibit? We do not believe it.

Nor do we wholly despair of what may be done, by individual fortunes. Great as the tendency of every thing among us is to the golden mean of competence, the unrivalled prosperity of our happy country is constantly throwing large accumulations of fortune into the hands of individuals in all our large towns, and throughout the country. We greatly mistake the character of the country, if the cabinet-makers and the carpet-weavers are the only artists, who are to enjoy the patronage of our rich citizens. If we are not mistaken, the age of rose-wood and carved mahogany is already passing away; as for that of *bois doré* (thank heaven) it never fairly dawned on us. We have a pleasing hope, that our young men and women of fortune are beginning to feel that, if they have money to spend in luxuries, it had better be appropriated to objects, that evince rather their own taste, than that of the upholsterer. Let this sentiment be fashionable, and the advancement of the art among us will begin.

5°. The last cause, which contributed to bring the art of Statuary to perfection, among the ancient Greeks, was its employment in the service of religion. The sculptor and the poet were in fact the authors of the popular mythology. When Phidias was asked, whence he drew his conception of the Jupiter Olympius, he repeated the lines, in which Homer describes the father of the gods, shaking Olympus with his nod. This association of Statuary with the popular faith, did for this art, what was done for the lovely and kindred art of painting, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, by enlisting it in the service of Christianity. Unhappily it is a consequence of our human weakness, that great movements of reformation are apt, in some respects, to pass to extremes. How much has not one of the sublimest arts, which human skill has ever wrought out and perfected, suffered by having its most finished and exquisite productions swept from the churches? And what good principle or good feeling has gained by it? We know none.

In ancient Greece and Rome, every temple had the image of its peculiar divinity and of numerous others,—all held by the popular faith in a veneration, which was imparted to their statues. Phidias was banished from Athens, for having wrought

his own portrait and that of his patron Pericles, into the shield of his Minerva: and the inhabitants of Elis would not permit him to put his name on any part of the Jupiter Olympius. This sanctity of the work gave dignity to the art and the artist, without doing him any real injury, even in the trifling sacrifice of self-love, (like that alluded to) which it imposed:—for what did Phidias lose of renown, by not being permitted to introduce his name on the footstool of his Jupiter? Well was it known, throughout the Grecian world, that of all who worshipped that Jupiter, there was but one, who could have dared to fashion his awful brow.

Such was the peculiar character of the Grecian mythology, that, under the name of gods, the artist was permitted to embody the widest range of natural, or imaginative existence. No restraint was imposed on his invention, when it was taken into the service of religion. The Olympian thunderer, the goddess of wisdom, the perfect manhood of Apollo, the chaste huntress, the queen of love, gods and demigods, nymphs, fauns, muses, graces, the whole heavens of the Grecian pantheon, were to be created by the sculptor.

For the Christian world these elegant vanities have passed away; and the art of the sculptor does not lend itself very appropriately, even to the permitted and decent ornament of our places of worship. It is not impossible, that, for this very reason, it must, in its highest perfection, continue to be a lost art. For patriotic, festive, and monumental purposes, it may still be patronised, cultivated, and carried to an elevated point of beauty. But whether it is possible for *any* art, whose basis is laid in the refined sentiments, to be sustained at the point of perfection, without an intimate association with religion, we doubt. At all events thus much is true:—the highest efforts of music, painting, architecture, statuary, poetry, have been consecrated to religion.

Art. II.—*Report of the Committee of Ways and Means, to whom was referred so much of the Message of the President, as relates to the Bank of the United States.* April 13, 1830. pp. 42.

The President of the United States cannot be justly charged with having prematurely presented the subject of the United

States' Bank to the deliberate consideration of the people. If there are few things, as we are assured by the Committee of Ways and Means,* '*so vitally connected with the health of the body politic, or in which the pecuniary interests of society are so extensively and deeply involved,*' it cannot be held up too frequently to the close observation of an intelligent community, nor the circumstances of its importance be too clearly illustrated or too powerfully enforced. It may with equal reason be esteemed a fit subject for public scrutiny by those also, who believe that the body politic might enjoy excellent health even without the National Bank. That opulent institution enjoys an exclusive privilege; it possesses a capital so immense as to have an almost controlling influence on the money markets of the country; it engages very largely in all parts of the United States in the business of discounting; it boasts, or its friends boast for it, that it has acquired by virtue of its charter, a grand censorship over every local bank in the country; and, by means of its extensive branches, and the vast deposites of the Government, it has facilities for obtaining virtually a monopoly of the very profitable operations of exchange. The time is now drawing near, when the charter of this body, if renewed at all, will probably be renewed for a period, extending through the active portion of the lives of the present generation. It is in reason, therefore, to discuss its nature, and the expediency of its continuance; especially since the renewal will serve as a precedent, and will perhaps decide the question forever. Founded originally with exclusive reference to the services of the Government and the public good, the National Bank should itself rather invite than shun discussion. All its interests, which require to be upheld for the common welfare, have nothing to fear from a deliberate investigation.

The course pursued by the United States' Bank since its incorporation, entitles it to the fairest hearing. With some exceptions in the earlier part of its career, it has conducted its affairs strictly according to the received principles, by which the best banks in the country are regulated. It has adopted among its officers many, who had acquired experience and established a reputation in the service of older corporations. It has been supported in its career by the basis of a solid capital; its modes of doing business have been exact, gentlemanly and

* Mr. Mc Duffie's Report,—page 1.

accommodating; it has not perverted its excessive and almost irresponsible powers to any purpose of a grasping cupidity, but has rather used them with irreprehensible moderation. Towards many of the banks in the West, it has exhibited a fostering kindness; and although it has ample resources to crush any inconsiderable rival and wreak its vengeance on a feeble enemy, yet it has never, as far as our knowledge extends, attempted to subvert the credit, or even impair the rightful activity of any local institution.

But while it is right to pass high encomiums on the direction of the National Bank, justice equally requires the assertion, that this bank has made no inventions in financial skill, and has only done on a large scale what the institutions of Massachusetts have always effected on a smaller one, even during the gloomy period of the war. The undoubted merits of the National Bank are urged too exclusively; as though other sound establishments of the country were not just as wisely, moderately, and efficiently conducted. It is sometimes eulogized beyond all reasonable bounds; as though the public wealth and credit had been suddenly called into a healthy existence; as though but for it 'the pockets of the Southern planters'* would be picked to give fortunes to adventuring brokers, bills of exchange become mere instruments of extortion, and every local bank in the country fall into the hands of sharpers. And yet in sober truth, there is very little reason to doubt, that the sun would still rise and set, and the day be spent in its usual business, and merchandise be bought and sold, and bills of exchange be negotiated, even without a machine so vast and so very useful as the Bank of the United States. That bank performs its functions well; and the want of it would be felt as a serious inconvenience, not only in the management of the public finances, but in the operations of domestic intercourse and commerce; yet the social system, traffic, discounts, and exchange, might exist on an equitable basis, even without it.

The report of Mr. Mc Duffie has been very elaborately wrought. He announces his subject in an imposing manner. 'The committee,' he says, 'have bestowed all the attention demanded by its intrinsic importance;' they stated it to be

* See the 'Intelligent merchant's' letter, appended to the Report,—page 30.

one of 'vital' moment, requiring in the sovereign body 'the highest degree of wisdom;' and then they declare that 'they have executed their high trust with a corresponding sense of its magnitude and difficulty.'*

A report, advancing its claims with so much decision, and written with great ability and a clear perception of one view of the subject, has naturally received very great encomiums. The operations of banking are often considered as involving something of mystery, and the state-paper of the committee on a hasty perusal is suited to gain implicit confidence. One merit, in the eyes of many a very great one, it certainly possesses. It is the most unqualified plea in behalf of the Bank of the United States. The directors themselves could not have prepared a more zealous defence; nor detailed the history of the institution in a manner better calculated to win favorable opinions. Far be it from us to declare, that a public document, emanating from a most important committee, contains an *ex parte* statement, based upon information communicated by the managers of the bank; but the most interested stockholder, the best informed director, the most experienced in the series of its presidents, could hardly have written its apology more decidedly in the manner of an advocate.

The very air of confidence with which the argument in the report is conducted, betrays a tendency to exaggeration. Yet that is not the weightiest objection to the performance. From a juxta-position of facts, in themselves disconnected, erroneous inferences are deduced, and effects are ascribed to other causes than the right ones; while a passion for theory sometimes gets the ascendency over practical judgment, and the character of undeniable truth is assumed for tenets, which, to our minds, so far from admitting of the clearest demonstration, seem to rest on mistaken premises or on a perversion of language.

This opinion is somewhat in collision with that, which prevails among our friends. If our convictions were not clear in our own minds, or if they had been formed without reference to the history of the course of business for the last twenty years, or if they had not appeared to coincide with the doctrines of the most respected writers on the subject of money, we should still have distrusted them and have remained silent. But we are constrained to ask for a patient hearing; and if, by argu-

* Report—page 1.

ments drawn from matters of perfect notoriety, we can prove the author of the report to have erred in facts or in theory, we may hope, that our views will escape censure.

The whole subject of the United States' Bank, its constitutionality, its merits, its contingent evils, its proper sphere of useful action, the nature of its privileges, and the necessary and rightful limitations of its powers, present too large a field for present discussion. We shall rather confine ourselves to the report of Mr. Mc Duffie, and in treating of it we shall first consider the doctrine of the Constitution with respect to *money* and the *currency*. We shall then be able, secondly, to exhibit in a right view the merits, which are claimed for the Bank of the United States, with reference to the currency, to exchanges, and to the public service. The insinuations of a calumnious or a sneering nature, which lurk in several parts of the report, will require no answer but exposure, for they will be shewn to proceed from a want of exact acquaintance with facts, or to be inferences from an erroneous theory.

1st. Public justice, not less than the public prosperity of an industrious nation, requires an exact uniformity in the standard of value. In every portion of one and the same country, however wide and various may be its constituent parts, this uniformity should be demanded by the people and secured by the government. There can be no equity in the relations of debtor and creditor without it; and all commercial transactions would require to be preceded by a chaffering on the meaning of terms, unless that value were fixed beyond dispute by a law, universal in its operation.

The power of regulating the common currency is very different from that of *fixing the general standard of value.** The right of fixing the general standard of value, is an essential attribute of the supreme authority, to be exercised exclusively by the sovereignty of the country. The *common currency* is, in the ordinary course of things, provided for without the interposition of government. Thus at the present time in New England, Congress has fixed the general standard of value, but 'the Allied Banks' or, more strictly speaking, the

* Mr. Mc Duffie confounds the two. He speaks of 'the power of regulating the common currency, and *thus* fixing the general standard of value.' He seems to make the power of fixing the general standard consequent on that of regulating the common currency. He starts in an error, and his whole argument partakes of it.

rightful jealousy of free competition, regulates the common currency. The one is established by the sovereign authority of the country, singly, originally, and without check, influence, or control; the other is ensured by the nature of business, under the protection of the laws and the guarantee of the Constitution.

In this part of our discussion we tread on firm ground. The framers of our Constitution have, on the subject of money, done their work thoroughly, and with admirable discretion. Guided by the instinct of justice and sound sense, they have incorporated into the great charter of our liberties, the principles, which it is the glory of the political economists of our day to elucidate and arrange. The wisdom of our fundamental laws had already reduced them to practice; and Storch, and Say, and Tracy, while they have read lessons of great moment, the one to his august pupil at St. Petersburg, the others to the great nation of France, have only recommended the doctrines, which our country in convention had already established for its government forever.

The framers of our Constitution, as in the formation of the civil union they were able to derive instruction from contemplating the distant wrecks of former republics, and still more from observing the various evils of the previous confederation, were in their decisions on the subject of money, impelled to a course of uncompromising exactness by the pressure of the visible and present evils, which followed the depreciation of Continental money and the authoritative emissions of Provincial paper. They, therefore, left nothing dark or doubtful on the subject, but provided for every contingency, by which the currency of the country could be debased.

The subject merits special consideration. At the hazard of repeating common truths we shall enter upon it.

The necessities of the commercial world requiring some common value as a medium for the exchange of commodities, universal custom has established the use of gold and silver as the common value, by the interposition of which those exchanges are effected. They are the commercial '*wagon-way*'* on which the productions of human ingenuity and labor are carried to market. Or they may be called the wagons themselves, in which the products of industry and skill are trans-

* The term is Adam Smith's.

ported. The metaphors we have used, may or may not elucidate the subject; but it is a true and undeniable position, that in the language of universal commerce, *gold and silver are money*, and *nothing else is money*. Other things may be the sign of money,—no exact limits can be set to human confidence; but gold and silver alone pass current at all the great marts and public fairs of the world, at New York and Calcutta, at Canton and London, at Leipsick and Mecca, at Boston and Lima. All commercial nations acknowledge their value as a medium of exchange, and nothing else is universally acknowledged as such.

The Constitution of the United States declares, that '*no State shall make any thing but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts*.' Thus the commercial truth, that gold and silver alone are money, becomes in the United States *an axiom of Constitutional law*.

The precious metals are adapted to this purpose because they have an intrinsic value, and not a merely conventional one. That they should be a common circulating medium, is conventional; but the value at which they circulate is not conventional. This value, like that of all the other produce of industry, is regulated by the cost of production; and nothing can permanently depress their value, but the increase of their quantity. They cannot be multiplied at will; their worth is positive and absolute; and while the local demand may vary according to the supply of the market, gold and silver in the mass hold their value, independently of the fluctuations of commerce, or the character of any substituted currency.

These are axioms established by experience, and by the nature of the case, undeniable, and undenied by any writer of authority, except, indeed, by the Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means. We are reluctant to interrupt the general course of the argument, but this is the only opportunity that will be offered for exposing the error of a position, which is advanced in a very unqualified manner by that distinguished statesman.

Mr. Mc Duffie asserts, that banks, by 'doubling the quantity of the circulating medium by their excessive issues, produce a general degradation of the entire currency, *including gold and silver*, proportionate to the redundancy of the issues, and wholly independent of the relative depreciation of bank

paper at different places, as compared with specie.'* And lest there should be any mistake, he adds, after an illustration by reference to the high nominal prices, which unquestionably follow a depreciation in the currency, that the depreciation 'would exist, *though these bills were of undoubted credit and convertible into specie at the pleasure of the holder*, and would result simply from the redundancy of their quantity. It is important,' (he continues, as if bent on making his error as conspicuous as possible, and we beg especial attention to our citation,) 'it is important to a just understanding of the subject, that the relative depreciation of bank paper at different places, as compared with specie, should not be confounded with this *general depreciation of the entire mass of the circulating medium, including specie.* Though closely allied, both in their causes and effects, they deserve to be separately considered.'

'The evils,' (and we quote this paragraph, simply for the statement in the closing sentence, having reference to this imagined general depreciation,) 'the evils resulting from the relative depreciation of bank paper at different places, are more easily traced to their causes, more palpable in their nature, and, consequently, more generally understood by the community. Though *much less ruinous* than the evils resulting from the *general depreciation of the whole currency*, they are yet of sufficient magnitude to demand attention.'†

A banker, who reads these extracts, and who knows what would be the effect of excessive issues on himself, and how soon they would return upon him to his cost, will not need a refutation of this novel doctrine. He will content himself with saying, that Mr. Mc Duffie, notwithstanding his elaborate report, cannot have a practical acquaintance with banking business.

The student of political economy, calling to mind the theory of issuing bills, knows very well, that the amount of convertible paper, which can be kept in circulation, is proportioned neither to the caprice nor to the cupidity of bank directors, but solely to the demands of the commercial community for the purposes of domestic circulation. The operations of banking contain their own check within themselves; and as long as bills are really convertible at sight, the obligation to redeem

* Report—page 9. † Report—page 10.

necessarily sets exact limits to the power of emission. A *redundancy of convertible paper* is a contradiction in terms,—if it were *redundant* it would be *converted.*

The man of plain intelligence, who understands very well the prodigious mischiefs of a depreciated paper currency, does not see how a redundancy of paper *of undoubted credit and convertible into specie at the pleasure of the holder* (we use Mr. Mc Duffie's own words,) can be a worse calamity. He may be perplexed and mystified for a moment by a confused idea of this menaced redundancy, but he presently gathers confidence, and understands his own interests far too well, to perceive any evil in an abundance of 'bills of undoubted credit and *convertible into specie at the pleasure of the holder.*' The more we have of such paper, the better; the better for the individual, and the better for the public. There cannot exist a 'ruinous redundancy' of it.

The position advanced in the report is absurd on its face; yet a word or two of explanatory argument must be added.

If the banks should of a sudden double their issues, one of three things would ensue. 1st. Business would be doubled, (which is too improbable to be readily supposed,) and so of a sudden, and instantly, twice as many wagons would be needed to carry produce to market. In that case the circulation would be upheld, and specie and bank bills all retain their former value. But the probabilities are, that business would not thus increase; therefore, 2dly. the redundant bills would forthwith be returned upon the banks and be redeemed. In this case the public would not lose; the demands on the banks, so far from depreciating the value of gold and silver, would keep them in high demand, and the banks would suffer from frequent and imperious runs. Or, 3dly. the redundant currency would not be redeemed, and then the paper depreciates, but gold and silver are sought for and retain their value.

These are positions which cannot be gainsaid, and which are, and of necessity must be, perfectly familiar to every manager of a public bank. We trust in Mr. Mc Duffie's candor to acknowledge his mistake. We feel very confident, that the direction of the United States' Bank would not fail, if consulted, to assure him that he had fallen into an error.

Mr. Mc Duffie may not have understood the practical nature of the business respecting which he was writing. Yet there is one point of view, which might have presented itself even to

the mind of one wholly ignorant of the details of banking. Though local paper is not in demand for foreign commerce, gold and silver always are, and, instead of any considerable depreciation, they would have been exported.

Indeed, we have heard no complaints in our part of the Union of the redundancy or the depreciation of gold and silver, nor yet of convertible paper. The evils resulting from the relative depreciation of bank paper as compared with specie, were certainly of very great magnitude; we cannot wonder that these evils are 'more easily traced to their causes, and more palpable in their nature,' than the imagined mischiefs ensuing on the general degradation of the entire mass of the currency, including gold and silver. The one class of evils existed, and can exist again, and is productive of infinite vexation; the other class has being only in the realms of sophistry and the receptacles of theory.

Gold and silver would be utterly unsuited to the purposes of commercial exchanges, if their value fluctuated with the emissions of banks; if the monied corporations of the country could by a capricious doubling of their issues suddenly take a moiety from the value of the whole currency, including specie. But the processes of business are fortunately based upon principles, which unwise legislation may confuse, but cannot subvert. Specie holds its value amidst all the fluctuations of paper currency and the *redundant* issues return on the bank. Still more is this the case with paper, which is forced into circulation. The assignats in France caused specie to become at once in the highest demand; and when it required a hundred dollars of our old Continental money to buy a day's living, a silver dollar, like a true friend, the more esteemed for the exposure of false ones, was as efficacious as ever.

Indeed, it is a plain inference from the doctrine of Mr. Mc Duffie, that the highest injustice might follow from the existence of a bank, and more especially of a bank like that of the United States. If the value of the standard coin can be reduced by capricious emissions, all banks are dangerous, and dangerous in a degree increasing with the amount of their capital. The influence of a local bank is narrow; that of the United States' Bank is co-extensive with the Union. The currency is stated to be at present fifty-five millions of dollars. Let the United States' Bank 'expand its issues' to an amount of eighteen and a third millions beyond their present circula-

tion, and on the theory of Mr. Mc Duffie the whole circulation would then be diminished in value in the proportion of one part in three; he who now owes $900 would virtually pay with but $600; and it would require three dollars to buy what two dollars now purchase. The standard of value would thus be effectively debased under an act of the General Government; and as much injury and disorder would ensue as occurred in the Austrian dominions from a debasement of the coin. The evil would be worse, for a board of directors might according to their own caprice, elevate and depress the standard of value at pleasure. Every one will agree, that a corporation ought never in any country, least of all in ours, to be invested with such despotic power over the honest relations of business. We leave the zealous advocate of the National Bank to his choice of abandoning his theory, or acknowledging the injustice of that establishment.

In truth the danger is a chimera, like the theory of the Chairman. Banking corporations are controlled by principles stronger than any mistaken cupidity. So far as prices in specie or convertible paper differ now from what they were in *specie or convertible paper* in 1816, the difference is to be ascribed to the difference in the state of the market as to the supply and the demand; and to nothing else. Bank credit, as such, may assist business, but, as it can never do more than displace the specie in circulation, it cannot depress prices. It may work its own ruin, but it cannot subvert the dues of creditors. If bank bills were to be manufactured out of every scrap of paper in the country, if a promissory note were to be written on every chip, which falls from the emigrant's axe in the Western forests, the value of gold and silver would not be diminished, though business for a season might be deranged.

One further remark. We have seen what a dangerous and despotic power Mr. Mc Duffie's imagination has attributed to banks. We have shown that that power, if possessed at all, is possessed in the highest degree by the United States' Bank; while in reality no such power exists. Mr. Mc Duffie has, however, gone much further. He believes not only that the power exists, but that the 'money making corporations,' (of which, by the way, the United States' Bank is the largest) 'have a decided interest to abuse their power.' He even accuses the banks of the country of practices the most atrocious; of managing to get people indebted to them, and then,

refusing further discounts, in order to acquire their property at half its intrinsic value. He adds, '*If the committee have not greatly mistaken the matter, there is more of history than of speculation in what they have here presented to the consideration of the House.*'*

We look upon this passage as the least ingenuous and the most erroneous in the whole Report. As it stands at present, this charge, wholly unsupported by evidence, is in fact directed against no particular institution, and yet it operates as a vague insinuation against the character of all. Such a mode of exciting prejudice or begetting odium is unworthy of a statesman, who enjoys the high distinction, already attained by Mr. Mc Duffie. A charge, if made at all, should be made openly and fearlessly; in such a way as to admit of a special refutation as well as to be a subject for distinct and convincing proof. But yet on the general question, a few first principles and plain truths will tend to throw discredit on the vague imputation.

It is not possible for a local bank to obtain by oppressive means the effects of its debtors, when those debtors are rightfully entitled to further discounts. The several corporations are too near each other, to render any such odious project a feasible one. Competition is keen, and the directors of one bank would cheerfully receive the solvent customers of another. No single institution can have sufficient control over the money market to accomplish any purpose of total oppression. The United States' Bank alone, by means of its numerous branches and its immense capital, could effect such an object. The power, therefore, lies solely with the National Bank, and cannot be acquired by a local one.

It is, further, directly opposed to the interests of a bank, to practise upon the system described by Mr. Mc Duffie. It would be the commission of an act of suicide. It would be a wilful destruction of the source of gain. This view of the subject applies equally to every local and to the national company. The very nature of business, the very desire of continued profits, will always induce an extension of discounts, as far as the resources of the lenders will permit. A bank will always for its own sake sustain its debtors as far as this can safely be done. To distress them purposely, and to ruin them in order to prey upon their wreck, would be more foolish even

* Report,—page 12.

than criminal. It would be but a sorry imitation of the woman of classic celebrity, who killed her best hen. The golden eggs are worth more than the carcass.

The laws of the States generally operated in such a manner as to render any attempts of banking companies to seize the property of their creditors in lieu of renewing discounts, entirely abortive and injurious to the banks themselves. In Massachusetts, a title under a mortgage is not perfected for three years; and mercy interposes every where all reasonable delays. In this way, a banking corporation would be required to give up the employment of its capital, until the tardy forms of the law have been observed and the transfers and subsequent sales have been effected. Who does not see, that the bank would be a loser in all its operations from any perverse disposition to oppress? Complaints, it is true, are often made, and in the loudest tone, by men to whom further indulgence is from sufficient reasons denied; they have been strongest in the case of the branch bank of Cincinnati. But has that branch incurred a suspicion of having purposely become a large holder of real estate, a speculator in houses and building lots?

In point of fact, there is not a bank in this section of the country, against which the shadow of a suspicion rests of having pursued the course of gratuitous wickedness, alleged by the committee. When we ask, in what part of the country the atrocities have been a matter 'of history,' there is no answer but the West; somewhere in the vast region between the Alleghany and the Rocky Mountains; somewhere in the wide expanse of that newest Hesperia, where civilization has made its way within the lifetime of the present generation. But we believe in the firmness of the social system, so suddenly called into action; and the great principles, by which civil life is sustained and moved, must there also exercise their necessary influence. Many banks in those regions attempted operations without possessing a solid capital. There is, however, no need of going to the West for examples of that sort of miscalculation; an intolerable nuisance any where, which may yet result from unwise legislation in New York or Massachusetts as well as in Ohio and Kentucky. But such banks are soon at the mercy of the public. They cannot oppress others, but must cry for forbearance for themselves. We infer, therefore, that for the wickedness, so loosely and indiscriminately charged by the

committee, there is even less scope in the new part of the country than in the older States.

We return from this digression, into which we were unavoidably led by the error of Mr. Mc Duffie, to the axiom of Constitutional law. Throughout our wide confederacy, *gold and silver alone are money;* nothing else can be made a tender for the payment of debts.

But gold and silver coin do not in fact constitute our circulating medium. We have then to inquire how the circulating medium, within the limits of a confederacy, or a government, may come to be other than specie, and what are the provisions of the Constitution with respect to any possible substitution.

There are two different modes, in which this substitution may be attempted; by force, and by common consent. The one makes the substituted medium lawful tender; the other leaves a free option. The one is a desperate measure of a government whose credit is tottering; the other presupposes a firm government, to enforce contracts. The one is against the will and the interest of the people; the other is strictly a matter of choice, and may therefore be esteemed as existing by general agreement, to promote individual and the public interests. The one implies the authority of a government, which enforces the circulation of the substitute; the other implies the consent of government, which guarantees to each individual the right of refusing to accept the substitute. The one is a swindling process, which defrauds creditors; the other is an affair of convenience merely, and has no necessary effect whatever on the right of the creditor.

The forcible substitution of a circulating medium, other than gold and silver, is a process, which has been attempted at one time or another by almost every government of Europe from cupidity, dishonesty, or under the pressure of pecuniary embarrassments. On our continent, it was repeatedly practised by the Provincial Governments, and was an expedient adopted by the Continental Congress. The framers of our Constitution had a distinct knowledge of the evil, and prepared the great instrument, which is the guarantee of justice throughout the country, under the clear perception of the intolerable evils, which such a forcible substitution occasions.

There are two forms, under which that substitution can be made; the first is *paper-money*, strictly so called, that is, pa-

per, bearing a certain nominal value, issued by government, (as in the case of the French assignats,) or under the sanction of government, (as in the case of the Bank of England notes, when specie payments were suspended,) and made by law a sufficient tender for the payment of debts. This paper-money has no wings; it will not fly, but is embarrassed by an increasing downward tendency. Its worth is to be estimated by the means provided for its ultimate redemption; it may also be kept up in value, if there be not too much of it in circulation, by being made receivable in all payments to the government. In this latter case, the government virtually pledges itself to redeem a portion of the bills; because to receive them cheerfully and without discount, operates so far as a redemption. If the issues of such paper be less than the demand for them to pay government, the notes will remain at par, or nearly at par; for they will every one of them be at once redeemed, not by the bank, but by the treasury of the country. Where the issues are thus confined, there will, however, be no necessity for resorting to the method of stopping payment by law. It is only for the sake of greater emissions, that specie payments are refused. Depreciation necessarily ensues. The *paper-money* of France fell, till it was worth nothing at all, notwithstanding the most imperative enactments enjoining its circulation. But necessity is stronger than absolute law. The *paper-money* of England, (it was essentially and virtually paper-money) fluctuated in value. Its greatest depreciation in 1814, was a little more than twenty-five per cent.

The operation of this forcible substitution of paper-money, is obviously to debase the standard of money; in its character it is essentially a swindling process. The creditor to whom a debt was contracted on the former standard of money, receives no full equivalent, but is defrauded in proportion to the depreciation. If the standard should again become restored, the hardship is reversed; and the debtor will find himself compelled to pay a sum beyond what he borrowed, equal to the rise in the standard of money.

Our country is protected against any such calamity by the Constitution of the United States. The States have severally relinquished the dangerous power of emitting bills of credit; and, while no power is delegated to Congress to issue paper-money, the States are prohibited from making paper-money, or any thing else but good coin, a tender in payment of debts.

The second form, under which a forcible substitution of a *currency*, other than of gold and silver, may be effected,—and it is a method which has been very widely adopted in many of the small and some of the larger States of Europe,—is the debasing of the coin. If, for example, the Austrian Government were to coin florins anew, and allow to each coin but one half of the weight of pure silver, which is now contained in it, it is manifest, that the basis of the currency would be changed. The coin in such a case ceases to have the intrinsic, real value, which it purports to possess, and owes its currency at its nominal value, solely to the authority and command of the laws; while the government commits a robbery on its creditors to the amount of the debasement of the coin.

Which of these methods is the worse, paper-money, or debased coin? If the paper-money is never to be redeemed, then the public is evidently defrauded of the whole amount issued; while in the case of a debased coinage, the robbery is of no more than a fraction. A false value is in the one case impressed on a scrap of paper; in the other on an alloy of silver. The scrap of paper is intrinsically good for nothing; the adulterated silver is still in itself not wholly without a value. Gross injustice is in either case committed; and it is but a sorry excuse to pretend, that the injustice and iniquity of the measure are just and equal in their operation.

Against such an adulteration of the coin also, the Constitution of the United States has done all in its power to protect the country. *No State shall coin money. The Congress*, (and Congress alone) shall have power *to coin money* and *regulate the value thereof. To coin money;* that is, to stamp metal for money; *to regulate the value thereof;* that is, to fix the weight and fineness of the gold or silver, and set its mark declaring that weight and fineness. Be it, that 'for example,* the gold bars of Ricardo should be substituted for our present coins by the general consent of the commercial world,' it would still remain necessary to ascertain the weight and the fineness of those bars, and to set a declaratory mark; and that would be coining money; the only way in which Congress could *make* such money, unless indeed it should discover the philosopher's stone. Neither 'sense' nor 'sound' would be sacrificed; neither 'substance' nor 'form.'

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* The Report—page 6.

We are reluctantly compelled once more to interrupt the general analysis of the subject, and make a digression in order to expose the bold interpretation of the Constitution, attempted by Mr. Mc Duffie. We must quote a long passage; to which our remarks have already alluded.

'The power to "coin money and fix the value thereof," is expressly and exclusively vested in Congress. This grant was evidently intended to invest Congress with the power of regulating the circulating medium. "Coin" was regarded, at the period of framing the Constitution, as synonymous with "currency," as it was then generally believed that bank notes could only be maintained in circulation by being the true representative of the precious metals. The word "coin," therefore, must be regarded as a particular term, standing as the representative of a general idea. No principle of sound construction will justify a rigid adherence to the letter, in opposition to the plain intention of the clause. If, for example, the gold bars of Ricardo should be substituted for our present coins, by the general consent of the commercial world, could it be maintained that Congress would not have the power to *make* such money, and fix its value, because it is not "coined?" This would be sacrificing sense to sound, and substance to mere form. This clause of the Constitution is analogous to that which gives Congress the power "to establish post roads." Giving to the word "establish" its restricted interpretation, as being equivalent to "fix," or "prescribe," can it be doubted that Congress has the power to establish a canal, or a river, as a post route, as well as a road? Roads were the ordinary channels of conveyance, and the term was, therefore, used as synonymous with "routes," whatever might be the channel of transportation, and, in like manner, "coin," being the ordinary and most known form of a circulating medium, that term was used as synonymous with currency.'—page 6.

Here again Mr. Mc Duffie is, in our view, entirely in the wrong. Let us attempt to prove him so.

And first, observe what a sweeping assertion he makes in his argumentative zeal. '*Coin* was regarded' (says he) 'at the period of framing the Constitution, as synonymous with '*currency*.' And can it have been so? Had not the continent just before been deluged with a paper currency, which surely was not synonymous with coin? But hear Mr. Mc Duffie's reason. 'It was then generally believed that bank notes could only be maintained in circulation by being the true representative of the precious metals.' If by this it is meant, that bank notes could only be maintained in circulation *at par*

value, by being the true representative of the precious metals, it was, doubtless, generally believed so by the framers of the Constitution, and is generally believed so now; and coin and currency were then no more synonymous than they now are. But if he mean strictly, as his words import, that it was then believed, that bank notes could *only* be maintained (at any rate) in circulation by being the true representatives of the precious metals, he is entirely mistaken in the fact. The framers of the Constitution had seen a paper currency remain in circulation, though at a depreciated value, without its being a true, or even a plausible representative of the precious metals; and the notes of the Bank of Pennsylvania, as well as the paper-money of Massachusetts, had notoriously and long before been in circulation, and served (in a most deplorable manner to be sure, but still had served) as a currency.

A venerable friend whom we have consulted, assures us, that *coin* in those days had, as at present, its appropriate meaning, while *currency* was used especially of paper. To say then, that at the period of framing our Constitution *coin* was regarded as synonymous with currency, is a gratuitous charge of excessive ignorance on the wisest statesmen of the country, who had had abundant experience under the Colonial and Continental Governments, of the vast difference between bank notes and paper on the one hand, and gold and silver coin on the other.

If we look into the Constitution, we shall find Mr. Mc Duffie's interpretation entirely inapplicable. *Congress shall have power to regulate the value of foreign coin.* Does *coin* here mean *currency?* We have entered upon this discussion with a full sense of the rare endowments and valuable experience of Mr. Mc Duffie. We have been sensible, that in attempting to charge error upon one, who has so long possessed peculiar opportunities for understanding the finances of the country, we incur imminent peril of being found in error ourselves. It is right for us, therefore, to weigh our own arguments well before we advance them; knowing that they will have to encounter, not only the force of Mr. Mc Duffie's own statement, but the influence of his established reputation. We have, therefore, considered ourselves as bound to be cautious from every motive of common prudence. Yet we differ in opinion from the Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means; we differ on a subject, which

we have carefully revolved, which seems to us of great moment, and which is decidedly a fit one for free discussion. We venture, therefore, to proceed. *Provocamus ad populum;* we appeal to the common sense of statesmen, of bankers, and of the people, and we believe, that if truth is on our side, our humble voice will be heard even against high authority. *To regulate the value of foreign coin;* what is meant by it? Is it not plainly to fix the mint price of the *gold and silver coin* of other nations? Or was it intended, that Congress shall regulate the value of foreign *currency?* that Congress shall make out a broker's table of the price of all bank notes that pass *current* in any part of the universal world; shall set a value on the French assignats, and declare the discount on English bank notes; shall fix the worth of a paper Russian ruble, and a bill of the bank of Vienna; shall settle the value of that, which has no intrinsic value; shall regulate the price of that, which is forever fluctuating; in a word, shall fix the value, not of the gold and silver coin of a foreign country only, but shall fix the value of the credit of its private bankers, and the value of the credit of its government? We appeal to the people. Can Mr. Mc Duffie's interpretation of the word '*coin*'* be sustained?

But has not Congress under the Constitution, it may be asked, the power also of regulating the common currency, or any substituted currency? We answer, that it has its duties on this point; and that too, in its own right, independent of any national bank, or any privileged corporation. This brings us back from our digression; and we now return to the further analysis of the subject on which we had entered.

We have seen, that we are protected by the Constitution against any forced substitution of a paper currency, and also against a rivalship of the States in debasing the coin. We are protected against any *forcible* substitution of any currency whatever. But there is another substitute, which is *purely voluntary.* It is not merely, that one man will trust another, but that all agree in trusting some common person, or some association of persons. In the great concerns of business, negotiable paper forms a large portion of this voluntary circulating medium; but for all ordinary purposes we use bank bills.

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* So far as the use of language has varied, *coin* meant in the days of the framing of the Constitution just what it now does, but *currency* meant 'the papers stamped in the colonies, and passing for money;' as Johnson's Dictionary, a contemporary authority, sets forth.

Now bank bills are neither money nor yet lawful currency, nor *paper-money*, technically so called. Compared with money, bank bills are the sign, and money the thing signified. They differ quite as much from lawful paper currency. For bank bills are under the law convertible; paper currency under the law is not. The one may be refused in receiving payment of a debt; the other may not be refused, but is lawful tender. In the case of bank bills, the government leaves the acceptance of them voluntary, but enforces the redemption of them, if they are accepted; in the other, the government forces the acceptance, and offers no means of recovering the full value of the paper. In the one case, government sides with the holder of a bill and protects him against loss; in the other, it sides with the party issuing the bill, and protects that party in its fraud.

Here then it is apparent, that a sure and easy remedy is provided for the refusal to redeem a bank bill by a suit at law. The case is strictly analogous to that of any other promissory note, which falls due, and of which payment is refused. The courts of justice furnish a sure remedy on the occasion. Nor would it be possible for a State Legislature effectually to interfere; for, on the one hand, it is precluded from making bank bills a legal currency, a lawful tender, and, on the other, it cannot sustain the bank against a suit. Were it to attempt any interference, relief might immediately be found in the courts of the United States. Should a State in the extreme distress of its citizens, goaded on by the pressure of debts, resort to a measure so dangerous and so unjust, the Supreme Court of the United States would at once set that measure aside; for a bank note contains a contract, and *no State shall pass any law impairing the obligation of contracts.*

Thus we see, that the framers of the Constitution provided for every contingency, to which experience had demonstrated, that the circulating medium was exposed. They provided against a paper currency, against debased coin, against bills of credit of the States, more especially as a branch of paper currency, and against bank notes of which the payment is refused. Nothing is omitted. The glorious instrument is, in this as in its other parts, distinct and decided, concise and comprehensive. With wonderful sagacity it has embodied into itself every sound principle on the subject, and all the elaborate investigations, which the financial difficulties and fluctuating cur-

rencies of Europe have called forth, have but led to the results, which the wisdom of our fathers had already, with unequalled sagacity, incorporated into the supreme law of the land, and fixed in proud security far above the influence of theorising statesmen, or the dangerous fickleness of experimental legislation.

It may seem presumptuous in us to have attempted to refute the explanation, which the distinguished Chairman has given of the Constitution. Nor should we have ventured to do so, had not the letter and the spirit of that instrument seemed to us on this subject so plain, that a wayfaring man may read and comprehend. Our views are in strict accordance with the preamble to the original act of 1791, establishing a Bank of the United States, and we too would shelter ourselves under the authority of Mr. Madison; for he once deemed the establishment of the bank unconstitutional, but he never could have doubted the sovereignty of Congress over the *legal currency* of the country.

Let us then comment a little on Mr. Mc Duffie's commentary.

'But even, if it should be conceded, that the grant of power "to coin money and fix the value thereof," does not, in its terms, give Congress the power of regulating any other than the "coined" currency of the Union, may not the power of regulating any substituted currency, and especially one which is the professed representative of coin, be fairly claimed as an incidental power,—as an essential means of carrying into effect the plain intention of the Constitution, in clothing Congress with the principal power?' Page 7.

Now we would venture to ask, whether Mr. Mc Duffie is prepared to defend all the inferences that may be drawn from this doctrine. Shall Congress regulate the issues of the bank of Charleston? Shall Congress inquire into the value of its notes? Shall Congress pass laws on the degree of its credit? Shall Congress appoint a committee to examine its vaults? Shall Congress inspect its books? Shall Congress fix the amount of its capital? Shall Congress try it for any misdemeanor, and deprive it of its charter? Has Congress all these powers? And can the currency of the notes of the bank of Charleston be regulated by a legislative body not possessed of them? Congress has nothing to do with the bank of Charleston, or any other

local bank; it does not acknowledge the bank notes of any local bank to be money, and protects itself, and every citizen of the country, by preserving its own rights and theirs to be paid in the *legal currency*.

Mr. Mc Duffie proceeds:

'This power was granted in the same clause with that to regulate weights and measures, and for similar reasons. The one was designed to ensure a uniform measure of value, as the other was designed to ensure a uniform measure of quantity. The former is decidedly the more important, and belongs essentially to the General Government, according to every just conception of our system.' Report—page 7.

Surely the power exists in the General Government, has always been claimed by it, and has always been exercised by it. We have now, and have invariably had under the General Government *one uniform measure of value, one legal currency*, prevailing throughout the Union, without any change, ever since the act of 1792, regulating the coins of the United States. But Mr. Mc Duffie thinks that law not sufficient; it has not, it would seem, accomplished its full purpose. He says:

'Now it was in vain for Congress to regulate the value of coin, when the actual currency, professing to be its equivalent, bore no fixed relation to it. This great and essential power of fixing the standard of value, was, in point of fact, taken from Congress, and exercised by some hundreds of irresponsible banking corporations,' &c. Report—page 7.

Oh no, very far from it. No irresponsible banking corporation can arbitrarily change the standard of value in the slightest degree. And if these corporations abused their own resources, if they sacrificed their own credit for the sake of unjust gain, it was *the more essential that the standard of value should be unalterably fixed*. But for that, we should have been at sea without chart or compass; it was the certainty of the legal standard which was the pole-star in the midst of all our grievous difficulties. The standard of value was fortunately established, and established immovably; so that there was a point, from which to measure the deviations of credit. The *legal currency* of the country knew no change. And only by that undeviating standard could the aberrations of the local banks be computed.

The Constitution does assuredly provide that all imposts and excises shall be uniform; there has existed and there can exist no state of things, which will justify a departure from so plain a principle of justice. Congress was, therefore, under the most solemn constitutional obligations to insist on the exercise of that equity, and always to exact its dues with even impartiality. But when it is asserted, that for this establishment of justice the United States' Bank was not only an appropriate, but *the only safe and effectual means*, we must say, that this is precisely the question at issue. Mr. Madison, in the passage cited by Mr. Mc Duffie, attributes no such potent influences to the National Bank. He refers to the measures adopted in the first session of the fourteenth Congress, to the resolution, which he approved, April 30, 1816. These *measures* he deems pregnant with *every promise of success*. He calls the United States' Bank neither an appropriate means, nor the only means, nor indeed does he call it a means at all; it is in his language merely an auxiliary. Following the reference of Mr. Madison, we shall endeavor to prove the negative of Mr. Mc Duffie's assertion. But this brings us to the second division of our subject.

2d. Because the derangement of the currency of the country followed soon after the refusal to renew the charter of the former United States' Bank, and because the restoration of credit to the bills of the local banks was nearly simultaneous with the establishment of the second corporation, it is inferred that these circumstances are connected. Without a National Bank, it is argued, the currency will be deranged; with one, it is sound and sure. To establish our own view we must show,

1. That the derangement in the currency can be explained by a cause nearer and more plain than the want of a National Bank;

2. That the restoration of the currency was not primarily owing to the establishment of the bank, and might have been effected without it;

3. That the United States' Bank is not, and in the nature of things cannot be intrusted with any special or peculiar powers to regulate the currency.

4. That it does not now regulate the currency.

Our arguments must be derived from a reference to facts, still fresh in the minds of all our elder men of business. And

yet we are almost induced to cry out, that there is no such thing as a fact in the world, when we find some statements like the following.

'Whatever diversity of opinion prevailed as to the proper basis and organization of a bank, almost every one agreed that a National Bank of some sort was indispensably necessary to rescue the country from the greatest of financial calamities.'*

Here we have it asserted, as if on the almost unanimous authority of Congress, that a bank was necessary to rescue the country from '*avowed* bankruptcy.' Now mark the facts. The country was saved; its credit was in a great measure restored; its treasury notes rallied and were recovering their value, without a National Bank. The act incorporating that institution was not passed, till the peace was concluded, and the credit of the Government had already become equal to that of perhaps any government in Europe. The drowning man was on dry land again, before the bank could come to the '*rescue*.'

1. The degradation of the local currency in many parts of the country happened during the war, and was the result of the exigencies occasioned by the war. The disorder in the common currency was continued and sustained by acts of government, which are generally acknowledged to have been unconstitutional and unjust, but which are attributable, not to a purpose of injustice, but to a want of credit on the part of the administration.

Business received from the war a new direction, and a new impulse. The advantages derived by individuals from the use of credit, became, from the sudden change, still more necessary for the security of former transactions, and enterprise was continually discovering new methods for the profitable employments of money. Prices rose; the performance of the same amount of business as before, required a larger capital; trade was rendered more costly by the burdensome duties, which the public exigencies demanded; and the produce of domestic industry was enhanced in value by the new classes of consumers, which the necessities of war called away from labor. Thus there was a greatly increased demand for money for individual purposes, and the high prices which Mr. Mc

* Report—page 9.

Duffie erroneously ascribes to the excess of the circulating medium, were themselves the motive, which induced the banks to increase their issues; for, as the cost of merchandise rose, the necessity for a larger circulating medium was felt. The customers of the banks asked for discounts to the utmost extent of their credit; till finally a loan on the best security came to be considered a favor.

Large remittances were also made to England. The temporary depreciation of the British currency, combined with other circumstances, had reduced the rates of exchange on England to a degree wholly without a parallel. Much capital was then withdrawn from the country, and could not return till peace had been concluded. The influence thus exercised on the money market, was in no respect altered by the character of the transaction.

As the Southern country had received its foreign supplies chiefly through Northern and Eastern importers, the South was, as a business portion of the community, indebted to the North; there was a large balance even against New-York. Here was a new cause of embarrassments and curtailments of business. But the operations of commerce, unlike the character of absolute legislation, contain their corrective principle within themselves. The laws were a sufficient guarantee against the fraudulent substitution of any other than the legal currency of the country; and the healthy principles of justice, discreetly enforced, were bringing the affairs of commerce to their proper condition; though they tended to make money scarce, and to check the discounts of the banks.

Thus far things were pursuing their natural course. But there came into the market another customer, whose present wants were pressing, and whose necessities, it was apparent, were likely to increase. The Government asked for money, when the market was already exhausted by private individuals for the purposes of business. When small sums could with difficulty be obtained, it asked for large ones; and when paper, that would soon be at maturity, could hardly be discounted, it required loans for an unlimited period.

The necessities of the Administration were imperative. The sacrifices were made, which were required, first by the high rates of interest and profits in business, and secondly by the tottering credit of the Government. Terms were eventually offered, which proved successful; and money was loaned to

the United States by several of the banks, by individuals who themselves obtained discounts, or finally by individuals who withdrew their deposits. In this way vast quantities of bills were put in circulation for public obligations, which were to be kept at some indefinite day.

The bills, thus unwarily issued, returned rapidly upon the banks, and specie was demanded. But the notes of the Government were not payable, or were not paid, at a stipulated time; and how could the bills be redeemed, for which those notes had been received?

Not every bank in the three great commercial cities of the centre of the Union, had been indiscreet in its issues; not every one, under the influence of patriotism or some other motive, had involved itself in the perplexity, for which there was no relief but the suspension of cash payments. The banks of New-York had even refused any attempts at legislative interference, and had resolved to persist in redeeming their bills, when the news came, that specie was refused in Philadelphia. The example was immediately followed by New-York, either from necessity, or prudence, or cupidity, or a purpose of reasonable retaliation and self-defence.

It is the highest eulogy on the management of the banks of Massachusetts, that in this inauspicious season, their credit did not sink, and that they were not induced for a moment to harbor the thought of refusing to redeem their bills. Of one, it was indeed for a short time apprehended, that its crisis was near. Its credit wavered, and perhaps would have irretrievably fallen, but for the timely and generous relief afforded by its neighbors. The directors of that bank in their public zeal had speculated too largely in the paper of Government; and it is said to have been the clemency of their rivals, which saved them from proving unjust to the holders of their bills.

The banks, south of New-England, refused to redeem their paper, but claimed to be considered as ultimately desirous and able to do so. This was a very inconvenient and disastrous state of things; but the commercial world was still secure, for it stood under a higher protection than that of the vicissitudes in trade. The evil contained its final remedy within itself. The country shielded the creditor against a loss from the depreciated currency; and payment of previous contracts could be demanded without defalcation. Such contracts were in fact subjects of mutual compromise between the parties; the

law wholly sustained the creditor, and to his humanity or prudence only, could the appeal of the debtor be made. All changes in contracts were the result of new and voluntary contracts. The legal currency remained the standard of value; that standard did not fluctuate; and the influence of its fixedness was never more extensive or more salutary. The bills of doubtful credit were compared with it, and their value ascertained. They became a merchantable commodity, which was often purchased with the legal coin; they were daily sold at a discount, which was regularly announced in the prints; *they were even sold at public auction*, and knocked off to the highest bidder, who offered a price—in what? In what but the unvarying standard, the legal currency of the country.

The prices of merchandise and exchange necessarily corresponded to the depreciation. Teas, coffee, and all kinds of articles of commerce in New-York, had but one real value; yet that value was differently expressed, accordingly as payments were to be made in silver or New-York bills. When the depreciation was twenty per cent., eighty dollars of silver would buy and did buy, all that could be procured for one hundred dollars in the depreciated paper. If the seller hesitated to perceive this, the buyer proceeded first to the brokers with his silver and bought bank bills at the discount. The note, which pretended to be one dollar, was in fact but eighty cents; and so it was universally understood. A New-York dollar bill was no more worth a dollar in Wall-street than on the Boston exchange.

Thus far, there was trouble but no necessary injustice; confusion, but no sanctioned wrong. There were shallows enough, which required a sharp look out, but business could still keep its channel.

Unfortunately the Government, urged by its necessities, believed itself compelled to receive the depreciated bills without discount, not in its loans only, but also in payment of taxes and duties. Where it could not obtain the legal currency, it accepted the discredited paper. It hoisted as a sign on its custom-houses and on the offices of its tax-gatherers, *bills of broken banks received here;* and is it strange that the bills multiplied? It sent the crier into the cities to shout at the corners of the streets and in the ears of the money-changers, *depreciated paper borrowed by the Government at par value;* and then, indeed, a premium was set upon depreciation; then, indeed, it

became the interest of cities to vie with each other in debasing their local currency. Had the Government consented to receive depreciated bills at their market value only, no '*rivalry in the abominable career of depreciation would have sprung up;*' and no injustice would have been done to citizens or cities. In the great commerce of the country, they circulated only at that value; it was only at that value, that the Government itself paid them away to agents and contractors. That the wants of the Government compelled it to submit to such a wrong, was a grievous calamity to the country; far worse than if good currency had been at once borrowed at a heavier rate. Had the treasury never received the depreciated currency but at its fair value, the country would not have bled from the severe wounds, which were inflicted on public justice. As it was, a wrong was done to every city, where the currency was better than the lowest rate; and the deepest wrong was done to the very towns which had the highest claims to preference, for having preserved the integrity of their mercantile credit and the obligations of their capitalists and bankers sacred and unimpaired. But the voice of equity was not heard in the general din, consequent on the deranged state of the public finances. Ships, if laden with cargoes, were driven as by a spell to one favored port; the mercantile wealth of the country anchored at its wharves, and its streets were full of the hum of a business, not rightfully its own. The practical favoritism of the Government transferred the warehouses of the Boston and Charleston merchants to the wharves of Baltimore, and though every individual could protect himself and did protect himself against the depreciation of paper, yet there was no redress against the injustice of the Government. Different rates of duties were virtually exacted in different parts of the Union. Till treasury notes fell, Boston paid the highest. This in itself was a wrong. But further; the amount of business in Boston was naturally diminished, for merchant vessels sailed for the port where the costs were the least. Thus the possession of solid capital, which should have put Boston on vantage ground, operated so far to its injury; and the very circumstance which should have attracted trade, exerted only the attraction of repulsion.

Congress was under the most solemn constitutional obligations to redress this evil, not by legislative enactments, for it already stood embodied in the fundamental law of the land,

that gold and silver were alone lawful tender in the United States; but by a simple resolve, that it would enforce its own rights, do as the rest of the world did, and receive no depreciated paper at all, or only at its market value. It should have sternly refused to allow a premium to be set on the career of depreciation, should have collected the revenues with absolute, even justice; should have disdained to tempt the honesty of merchants, by transferring to those who had a doubtful capital, the business and the profits which rightfully belonged to those who possessed a real one. No doubt, Congress should have done its part, by enforcing the collection of duties and taxes in specie or its full equivalent, by requiring bills of doubtful credit either to be refused altogether, or accepted only at their market value, the value at which the Government would be able to circulate them. A bank of the United States was no doubt an appropriate auxiliary in effecting the desired end; but its influence would have been precisely where the influence of the banks of Massachusetts was, its bills would have held to the bills of the local banks the same relation as was held by specie and Boston paper, unless another measure had likewise been adopted. It is absurd to suppose, that the mere incorporation of the Bank of the United States would of itself have restored the currency; had a branch existed at Baltimore, its bills, if redeemable and redeemed at demand, would have been to those of other banks, just what specie was. Men will not pay their dues to the Government in solid coin, or convertible paper, so long as depreciated paper, worth but four fifths of its nominal value, is received at the custom-house at par.

2. Having thus illustrated the manner, in which the banks of a large portion of the country were reduced to the extremity of suspending specie payments, it remains to show the causes, which restored the local currencies to a sound condition. And the chief cause lay in the restoration of the credit of the Government, which ensued on the peace. That restoration of public credit operated on the banks in two ways. In the first place, it enabled them to make a good disposition of the Government notes and public stock, for which many of their issues had been made; and next, it enabled the Government to exact its dues with rigor. Whilst the public credit wavered, and the treasury stood in absolute need of money at whatever rate of interest, a rigorous enforcement

of public rights was nearly impossible. But with the restoration of peace came the restoration of order; and *the resolve of Congress*, requiring all duties, taxes, debts, or sums of money, accruing or becoming payable to the United States, to be paid *in the legal currency of the United States*, and forbidding the receiving of the notes of any *banks, which were not payable, and paid on demand in the said legal currency of the United States*,* put an end to the injustice which had been practised, removed all inducements to maintain a depreciated currency, and led the way rapidly to the resumption of specie payments. But for this resolve, the establishment of a National Bank would have been wholly without efficacy.

This was the measure to which Mr. Madison alludes in the passage extracted in the report; and in the execution of this measure, the United States' Bank was an '*important auxiliary*.' It was not 'the means;' for those means lay in the right of the Congress to exact the sums due to Government, a right derived from the Constitution, and sustained by the courts of the United States. It was not in any right sense 'the means,' for it had no control whatever over the treasury department or the custom-house officers. It was a corporate body, which had purchased, in the words of their charter, an exclusive privilege, but the laws, the courts, the legal currency, and the right of Government remained just where they were. No new law was dreamt of as requisite to the maintenance of the rights of Government; they were all provided for; nothing was done by Congress but to express an opinion, to declare their sense of the duty of the treasury department, to resolve that no sums *ought to be collected or received* otherwise than in the legal currency of the United States or its full equivalent.

Thus then it was the Federal Treasury that compelled the resumption of specie payments. The United States' Bank had no more to do with it, than an agent who is employed to collect a debt. It was the Government, and not the bank, which applied the remedy. Is our statement doubted? It shall be confirmed in the identical words of Mr. Mc Duffie himself. He says, and in connexion with this very subject, 'the enforcing upon the State banks the payment of specie for any excess in their issues,'—which, by the way, is one of the

* Laws of the United States; Story's Edition, p. 1616.

best things in the practical operation of the bank,—Mr. Mc Duffie on this subject himself says, that in that respect, '*the operations of the Federal Treasury are mistaken for the operations of the bank, because the bank is the agent by whom those operations are performed.*' That is exactly the view we contend for; we are glad to find it, after all, confirmed by the Chairman himself. We could not wish the true doctrine more explicitly stated. The bank is the agent; the salutary check is the operation of the Federal Treasury.

3. The United States' Bank is intrusted with no special powers to regulate the currency, and from the nature of things, it can be intrusted with no such powers.

We might here insist, that if the bank were possessed of such power, it would but be exercised by bank directors, wholly above the control of Congress so long as they do not violate their charter; that, therefore, if Congress has assigned to them the regulation of the currency, it has committed a grievous error, in assigning to a few individuals, what Mr. Mc Duffie represents as so substantive a portion of public sovereignty.

We might further say, as it respects the choice of means, that to establish a new bank in order to check the old, was but running a new risk; that a bank with a very large capital is just as liable to be mismanaged as one with a small capital; and that when you had set the National Bank to control the local ones, you next needed something to control the National. The local banks were indeed checks on each other; but where is the check to the National Bank?

We might further repeat what we have already said, that the establishment of a National Bank would of itself have been ineffectual, unless the Government had adopted another measure.

We might further say, that to call the establishment of the United States' Bank the *only safe and effectual* means, when no other had been tried, and when *another idea of considerable plausibility*, by Mr. Mc Duffie's own confession, is passed over '*without stopping to give reasons*,' that under such circumstances to call the establishment of the bank the *only means*, is a gratuitous assumption.

We will not insist on the considerations to which we have alluded. But we say, the Congress of the United States has no concern whatever with the local currency. It is its duty to

provide, that the sums paid to the United States shall be paid in the '*legal currency, or its full equivalent;*' and that is all which the United States can do in regulating what Mr. Mc Duffie calls the common currency. So much it did in its proper legislative capacity, by the resolve in the spring of 1816; and in doing that, it did every thing which was required. It has invested the United States' Bank on this subject with no powers, which do not equally belong to every citizen of the country. There exist no means of redress but those which are common to every capitalist, merchant, and day laborer in the country. If a bank refuse to redeem its bills, the United States' Bank has precisely the same resource which a citizen of any neighboring State would have, and justice will be rendered in the one case as in the other, not under any special act of the Government with particular reference to the protection of the National Bank, but on previous well established principles of justice, and on the doctrines of the Constitution.

Any other course on the part of the General Government would be a flagrant and absurd attempt at improper legislation. The Constitution makes the acceptance of bank bills purely voluntary; were Congress to attempt to regulate their value, it would be to attempt to settle the price-current which fluctuates hourly by remote and infrequent legislation; to transfer to Congress the office and duties of brokers, money-changers, and inspectors; to appoint the great legislators of the nation to measure the credit and the trustworthiness of every banking-house in near or remote parts of the Union. The thing is impossible.

It is rightly assumed as the basis of all sound reasoning, that the existence of a paper currency, issued by local banks, cannot be prohibited by the General Government. For in this, the States do not assume the exercise of any unreasonable power. The simple act of incorporation does not protect or retain in circulation the bills issued by the bank. The State does not pledge itself to receive its dues in the notes of its own banks; nor are they able compulsorily to pay their expenditures in such notes. The State laws recognise nothing but specie as legal currency; and should a legislature, blinded by temporary distress, be induced to enact tender-laws and relief-laws, there exists an authority, by which those laws shall be set aside. The trade in money is as proper a branch of business, as the trade in any thing else, and should be left, with similar con-

cerns, to the jurisdiction of the several States, under the guarantees of the Federal Union.

But, says Mr. Mc Duffie, it would be utterly impossible to produce so entire a change in the '*monetary system of the country*,' as to abolish the agency of banks of discount, without distressing embarrassments. '*Monetary system*' of the country! As though issuing bank bills were a process of the mint! *Monetary system of the country!* We have our assurance of the convertibility of good bank bills, solely, because the *monetary system* of the country is elevated high above the reach of the debtor, high above the reach of the bank, which is the creditor; nay more, high above the reach of the State legislature, that established the bank; and is fixed solely and firmly on the unchanging basis of the Constitution, safe against the misapprehensions of political innovators, firm amidst the revolutions of ingenious theories, and protected from the partial influences of commercial fluctuations.

4. Our last assertion in reference to the influence of the United States' Bank on the local currency, is, that the United States' Bank does not in point of fact preserve its soundness. The excellence of the common currency is attributable to other causes.

Of itself, the National Bank has no influence at all, except as a competitor, and so far this bank exercises in its degree an influence, similar to that exercised by all other sound monied institutions.

The exercise of that influence is limited to a very few banks, and those the strongest and best in the community. What has the National corporation to do with all the small institutions of the country? What influence and supervision has it over the banks of Massachusetts, except those in Boston? If the States at this time were to be filled with companies, possessing no capital, would it be the United States' Bank that would overthrow them, or the force of circumstances, too powerful and sure in their operation to be controlled?

Wherever the Government funds are collected and so require to be transferred, there the organ of the Government will necessarily draw largely on the local banks, which will thus be restrained in their discounts and issues. But this would be the case even without a National Bank. The effect of that institution is, we are told, 'to mitigate the action of the treasury on the State banks.' So then, the discount of the State

banks would require to be still further curtailed, if the National Bank did not exist. The influence on the State banks is, therefore, the action of the Government; and to that the benefit and the pressure, the check, whether salutary or grievous, must rightfully be ascribed.

Two causes lead to a derangement in the local currency; a mismanagement of a bank, and a want of real capital. The first is the effect of ignorance; the second of dishonesty. The first the United States' Bank cannot remedy; if men will engage in a business, which they do not understand, they will learn penitence from their losses. Assuredly the United States' Bank cannot undertake the instruction and discipline of all the local banks in the country. The second evil, the establishment of a banking corporation without the existence of a substantial capital, is the result of unwise legislation. Assuredly the United States' Bank will not claim a veto in the proceedings of State legislatures. If Massachusetts or Kentucky, South Carolina or Illinois should see fit to establish banking corporations without capital, the United States' Bank, like the country banks, has no resource but in the operation of the unchangeable laws, which make capital essential to a continuance of credit. The relief would finally be sought and awarded in the halls of public justice. The United States' Bank did not sustain and was not bound to sustain, did not overthrow and was not bound to overthrow, the bank of Niagara, or the Eagle bank of New-Haven, or the Farmers' and Mechanics' bank of Belchertown; but the regular process of free competition, the suspicious shrewdness of those who held their paper, the runs made from motives of malice, or fear, or prudence, or right; the self-restraining principle, which renders it more costly than productive to attempt an excessive issue, and which, by making those issues always attended with a loss, leaves to banking companies no ultimate option but moderation or bankruptcy.

The facts being as we state, it is hardly requisite to add, that the supervision of the United States' Bank would be a course singularly unsuitable to attain the desired end, far less adapted to do so, than the method appointed by nature. The curious observer may often perceive attached to a water-wheel in New-England, which exults in its rapid and perennial streams, a simple contrivance called the regulator, that, of itself unnoticed, silently but surely controls the quantity of wa-

ter, that shall pass upon the works. No matter what the quantity in the reservoir may be, this little instrument restrains the impetuous rush with precision, and, what is the main point, with unremitting and unvarying constancy. How would you substitute for such a contrivance the occasional visits of the overseer, absolute dictator though he may be? Would you attempt to graduate precisely the cubic inches that may flow, and the frequency with which the wheel may revolve by means of an agent, who shall stand and watch? Would you substitute the chance of vigilance and inspection for the little contrivance, which moves as the water issues, and rises and falls instantly as the wheel revolves too fast or too slow? Will you tell our manufacturers that Congress does not choose that they should employ this simple, and natural, and self-conservative principle, but appoints for them a general agent, to inspect the daily, hourly, momentary flow of the ever-running streams? And yet you propose something of this very sort with reference to the flow of the currency, to the ever-changing transfers of coin and of credit. The nature of business immediately throws back the redundant issues upon the bank, which has been in fault. In the city of New-York this business is so regularly and constantly adjusted, that in the balance of accounts, we are told, the pressure, if any exist, surely falls within twenty-four hours on the bank, which has passed the limits of moderation; nay, not a bank in New-England can keep a bill in circulation a week, we might say three days, without being compelled to redeem it, unless that bill has passed into the operations which it was rightfully designed to facilitate. From the remotest corner of Maine, or Vermont, or Connecticut, it travels fast as stage-coaches can carry it, and the bank which issued it will have redeemed it long before any benefit can have been derived from the issue. Is not this better than any grand monitorial system, than any plan of a head-master, who may or may not sleep at his post? Our banks *are regulated* by a process as certain and as constant in its operation as that, by which water flows. There is a law of necessity in the moral as well as in the physical world, and the exchange and the money mart are not established by chance legislation, or regulated by dictatorial overseers, but by the immutable principles of competition and liberty.

The merits of the Bank of the United States in equalizing the rates of domestic exchange are so plain and so decided,

that they stand in need of nothing but a simple statement to give them efficacy with the public. The buyers and sellers of bills used formerly to fluctuate in number; and there was a variation in the eagerness to purchase. The bank is now at all times able to discount and to sell; and while it steadily pursues its own interests, confers a great benefit on the community. Its profits, on a small amount inconsiderable, but in the aggregate immense, are most fairly earned. A bill may sometimes, perhaps ordinarily, be purchased of a broker for a fraction less than the premium demanded by the bank; but then the credit of the bank surpasses that of any private house, and of course the use of that high credit should be paid for. In this way, the national institution is obtaining almost a monopoly of the very profitable business of domestic and in some measure of foreign exchange. This may be a slight detriment to the local banks, which formerly engaged in the same business; but the mercantile community is decidedly a gainer both in the diminished rates of exchange and in the security against sudden fluctuations.

We cannot but think, that Mr. Mc Duffie has weakened one of the strongest points in his argument by unnecessary and very great exaggeration. He estimates the extent of the operations of commercial exchange at sixty millions of dollars, and adds, 'upon this sum the loss sustained by the merchants, and planters, and farmers, and manufacturers, was not probably less than an average of ten per cent., being the excess of the rate of exchange beyond its natural rate in a sound state of the currency, and beyond the rate to which it has been actually reduced by the operations of the Bank of the United States.'*

Here we have a statement, that brokers obtained on an average ten per cent. beyond the fair profits of business, and levied an annual tax of six millions of dollars on the productive classes of society. On the face of it this is improbable; such enormous gains would have crowded the profession of brokers, till competition had reduced the profits to their natural state.

But the brokers levied no such annual tax; and from the nature of things could not do so. The merchant lost nothing. Had the rates of exchange been in reality so iniquitously unfavorable, he would have made his remittances in merchandise. Indeed, this was often done, but the results did not essentially

* Report—page 11.

vary; for the prices of goods, as measured in the depreciated local currency, rose with the depreciation of the local currency. If a bill on Boston was at eight per cent. advance, it would also have bought in the market from six to eight per cent. more produce, than a bill of a Charleston bank. One hundred dollars of Boston paper were in truth equal to one hundred and six or eight of Charleston paper.

For the same reason the planter lost nothing. If the bills of his vicinity depreciated, the prices as paid in those bills rose. If afterwards he had to give more than an equal amount of those bills for a bill of exchange, it was but just. The apparent gain in the nominal high price of his produce was balanced by the apparent loss in the nominal high price of Boston bills. Boston bills were convertible, and were therefore equal to the *legal currency* of the country. Had business been transacted in the legal currency, there would have been no room for misconception.

Or was exchange on Boston* in July, 1816, at a premium of seven per cent. at New-York, of eight at Charleston, and of eighteen at Philadelphia? The highest possible rate of exchange is equal to the cost of transportation and insurance. Did it cost seven per cent. to send money from New-York to Boston, and eleven per cent. more to send it from Philadelphia to New-York, and only eight to send it from Charleston to Boston?

Let us consider, for example, the rate of exchange between Boston and Philadelphia on July 1, 1816. The same reasoning will apply to Boston and Charleston. It was currently said, that exchange in Philadelphia was eighteen per cent. in favor of Boston. This is obviously a confounding of two different items. Between specie dollar and specie dollar, exchange was at par, or very nearly so, not varying more than one per cent. Now the Boston bill was convertible, and in Boston equal in every respect to specie. The Philadelphia bill was not convertible, and was in Chesnut street itself worth in silver but eighty-three dollars for a hundred. In Boston those same bills were, as appears from Mr. Mc Duffie's appendix, worth from eighty-two to eighty-three dollars. Exchange was therefore at a rate varying from par to about one per cent.

Or will you insist on saying, that exchange in Boston on Phila-

* See Appendix No. 1, annexed to the report—page 32.

delphia was at a discount of from seventeen to eighteen per cent.? You must then further say, that exchange in Philadelphia on Philadelphia was at a discount of seventeen per cent. The truth is, the depreciation of the Philadelphia bills was confounded with the profits of the broker. Specie against specie, convertible paper against convertible paper, the rate of exchange on July 1, 1816, was nearly at par. A Philadelphia bill was worth on the Boston exchange, just about as much as it was worth in Chesnut street.

What then becomes of the average loss of ten per cent. beyond the natural rates of exchange? Where is the annual tax of six millions levied by the brokers?

We could not exchange our Boston wagon for a Philadelphia wagon, for ours was in sound repair; that of Philadelphia had no wheels. In ours, we could carry our goods to any market without further cost; but we could not in theirs, till we had got it mended. To be sure, the manufacturers of both had each warranted the soundness of his work. Ours made his warrant good; but theirs, though repeatedly urged to keep his word, refused and sent us away with an unsatisfactory promise of doing something when he should be less engaged. So we were obliged to go to another workman, who charged us heavily for putting on new wheels. Wagon against wagon in good condition, we would have exchanged even.

The third point under which merit is claimed for the bank relates to the facilities, which it affords the Government in time of peace, and those which it might afford in time of war.

A National Bank undoubtedly furnishes great advantages in the collection and disbursement of the revenue of the country. It serves as an agent, and is in an eminent degree a safe and responsible one, because its whole capital is pledged for the fidelity of each and all its branches.

Again; in a Government like ours, where the great officers of the nation are constantly changing, where the executive is renewed once in four years, and the heads of departments sometimes still oftener, it is eminently desirable, that the machinery for collecting the revenue should not require frequent alterations. The duties of a station, like that of the Secretary of the Treasury, are of themselves sufficiently arduous, without the necessity of providing for the details of collection.

It is also to be remembered, that the collecting and transferring of money, constitute a profession, which can hardly be well

exercised except by those, who have been trained to the business. Hence the evident propriety of employing banks to receive the deposits and make the transfers of money.

Here then is a plain and positive advantage derived from the bank in respect to the revenues of the country. Mr. Mc Duffie declares all this good to be effected without cost, and we have accordingly an appendix, giving a list of apparently gratuitous transfers. That the transfers have been promptly made is undoubted; that they have been made without cost to the Government is an error. The price paid for the service was originally *an exclusive privilege;* next, the bank derives a great benefit from the Government deposits; and, lastly, the Government agrees in return, to receive the bills of any branch of the bank whatever at par; thus lending the company the benefit of the national credit to the whole amount of the receipts of the Federal Treasury. We believe that any banker would declare the contract a very favorable one for the United States' Bank; and it is generally supposed to have proved so. To say that the bank annually saves to the country more money than the cost of the army and the navy, seems to us a preposterous assertion. The Government pays, and ought to pay, a full equivalent for the benefit received.

But in case of a war, the bank, it is said, will save us from the 'miserable round of financial expedients,' to which Mr. Madison's administration was driven. Now of all miserable expedients to trust in for the support of the public credit, a National Bank is the most miserable. We have only to look at the nature of the case itself, or to throw open the pages of history, to see that as a private bank cannot create funds for one who has no credit, so a National Bank cannot sustain a government in the same circumstances. The Government may sustain a bank; but no bank can sustain the Government.

Mr. Mc Duffie attempts to show,* that the Government sustained a loss in less than three years of forty-six millions of dollars; thirty-four millions of which, '*resulting incontestibly and exclusively* from the depreciation of the currency,' would according to his reasonings have certainly been saved, and the 'other twelve millions would in all probability have been saved, if the treasury had been aided by such an institution as the Bank of the United States.' This statement fills us, we confess,

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* Report—page 12.

with surprise. It asserts, that a bank with a capital of thirty-five millions could have saved to the Government, or (had it chosen to take advantage of its powers) could have secured to itself beyond its fair profits, a sum of forty-six millions within three years—could have gained (for itself or for Government) in less than three years, one hundred and thirty-one per cent. upon its capital. Doubtless, if it could have made such a gain or such a saving, the whole would have been for the benefit of Government! Doubtless, not a million nor a fraction of a million would have been retained on the way! As though during the same period we had not had an example of the operation of National Banks on the other side of the water. The credit of the British Government was the greatest ever known in the world; yet that Government with its National Bank of a larger capital, had to sustain a similar loss on the depreciation of its paper currency. It borrowed in depreciated paper, and it acknowledges its obligation to pay in gold.

If we contrast our currency with the English during the war, that of the nation having a National Bank, with ours which had not, we shall find the balance entirely on our side. The English standard of value was deranged by law; ours never was. The English had a forced paper currency; we never had. The English creditor was obliged to receive his pay in a currency, which was not worth what it pretended to be, and which the wants of the English Government were continually reducing still lower; the American creditor never had cause to charge iniquity upon the law, and the American Government itself set the example of justice, by paying what it owed without defalcation. The English land-holder, who told his tenants that he should receive of them bank bills only at their market rates, was prevented by an act of Parliament; but in America no man's liberty was curtailed, and the rights of the creditor retained their integrity unimpaired.

The losses sustained during the war by our Government were very severe; but the Chairman is hardly correct, when he makes them amount to forty-six millions on eighty millions.* Forty-six from eighty leave but thirty-four. Now in the wildest party times, the greatest clamorer against the war never charged upon the war administration such an utter subversion of the credit of the Government, as is implied in

* Report—page 12.

this statement. Such assertions tend chiefly to throw unmerited discredit on the administration of that time. Mr. Mc Duffie probably takes into consideration the present advance of the public stocks as well as the former depreciation. But surely it is absurd to count the present high credit of the Government as a loss!

Whilst on this subject, it will be proper to quote a passage which merits but a short rejoinder.

'While, then, the Government sustained this great pecuniary loss in less than three years of war, amounting annually to more than the current expenses of the Government in time of peace, it is worth while to inquire, who were the persons who profited to this enormous amount by the derangement of the currency? It will be found that the whole benefit of this speculation upon the necessities of the Government was realized by stock-jobbers and money-brokers, the very same class of persons, who profited so largely by the business of commercial exchanges, in consequence of the disorders of the currency, and who have the same interest in the recurrence of those disorders as lawyers have in litigation, or physicians in the diseases of the human frame.' pp. 12, 13.

Does Mr. Mc Duffie himself distrust the force of his reasoning, that he descends from arguments to imputations, and attempts to cast odium on a whole class of men of business, as having speculated upon the public distress? For ourselves, we shall not retort by the use of various popular topics, which might turn the current of feeling in another direction. Where the discovery and establishment of truth are steadily pursued, it is a plain duty to avoid every thing which can divert attention from facts to prejudices.

The money-broker was but the agent for borrowing money. You might as well blame your recruiting officers for the high bounty which candidates for the army required before enlisting, as blame your broker.

The stock-jobber buys not to hold, but to sell; and he can but give such a price, as the rates at which he can sell, will justify.

These same brokers and jobbers were caressed in those days; they were considered as excellent citizens and very valuable upholders of the Government. The greatest misfortune was, that there were not more of them. The capitalists, who refused to loan to the Government, and declined all participation in these speculations on the public distresses, were alone considered unpatriotic. Or will Mr. Mc Duffie regard

it as an honor in many of the federal party, that they, deeming the war 'unjust and wicked,' as the phrase was, refused to sustain it by any participation in the loans? This reluctance is still fresh in the public memory; and it is surely unreasonable to find fault alike with those who loaned, and those who did not.

If it be asked, why the credit of the Government sunk so low, while the patriotism of the nation was but tried, exalted, and purified, and the Union confirmed by the struggle, the answer is an obvious one. The Government really needed more than the country could furnish. Our losses were incident to the heavy expenses of a war, suddenly declared by a nation, which was very rich in lands and industry, but not equally rich in money. Capital with us existed, and still exists, chiefly in small quantities. Men had confidence in the Government, but they had little money to spare. Each one needed all he could command for his own business. The borrowers were many, and the lenders, on whom it is idle to throw censure, were unfortunately too few.

Should a similar emergency recur, the same results would not take place; because our public finances and credit partake of the general advancement of the country. The experience of the past has led to a system of military preparations and defences, which would avert imminent danger. The solid capital of the country has also doubled since the war; the rates of interest and the value of money are diminished; and an equal demand on the part of the Government would be met by more than twice the quantity of money in the market. The United States' Bank cannot be expected to lend to the Federal Treasury; for by its charter, it is forbidden to do so in any considerable degree, without the authority of a special act of Congress.

The bank, then, could only facilitate the obtaining of loans from others. Those loans would be negotiated on the same evidence of credit, whether individuals or the bank performed the office of broker.

If it be merely meant, that the bank could most readily make the transfers, we would ask, whether in the last war, the difficulty lay in *transferring* money or in *borrowing* it?

Suppose, however, that a special act of Congress were to authorize large or unlimited loans to the Government on the part of the bank. Compliance would, probably, not be refused; but it would require one of two things. First; regular discount-

ing must be suspended, and the capital of the bank be loaned to Government. This would put an end to all banking operations, for which the control of the capital is essential. Or, secondly; (and it is the course to which every National Bank in every large country on the face of the globe has ultimately been driven,) discounts to individuals would be continued as before; and thus the large loans to Government would compel the bank to stop specie payments. The bank having thus destroyed its own credit for the accommodation of Government, would appeal for its security to the power which had driven it into the difficulty; and that power could not but hold out the strong ægis of its protection to shield it.

It is not desirable, that an administration should be furnished with extraordinary facilities and consequent temptations for involving the country in debt. It should possess no resources but what it derives from the wisdom of its own measures, and the patriotism and confidence of the country. It should be provided with no extensive credit, which would be less suited to benefit a wise government, than to nourish the supineness of irresolution and increase the dangers to be apprehended from a want of forecast, a precipitate indiscretion, protracted preparation or vacillating purposes. An increase of credit to the national authorities, beyond the resources which they find within themselves, is not desirable. Neither do we believe it virtually possible. Should the credit of the General Government, instead of remaining self-sustained, lose its balance and reel on its strong foundations, the support of the United States' Bank, the creature of that Government, a corporation existing under its acts, could not sustain the tottering fabric or avert the threatened fall. It is the credit of the administration, which must open the coffers of the wealthy; it is that credit, which must give efficacy to the patriotism of the strong and the brave. The vessel of state, when the storm is high and the waves roll in unimpeded fury, must be held fast at its moorings, not by favors, purchased or begged from a privileged company, but by the decided will and united energy of the nation. Who would wish that it should be otherwise?

We have thus endeavored to show the errors in theory and in history, consequent on a failure to distinguish between coin and bank bills, the standard of value and the common currency, the sovereign exclusive right of stamping metals for money, and the system of banks as it has grown up in the Union. The ex-

pediency of renewing the charter of the present National Bank has not been brought into discussion. On this question our opinion is decidedly in the affirmative; and we propose in a future paper to assign the reasons which lead us to that conclusion.

ART. III.—*Address to the Community on the Necessity of legalizing the Study of Anatomy. By order of the Massachusetts Medical Society.* Boston. Perkins & Marvin. 1829.

The age in which we live is pre-eminently distinguished by its zeal for the advancement of human knowledge. Every day furnishes new proof of this, in the publications that are sent forth, and the facilities that are devised to promote this great object. Our own country partakes deeply of this spirit, and everywhere throughout our extended regions, vast efforts are making to diffuse the means of education and improvement among all classes of society.

We had hoped, that with the general advance of knowledge, more liberal views would have prevailed in relation to the science of Anatomy; that this study would no longer be proscribed, nor its students compelled to pursue it in defiance of the law of the land. It is hardly credible, that in our own Commonwealth, which has certainly ever taken a deep interest in the cause of good learning, it should have been thought necessary to endeavor to prevent the practice of dissection. Yet it is true, that within a few years our legislators have passed an act, which inflicts a severe punishment, not only on those who violate the sepulchres of the dead, but also on those, in whose possession any body which has been disinterred may be found, giving the court a power to imprison such persons or fine them 'not more than one thousand dollars.' And this law is passed, as if to make the thing more objectionable, at a time when it is well known that heavy damages may be obtained in any court of law from practitioners of medicine in cases of mistake or error arising from ignorance of anatomy. Will it be believed too, that recently, when some attempt was made in our Legislature to mitigate the severity of the law, the proposition was hardly listened to with decency, members seemed anxious to outdo each other in expressions of abhorrence, and the bill was not even allowed a second reading?

Undignified, to use no harsher term, as these proceedings certainly were, they did much to aid the object they were in-

tended to frustrate. They called the attention of those to the subject, who were best qualified by their pursuits and occupations, to enlighten the public mind. At the first meeting of the Counsellors of the Massachusetts Medical Society after the occurrence in the Legislature above alluded to, it was voted, that a committee be appointed to prepare a petition to the Legislature 'to modify the existing laws which now operate to prohibit the procuring of subjects for anatomical dissection, and to report the same for the consideration of the Society at their annual meeting in June.' This vote was passed in February, 1829.

At the meeting of the Society in June following, which was fully attended by physicians from all parts of the Commonwealth, the committee reported, that though they had prepared a petition in conformity with their instructions, it was not expedient in their opinion to offer it at present; but they recommended that the subject be referred to a large committee, whose object should be to prepare the public mind for the adoption of such measures, as the wants of science and humanity imperiously demanded. In the discussion which took place on this occasion, it was urged on all sides that the time had arrived, when it had become necessary for medical men to speak plainly on the subject, and to throw aside the caution and reserve which they had hitherto maintained in relation to the importance of dissection.

A committee of nine was then unanimously chosen, with directions to report to the Counsellors in October. This committee without delay issued a circular letter to the Fellows of the Society, pointing out the topics on which they intended to urge their views, and asking for any information or suggestions that might aid them in advancing the objects proposed. At the Counsellors' meeting in October, they were requested to continue their attention to the subject, and at the same time were authorized to make expenditures to a certain limited amount. In consequence of this, they published the address, the title of which is prefixed to this article. It was widely circulated in its original form, and having been copied into many of the newspapers of the day, it has gone into almost every family in our community, and has been extensively read. It is unnecessary therefore for us to make any extracts from it. It is a plain, unpretending and judicious appeal to the common sense of its readers, and abounds with facts and statements, within

the comprehension of all, which place in a strong light the necessity of anatomical knowledge. It has made a deep impression on the thinking part of society, and with the other means that have been employed, it has for the time wrought a marvellous change in public opinion.

Shortly after its publication, a member of the Massachusetts House of Representatives moved, that the committee on the Judiciary be instructed 'to inquire whether it is expedient to make any further provision by law for protecting the sepulchres of the dead,' and in consequence of this, the committee, in February, 1830, made a very full and satisfactory report; stating the inconveniences under which medical men now labor with respect to the acquisition of anatomical knowledge, its vast importance to society, and the necessity of adopting some measures to legalize dissection. Though no definite plan was recommended, the whole tone of the report was liberal, and showed that a great change in public sentiment must have been produced on this subject within a year.

Some idea of the extent of this change may be formed from the fact, that in the winter of 1829, the proposition to mitigate the severity of the law against those who were engaged in dissection, was driven almost by acclamation from the Legislature; and in June, 1830, the Governor, with an honorable independence that has marked the whole course of his administration, in his message to the two Houses, brought the subject before them in a very forcible manner, and that part of his message was referred to a joint committee of the Senate and House.

A few days after this, the annual meeting of the Massachusetts Medical Society took place, when resolutions were adopted, in which the course taken by the Governor was noticed with great respect, and the Counsellors were instructed 'to adopt such measures as they may deem proper and expedient to accomplish the wishes of the Society.' In consequence of these resolutions, a new committee was appointed by the Council, with full power to act in behalf of the Society, and a further expenditure was authorized, if deemed necessary, to aid the object. And this is the present state of the business.

We have been thus particular in our account of the proceedings that have been adopted in relation to this affair, because we deem them honorable to all parties; highly so to those who have been instrumental in calling the public attention to the

subject, and not less so to the community, who have shown a disposition to examine with impartiality a subject, which is so often viewed with jealousy and distrust. We have taken pleasure too in recounting what has been done, because it augurs so well for the future. It shows how much may be accomplished by the united efforts of a few, when ardently engaged in the promotion of a praiseworthy object, and that the most deeply rooted prejudices will yield, when assailed by no other weapons than those of truth. The change in public sentiment, with regard to dissection, is indeed encouraging, and if similar efforts are perseveringly made, we have a right to hope, that every thing will soon be accomplished, that the friends of science and humanity could wish.

It is conceded now, we believe, on all hands, that a knowledge of anatomy, such as can only be obtained by dissection, is essential to the education of every physician as well as surgeon; we mean every one who hopes to practise his profession with comfort to himself, and with safety and advantage to his patients. To those who are conversant with the subject, it is well known, that more and greater improvements have been made in surgery in the last half century, than in any two centuries that preceded it, and we hazard nothing in saying, that these may all be traced to the minute and thorough acquaintance with anatomy possessed by those who made them. We will for a moment call the attention of our readers to one topic, calculated in our opinion to illustrate our remarks. We allude to the disease known by the name of aneurism. This consists in an enlargement or rupture of one or more of the coats of an artery, which is the name of the vessels, through which the blood is conveyed from the heart to the various parts of the body. A pulsating tumor appears in the course of one of these vessels, producing great disturbance oftentimes in the circulating system, and steadily increasing in size. If nothing be done to remove it, a sudden rupture takes place, and if the vessel be an important one, the patient instantly dies. In former times, when the disease appeared in the extremities, the only certain mode of relief consisted in amputating the limb; but the tumor was often too high up, or it appeared in the neck, or in some other part, where no such operation could be performed. In these cases therefore the miserable victim was left to his fate, anxiously dreading the moment, which he knew must soon arrive and instantly terminate his existence. How

different is the case at the present day! A patient presents himself to a surgeon with a large, pulsating tumor at the angle of the jaw; he complains of the great distress which it produces, the vertigo and other affections of the brain, and describes it as increasing daily, perhaps with rapidity, and bringing with its growth an increase of suffering. He is told that he may be relieved, probably cured, by an operation of a very delicate nature, but safe in skilful hands, and attended with but little severe suffering. He submits. An incision is made in the neck, the artery is laid bare below the tumor, a string is passed around it and tightly tied, and the supply of blood being thus cut off from the tumor, its growth is instantly stopped, absorption soon takes place, and a radical cure is effected. Now this operation,—one of the greatest triumphs of modern science,—could never have been devised, and successfully performed, without long, laborious and minute dissection. It was in the first place to be ascertained, how those parts were to be nourished, which were supplied with blood by the vessel that was to be tied; and having ascertained this, the operator was next to prepare himself for the operation, by repeatedly and carefully dissecting every thing that has any immediate relation with the point on which he was to operate; for there is but a hair's-breadth between the vessel he wishes to tie and other parts, which if tied or wounded would produce instant death.

It may perhaps be said that we are now acquainted with the fact, that a vessel may be tied without producing the death of the parts which it furnishes with blood, and therefore that there is no further occasion for dissection on this account. This is true, but this fact never could have been ascertained without dissection in the first instance, nor without it can we with safety perform the operation now.

But there are other points of nearly, perhaps quite, equal importance that remain to be ascertained, and which never can be ascertained without actual dissection. We refer particularly to the functions of the nerves and the agents of absorption. The light shed upon the former by the labors of Mr. Charles Bell is in the highest degree encouraging, and it may be confidently hoped that discoveries, not only valuable in physiology, but tending to the alleviation of human suffering, may ere long be made.

We think it unnecessary, however, to press these topics, though we might easily multiply illustrations from the practice

of medicine as well as that of surgery, quite as forcible as the one we have given; but we deem it superfluous, and shall consider it as admitted, that anatomical knowledge is essential for medical men, and proceed to inquire how they are to be furnished with the means of acquiring this knowledge.

The subject is an embarrassing one, and while we feel it to be our duty to urge the adoption of measures for the removal of the difficulties that stand in the way of dissection, we are at the same time aware, that this should be done with caution and a proper regard to popular prejudice. We have a great respect for the common feeling in relation to the dead; it is associated with some of the purest and best sentiments of our nature, and we trust that nothing will be done, that is calculated in the least degree to destroy or impair it. But no one will pretend, that the dead can be injured by dissection; reason and revelation forbid us to suppose it. It is in relation only to the survivors, that the question is to be considered. In any measure, therefore, that may be adopted, care should be taken that these be treated with a sacred regard, nor do we see any thing inconsistent with this, in the plan that has been suggested by the Medical Society.

There is no greater mistake, and none at the same time more common, than that physicians have a particular interest in this question; and hence it has often been said, that they are bound to set a good example, and direct that their bodies should be dissected after death. In fact, if we may credit the accounts contained in some of the foreign journals, not a few medical men in Dublin have so far yielded to this popular notion, as to agree that this disposition shall be made of their bodies at their decease. But medical men can derive no more advantage from an improved state of anatomical knowledge than the rest of the community; and, therefore, if it be a hardship, there would be no more reason why they should yield their bodies for dissection than any other individuals. There is, however, a stronger ground than this, and that is, the injury that would be done to the feelings of the living. We presume that there are few, if any physicians, who would object to having their bodies dissected after death; but they would be unwilling to have it known during their lives that this was to take place, as it might prove a source of great distress to their friends, and if it were not known, no benefit could be derived from the example. The body of no individual should be dis-

sected, when the circumstance would give pain to any survivors. And this is one reason why the bodies of convicts should not, as a thing of course, be yielded up for dissection; many of them have friends, who have already suffered too much during their lives, without having their feelings lacerated at their death. Besides, it is desirable not to attach an odium to dissection, and make it appear as if it were a part of the punishment of the crime of the individual.

We are aware of the difficulty of adopting any course that will meet the wants of science, without coming in collision with the popular feeling. It is a subject of extreme delicacy, and should be approached with caution. Great allowance must be made for the almost instinctive horror which is entertained by nearly every individual in relation to dissection, and every thing should be studiously avoided that is calculated even remotely to increase this horror. Mankind are so excitable on this subject, that they suffer themselves to be governed rather by impulse than reason, and though this is to be lamented, the fact must not be overlooked.

The plan that seems to us to be the most unexceptionable, for there is none to which some objection may not be made, is to grant authority to the municipal officers of the towns and cities of the Commonwealth, to deliver up at their discretion to such regular practitioners of medicine and surgery, as may appear to them to be suitable persons, the bodies of such paupers, as may die and require interment at the public expense. This, however, shall in no instance be done, if any relative shall appear and request that the body may not be given up for dissection, or if any friend come forward and offer to defray the expenses of interment. We are aware that objections are made to this, and it is said, that the inevitable sufferings of the poor are sufficient already, and that we have no right to increase them by providing for the dissection of their bodies at their death; for it is presumed that the idea that this is to take place, would be a cause of great distress to most of them. In reply it may be urged, that in our country few will become so poor as to depend on the public bounty, who do not bring their poverty on themselves by their vices; and that we have as much right to dispose of their bodies at their decease, as we have to determine how they shall be provided for while living; as that, for example, they shall live in buildings of a particular description, be furnished with brown bread instead

of white, and sleep on straw instead of feathers. Besides, it should be considered, that there are not many who are so friendless as to have no one who would appear to prevent the dissection of their bodies, if they should entertain any peculiar horror on the subject; and with regard to those who are so destitute of friends it is better, perhaps, that they should have a little mental suffering, than that the cause of knowledge and the best interests of mankind should be retarded.

We do not believe, however, that if the system proposed shall go into operation, it will be productive of much distress of mind to the inmates of our poor-houses or to the paupers that may be supported out of them. It is obvious that the bodies of all such persons would not be wanted at every season of the year, and for six months at least in each year, the business of dissection must be entirely suspended. No one, therefore, could feel certain that such a disposition was to be made of his body at death, and the very uncertainty would be sufficient to lessen the dread that he might otherwise entertain in relation to it. And in those cases, too, where there was a deep-rooted aversion to this disposition of the body, an application to the municipal authorities would no doubt in every instance be sufficient to prevent it. In France, a system somewhat similar though much more rigorous prevails; there, the bodies of all who die in the hospitals as well as the poor-houses, are sent to the public dissecting-rooms, unless individuals come forward and inter them at their own expense; and yet no inconvenience has been experienced from it in that country; individuals are found as ready to enter the various establishments for the relief of the sick and poor there as elsewhere.

We really think that there is a morbid sensibility on this point that ought not to stand in the way of a great public improvement. There are some who can feel very keenly for those who have a dread of dissection, but have no sympathy for another class of sufferers, who are laboring under diseases of the most agonizing kind, the cure of which can only be accomplished by an improved state of anatomical knowledge.

It is very clear, that if some provision be not made to furnish subjects, violations of the grave will continue to occur, and whenever a single instance of this kind is discovered, as must undoubtedly sometimes be the case, the feelings of the whole community will be more outraged, than they could be under the system proposed in half a century. At present too, the

hazard attending these violations is so great, that only desperate and hardened individuals will engage in the business, and such persons are not very scrupulous as to whose sepulchres they violate; so that no one, under the existing state of things, can feel certain that the remains of his dearest friend may not be disturbed. So great is the risk in obtaining subjects, that the supply is not equal to the demand, and the price is consequently so exorbitant, as to place them in a great measure beyond the reach of students of moderate means.

This operates very injuriously on the middling classes of society, either by preventing them altogether from educating their children to the profession of medicine, or by putting it out of their power, if they do so educate them, to give them the facilities which are almost indispensable to success. To the rich, this is comparatively of but little importance. Their sons can seek in other states and countries, where a more liberal policy prevails, the opportunities that are denied them at home, and they thus have it in their power to obtain a rank in their profession at the outset of their career, which hardly any thing else can give them. If this system of prohibiting dissection is to be persisted in, no physician or surgeon should be held accountable at law for any error arising from ignorance of anatomy. But we hope for better things. We will not allow ourselves to doubt, that every thing which should be done, will ere long be accomplished. A great change in public sentiment has already taken place, and the great mass of the community will soon understand that they, and they only, will derive benefit from the contemplated measure. We repeat, that the members of the medical profession have no particular interest in it; if it should be adopted, more will be expected of them, and their labors will be immensely increased without any increase of compensation. It is absurd to suppose that they can have any sinister motive for the efforts they are making; it is impossible that any thing but a love of science, a desire to advance the cause of humanity, or an honorable ambition for professional renown, could induce them to engage in so loathsome an occupation as that of dissection.

It cannot be too often repeated nor too much insisted on, that it is the great mass of the people who are to be benefitted by giving facilities for acquiring anatomical knowledge, and thus raising the standard of medical education. The rich can command the highest professional attainments wherever they are to be

found; but the man of moderate means must content himself with such as are within his reach. It is obviously for his interest, therefore, that all the professors of the healing art should be skilful and well-instructed; and this cannot be the case under the present system.

Whatever may be the result of the measures now in progress, they cannot fail to be productive of good from the discussion that has been elicited; and the Fellows of the Massachusetts Medical Society will be entitled to the gratitude of the friends of learning, for the active part they have taken in promoting them. It is creditable to them to have led the way in recommending a system, which could not fail at first to be viewed with jealousy and distrust; and it is to their honor that they have not been deterred from pursuing it by the fear of the obloquy and reproach, to which they might subject themselves. They must have known before taking a step in the business, that their motives would be assailed by those who were hostile to the measure they advised; and we respect them the more, because disregarding all narrow and selfish considerations, they were willing to step aside from their ordinary course, and urge upon the community the adoption of a system, which, however excellent it may be in itself, might in the first instance make its advocates obnoxious. Of their ultimate success, we will not allow ourselves to doubt.

Art. IV.—*Clarence. A Tale of Our Own Times.* By the Author of Redwood. 2 vols. 12mo. Carey & Lea. Philadelphia. 1830.

This work is perhaps not so finished as Redwood, and there is certainly nothing in it which displays so much genius as the character of Aunt Debby in that novel. But we have read it with more interest than any of its predecessors; and the lively and spirited sketches of artificial life and manners in it, will, we think, make it more entertaining to the generality of readers. It has all the fine qualities of head and heart which have so favorably recommended the former works of the fair author; the same pure style, the same elevated tone of morality, the same rare observation and exquisite tact, and the same healthful feeling and warm affections. We have placed the title of this book at the head of our article with the honest purpose of reviewing it, and not of writing an essay upon novels in general. Success-

ful authorship confers a distinction, which must not pass unacknowledged, even in this land of business and politics. It is a duty we owe to ourselves and our literature, to examine the claims of our countrywoman to the high reputation she enjoys; and though our estimate is formed, of course, from a perusal of all her works, yet had she written nothing but Clarence, she would amply deserve all our praises.

We know of nothing for which she is more remarkable, than her nice and discriminating habits of observation, and that fine tact, which with the directness of instinct, seizes upon what is important for the description of men and things, and rejects what is superfluous. She has an 'eye practised like a blind man's touch,' and she can distinguish instantly those minute shades which are so imperceptibly blended in nature as to seem but one color to common observers. Her pictures of natural scenery are drawn with the distinct pencil of Cowper, and they rise up and appear to the eye as we read, without any effort of our own to give them shape and presence. Almost every page of Redwood and Hope Leslie will confirm our remarks, and amidst the multitude of admirable descriptions, we are puzzled to select any one. It is no very easy matter, for instance, to describe a country-seat, though it may seem to be so at first; yet how perfectly has she succeeded in delineating the mansion of Mr. Clarence. We have no confused images of lawns, forest, and shrubbery, but every thing is distinct and defined, and we have no doubt, that if ten or twelve artists were employed each, to make a picture of the scene, their sketches would differ very little. The same remark will apply to her descriptions of artificial life and manners;—such as her account of the Shaker establishment in Redwood, and the picture in the second volume of Clarence, of the tone, dress, and conversation of the fashionable society of New-York. She is evidently more acquainted with men than books, and has sought truth in the 'light of things,' and not in the 'still air of delightful studies;' and her resources are in the highest degree available, for she has collected their very materials herself. She has kept an observant eye on the masques that make up the world's motley pageant, and drawn thence a living wisdom, far higher than the cold forms of mere learning. She has noted the looks and tones of men, the manner in which they are affected by events, the way in which differing characters display themselves, the things in which all men are alike, and those in which they are most

dissimilar. We are disposed to think more highly of this habit of discriminating observation, as a means of intellectual developement, than most persons. He who goes about among men with his eyes open, will learn something better than the lore that is hidden in books. This is a thing in which women excel men; it is a merit almost peculiar to female writers. Hence arises the perfect keeping observable in our author's pictures of still life, and the consistency and individuality of her characters, who are always one and the same in their conversation, their letters, and their actions.

She writes English with uncommon elegance and purity; no small merit in these days of extravagance and caricature, when foamy declamation is called strength, and calmness is another name for feebleness. She has the rare merit of never being common-place, and if she has occasion to express a familiar thought, she contrives by some graceful turn or happy allusion, to give it the air and gloss of novelty. She never descends to that vulgar artifice of dressing up little or old ideas in language so ambitious, that we imagine for a moment that we have something very new and fine, till a second glance shews us that all is but varnish and gilding. Her style is perfectly feminine, full of a certain indescribable gracefulness and ease, arising from a fine perception of beauty and an inborn delicacy of taste, which seem always to select the best words, and to put them in their right places. The letters in Clarence, we think, are very fine specimens of epistolary style, easy, graceful, and spirited, equally remote from formal stiffness and slipshod carelessness. Almost the only fault of style we have noticed, is an occasional diffuseness, the easily besetting sin of female writers.

We trust that we may be allowed to speak of another winning charm in these novels, arising not so much from the mind as the moral character of the author. We mean the impress everywhere discoverable, of an unaffected goodness of heart, and a warmth of affection which folds in its embrace every thing that lives. As John Paul has somewhere said, she loves God and every little child. Her sympathies are ready and active, and called forth by every shape of distress, and she never turns aside from suffering virtue, however repulsive the garb it may wear. There is a beautiful tenderness and sensibility breathing out from her writings, like the fragrance from a rose. She delights to accumulate images of peace and happiness and sun-

shine, to describe all that is noble in man and attractive in woman—the virtue that exalts, the struggle that purifies, the trial that calls forth a seraph's energies, and the sweet affections that strew with flowers life's dusty highway. She does not know how to draw a villain; she has no idea of the spasms and convulsions of the mind, around which guilt and remorse have thrown their serpent-folds. Man in the pride of his imperial beauty, full of truth, and honor and grace, with high thoughts and generous affections, with reason sitting on his brow, and the pulse of joy in his veins,—woman, with her veil of gentle loveliness, her lily-like purity, her loving and trusting heart,—the light of friendship, the soul-exchanging glance of love,—these are the themes which call forth her finest powers, and it is in the delineation of these only, that her genius appears in its proper element. Her descriptions of childhood are full of the dewy freshness of life's morning hour. In this respect we know of no one who equals her, no one who draws in colors so speaking the image of a beautiful and happy child, with his heart of gladness and voice of silver-toned glee, his brave spirit, his frolic blood, and his winning tricks. Years have not brought to her that cold philosophy which looks with a loveless eye upon life in its silken bud, which recalls with no kindly thrill the days when the world was a garden, and the air a rainbow, when the hours brought roses in their hands, and the wings of time made music as they moved. There is a beauty and a mystery in childhood, and the wisest may learn a lesson from the young pilgrim of life, who bears yet fresh about him the brightness of the Spirit-land, which he has so lately left.

> 'Not in forgetfulness,
> And not in utter nakedness,
> But trailing clouds of glory do we come
> From God, who is our home.'

The love of nature, and a familiar acquaintance with the changeful expressions of the 'mighty mother's' countenance, are among the fine gifts of the author of Clarence. Her descriptions of scenery in the western part of Massachusetts in her New-England Tale, and in Redwood, may challenge a comparison with any in the language. She does not merely draw the features of a landscape, but she gives you the expression, and transfuses into her pages the spirit that hangs over it, like an atmosphere. She looks upon the outward world in the vein of the melancholy Jaques, translating its silence into

thoughts and images; but she draws thence the elements of a far more cheerful philosophy. She learns wisdom from the cups of flowers, and the whisper of the pine conveys to her a lesson of truth. Every leaf is pregnant with instruction, and every stream teaches as it brawls. The forms of nature have stamped their own likeness upon the soul of their worshipper, and every mute image without has given birth to a correlative idea within, united by a mysterious affinity, which all may feel, but none can define. In her graphic descriptions of natural scenery, there is no small portion of the fine philosophy of Wordsworth, which regards the fair forms of the outward world as the instruments of a spiritual influence upon the mind of man, as the varied stops through which the myriad tones of a universal harmony are breathed. Woods and mountains are not only enjoyed, but felt and understood,—they are as the face of a long-tried and never-failing friend. This sensibility to natural beauty exerts a most expanding and elevating power upon the spirit of man, and when it is united with that gifted eye, which can read the letters of power and love written all over this goodly universe, nothing short of religion is capable of exerting a more holy ministration.

But more than all the rest, the author of Clarence has that high and pure tone of moral and religious feeling, without which genius is a fatal curse, and fine powers are destructive in the exact ratio of their splendor and superiority. She never makes vice interesting or virtue repulsive; but paints each in its true colors, so that the mind obeying its natural instinct is enamored of the one and abhors the other. She draws no beings, half-gods and half-fiends, with a veil of splendid and romantic qualities, covering but not hiding the darkest and foulest traits of character, and constraining us to admire the actor, though we detest the guilt. She never makes merit ludicrous or contemptible, by connecting it with those low or ridiculous qualities, which are offensive to our taste; or vice attractive by a graceful garb, which engages our interest, though we feel angry with ourselves for permitting it to do so. She never relates a deed of villainy in that cool way, which makes us feel some doubt, whether the author do not rather admire than otherwise, what he treats so much as a matter of course. She does not look only among the cultivated and the intellectual for fine traits of humanity, nor shrink with sickly fastidiousness from virtue in humble life. The same Being who gave the lily its

exceeding beauty, and painted the enamelled cheek of the tulip, planted also the wild rose by the way-side, and scattered the seeds of the violet in a thousand fields; and He has shown the same equal benevolence in the human soul, His noblest work. He has caused beautiful affections and high virtues to take root in the heart, and they breathe the fragrance and bear the fruits of good works as often in the peasant as in the prince. The incense of love, and faith, and honor, ascends from the lowliest farm-house no less than the proudest palace. Our author, as we have said before, has been a keen observer of life and manners, and in accordance with the noble sentiment of Terence, has felt herself interested in whatever relates to humanity, and has learned to contemplate man as one of a species, separate from all adventitious distinctions. We regard her sketches of humble life as among the most felicitous portions of her works; strong, but not coarse, and full of sense, feeling, truth, and the nicest observation, reminding us in this last particular, of the minute accuracy of one of Wilkie's inimitable pictures. She depends for the interest of her stories rather upon the lowly and unobtrusive virtues, which are felt in the hours and minutes of life, gentle firmness, noiseless benevolence, and modest self-respect, than upon the more dazzling qualities, which can seldom be displayed in the common run of events, and if often exerted, give to the character an air of theatrical affectation. This healthiness of moral feeling gives to her works that kind of charm, which an amiable expression gives to a fine countenance, heightening the beauty of every agreeable feature, and making us overlook those which nature has less carefully moulded. We feel that we can cordially admire with a good conscience. No shadow of pity or regret for powers misapplied glides by to break the spell that charms us. We have no sublime free-thinkers, who boldly attack every thing that man holds sacred, no selfish misanthropes, who dare to hate the creatures God has made, no elegant ruffians rewarded with a fortune and a mistress instead of a halter, but the good man is honored and the villain punished. Our author never separates the tie that unites virtue and happiness, vice and misery, which succeed each other as invariably as thunder follows lightning or as spring comes after winter. But she deserves more than the praise which a virtuous heathen might have won; she has told us of the beauty and excellency of religion, and spoken to us in the name of

Jesus of Nazareth. We venture to say, that there are few books which make better Sunday reading than hers. Her religion is no stern-eyed Moloch, with brow of gloom and voice of denunciation,—it requires the sacrifice of no natural affections, and frowns upon no innocent pleasures. It is a beautiful and gentle spirit, mingling with the every-day concerns of life, giving new charms to joy, and a touching grace to the wan countenance of sorrow, 'gilding with heavenly alchemy' feelings whose home and birth-place is earth, brightening the golden links of the chain that binds man to his brother man, wafting to our senses the ambrosial airs of Paradise, and scattering gleams from a land of enduring brightness over the dark places of our mortal pilgrimage. The Spirit she worships is a spirit of love, heard in the still small voice as well as in the whirlwind and the thunder, and seen in the rainbow and the dew-drop as well as in the lightning and the cataract, whose temple is nature, for whom the stars burn incense and the sleepless ocean murmurs deep applause, who binds up the wounds of a broken heart, and guides the water-fowl to his reed-sheltered nest. She does not fall into that fatally common fault, of flattering human vanity by representing the mind as able to do every thing of itself, to fight down all opposition, to keep a well-poised equilibrium in all situations by its own unaided energies, and to climb to the highest sphere of virtue alone and unguided. It may seem negative praise to say of a book that its moral tendency is good; but we conceive that a writer who devotes his powers to the cause of virtue, is worthy of praise in exactly the same degree as he is worthy of censure, who prostitutes them to the service of vice and licentiousness. A single great genius without moral feeling, is a greater curse to a generation than a pestilence or a famine. The amount of physical evil may be calculated, and the effect may be removed by discovering the cause; but no one may compute the mischief produced by one who corrupts the issues of life and poisons the fountain whence principles flow, and no one can check or stay it. We have had the misfortune to live in the same age with more than one writer, who has profaned the pure flame of genius by mingling it with strange fire, and who has employed the powers that might have won a Sybarite to put off his sensual slough, in lending new decorations to the form of sin and a more seductive tone to the syren voice of pleasure. We have been told, that the mill-

horse regularity of virtue was fit only for the dull and lazy-blooded, whose thoughts never aspired above the clods of the valley; but that the spirits whose finer clay was warmed by a more etherial fire, could dwell only in the intoxicating atmosphere of excitement, and see happiness only in the sparkle of the wine-cup, the wild extravagance of riot, the daring license of mirth, the flush of revelry, and the delirium of unlawful pleasure. We owe to all those who endeavor to purge the abused sight of the nations, and call back the muses and the graces to the bowers of innocence and truth, a debt of gratitude which is great in proportion to the genius and zeal they have displayed; and among the champions of the good cause, who are yet true to God and virtue, the author of Clarence deserves an elevated rank.

Clarence is a tale of our own times, descriptive of the manners of the present day and of this country. An author who delineates events among which the reader himself might, without any violation of probability, have been an actor, has much to struggle against, and yet something to favor him; and perhaps it would be difficult to say which side of the balance preponderates. The spirit of sympathy makes us feel a keener interest in the adventures of characters who wear the same dress, dwell in the same land, speak the same language and are interested in the same subjects as ourselves—while on the other hand, the matter-of-fact air and garb of sober reality which the world now-a-days wears, precludes the possibility of romantic delusion; and the creative power is both limited in its materials and checked by severe laws in the employment of them. As in the dusk of the evening the imagination converts a finger-post into an apparition and invests a farm-house with the shadowy gloom of a castle, so the twilight of tradition softens the outlines of things and blurs our conceptions of their forms and colors; till the highwayman may assume the port and dignity of a hero, and a petty skirmish be regarded with as much interest, as a battle which decides the fate of the world. The story of Clarence is a complicated one, with a good deal of intrigue, a rapid succession of adventures and of deep-laid plans, baffled by more ingenious counter-manœuvres. We have two pairs of lovers, one or two villains, a heartless woman of the world and a host of inferior characters, more or less subservient to the disentanglement of the plot, or rather plots. We do not intend to give a detailed analysis of the story; for

to those who have read the book it is unnecessary, and those who have not can form no idea of it from a meagre outline. We have always thought it unjust to an author, to distil two volumes into as many pages of a review; for in modern novels the story holds so subordinate a rank, that when stripped and presented alone it no more represents the book, than a bony skeleton does a body in the bloom and vigor of health. In this work too we have not one continuous adventure, to the winding up of which every incident directly or indirectly tends; but two or three distinct actions closely woven together, and no one sufficiently prominent to be considered as the main plot. But as we intend to offer a few strictures upon some portions of the story, we will give a rapid sketch of it, and speak more at large upon some particular parts.

The scene opens upon us in the throng and bustle of a crowded city. Among the gay groups which fill the streets, our attention is directed to a melancholy old man, whose slow pace and abstracted air present a striking contrast to the life and animation around him. An accident makes him acquainted with a fine high-spirited boy, whose noble bearing and engaging manners call into life the kind affections which misfortune had not entirely extinguished. They become friends; and nothing can be more beautifully described than the reciprocal affection of these two beings, the one at the very starting-post of life and the other hard by its goal. It is a group of youth and age, with the figure of love between. But we were not a little startled when we discovered that this old man and child thus thrown together by chance, stand to each other in the relation of grandfather and grand-child, and the discovery is effected by a combination of rather improbable events, which it is unnecessary to detail here. By the merest accident in the world, little Frank Carroll (the boy) persuades his father to have this mysterious old gentleman conveyed to his own dwelling instead of the almshouse, during a sudden illness occasioned, as we afterwards learn, by his overwhelming joy in learning that he was no longer childless, and that his long-lost son was no other than the father of the child whose loveliness and active kindness had opened anew the sealed fountains of his heart. Here an explanation takes place. Mr. Carroll is informed that he is the son of the stranger he had befriended, and an heir to his immense wealth; and that his real name is Clarence. Mr. Clarence senior dies soon after making this disclosure. As might be

expected in so enterprising a country as ours, Mr. Clarence is not allowed to enjoy the property of his father so singularly acquired without a law-suit; which, at a time when success seems hopeless, is decided in his favor by the interference of Gerald Roscoe, the hero of the story. But the tidings of his unexpected good fortune fall unheeded upon his ear. They come upon him at a time when wealth seems more worthless than chaff; he holds in his arms his dying child, and the agony of his grief is deepened by the reflection that the all-absorbing business of the law-suit had prevented his attending to his illness till it was too late. Poor little Frank—he had entirely won our heart by his charming qualities; and we parted from him with as much regret as if he had been one of our own acquaintances. We are sorry that the author should have thought it necessary to kill him, and hardly know why she did it, unless, as we have heard it suggested, she feared that he would eclipse not only his sister, the future heroine, but all the other characters in the book.

An interval of some years is supposed to elapse, ere the narrative is resumed. We are then introduced into the house of Mrs. Roscoe, who has been left almost destitute by the death of her husband, after enjoying for a long time the elegances of wealth, but who possesses in her son a treasure which makes her look with indifference upon her change of circumstances. Nothing can be finer than the conversation between the mother and son, in which the characters of the feminine and gentle matron and the high-spirited and chivalrous young man are delightfully contrasted—the unmingled love and confidence of the one, with the tender, respectful deference of the other—and we are readily convinced, that nothing can disturb the happiness which is based upon virtue and the affections. They are interrupted by Mr. Stephen Morley in a scene full of truth, shrewdness and comic nature.

It is not until now that the plot of the novel properly begins. The scene is transferred to the country-house of Mr. Clarence, who is a good deal altered from Mr. Carroll, not by the possession of wealth, (for he is neither a weak nor a vulgar person) but by grief for the loss of his son. A number of new characters are introduced, and among them the daughter of the host, Miss Gertrude Clarence, the heroine; who had been mentioned once or twice in the early part of the narrative, but hardly noticed, so much was she thrown into the shade by her more brilliant brother.

She does not take us by storm, but gains upon us in every page, her fine qualities lying too deep to be discovered at once. We have also Mrs. Layton, a woman of sensibility without feeling, and of cleverness without sense, her daughter Emilie, a perfect rose-bud of beauty and simplicity, of both of whom we shall say more hereafter, and Louis Seton, a young artist, full of the sensitiveness and shrinking timidity of genius, who teaches painting to Miss Clarence, and, as every young lady will guess, is in love with his fair pupil; besides many others who are merely introduced for the nonce, and have nothing to do with the main action of the story. After one or two very playful and animated scenes, in which some of the subordinate characters, and among others an English traveller, are hit off with great spirit, the interest is engrossed by the unhappy fortunes of Louis Seton, the young painter abovementioned, whose frame, weakened by the indulgence of a hopeless passion, and the self-tormenting fancies of dependent genius, is entirely overcome by the stinging mortification which he suffers upon Mr. Clarence's opening by mistake a letter written to him by a vulgar brother, in which his patron and his patron's daughter are spoken of in a tone of the most brutal coarseness. For the sake of his health the family make an excursion to Trenton Falls, whose magic scenery is described with great beauty and fidelity. Here some very extraordinary scenes take place. The hero and heroine encounter each other in a manner reminding one of the meeting of two persons in the night, one of whom has a dark lantern and the other not; for the lady learns the name of the gentleman, while he is not so fortunate, but remains for a long time ignorant who was the fair spirit whom he had seen for the first time in so romantic a situation; discovering thereby, in our opinion, a want of shrewdness very discreditable, if not to a hero, certainly to a man. Poor Seton finally becomes insane, disappears in a mysterious manner, and notwithstanding all efforts to trace him, remains undiscovered until a short time before death comes to relieve his gentle and sensitive spirit from all his real and imaginary woes.

In the second volume we are introduced into the gay world of New-York, and among the gilded swarm that enact the solemn farce of fashion; we breathe the scented air of drawing-rooms, our eyes are dazzled with the glare of candelabras, and our ears are familiar with the language of *persiflage*, and the shining counters that pass current in the *beau monde* for the sterling

coin of sense. Our author seizes and embodies with magic skill the fleeting colors and changing forms of fashionable society, and the tone and manner of those who regard life as one long drawing-room, of the heartless and fascinating woman of the world, full of sentiment and devoid of virtue, of the curled fop, whose soul seems lost in the folds of his cravat, of honest and respectable vulgarity and of worthless refinement. To the end of the work the purpose seems to be to prevent the marriage of Emilie Layton to Pedrillo, (the villain of the piece) a showy Spaniard, whose great wealth is a sufficient make-weight in the eyes of the unprincipled parents for the happiness of their child. This is effected by the liberality and zeal of the heroine, aided by Gerald Roscoe, who defeats a desperate attempt of Pedrillo to recover his mistress by open violence. Miss Clarence, during all her benevolent exertions for the sake of her friend, finds time to increase the favorable impression she had made upon Roscoe in her mysterious interview with him at Trenton Falls, though he does not find out till the last moment the name of his fair enslaver; and he a lawyer, strange to say. The story, if it ever spread much, must have been fatal to his rise at the bar. The novel ends with the suicide of Mr. Layton and Pedrillo, and the marriages of the hero and heroine, and of Emilie Layton and Mr. Randolph the true man.

Such is an imperfect outline of the story, stripped of all its episodes, and of the scenes, adventures, and relations more or less intimately connected with it. Our objections to it are grounded on the opinion that it is unnatural and improbable, and that the author has attempted to do what the highest genius could not accomplish, to give a highly romantic interest to events occurring in our own prosaic age and country. One thing does not follow another in the natural and easy order in which the real world goes on, but the changes are brought about by means not impossible to be sure, but such as would startle and astonish us in the highest degree, were we to see them really take place. The incidents by which the *denouement* is attained, depend often upon a succession of contingencies, any one of which would seem surprising, but whose coincidence falls hardly short of the miraculous. This is a violation of one of the essential laws of fiction; and there are some remarks of Professor Stewart on this subject, so much better than any thing that we can offer, that we trust we need present no apology for transcribing them. 'How many unexpected combinations of cir-

cumstances do we meet with, not only in history, but in the daily intercourse of society, which we should not hesitate to pronounce unnatural and improbable, if they occurred in a novel. In real life this very singularity amuses by the surprise it occasions, but in a professed work of imagination, the surprise offends us by suggesting doubts about the fidelity of the representation. In a work of imagination, besides, our pleasure arises in part from our admiration of the skill of the artist, and this is never so strongly displayed, as when extraordinary events are brought about by a series of ordinary and natural occurrences. An incident, on the other hand, out of the common course of human affairs, strikes us as a blemish, by seeming to betray a poverty of genius and invention in the author.'

Every reader of Clarence must have been struck with the violation of these just rules. Extraordinary events are continually brought about by extraordinary occurrences, and our surprise is continually called forth by the happening of incidents, which we did not expect even a page or two before. This, as a general rule, is a defect in a novel, though a merit in a drama. It is not impossible, for example, that an old man and a child should be attracted towards each other in the crowd of a populous city, and should form a devoted friendship; that the former should learn that he was the grandfather of his young favorite, and this too from the lips of the faithless wretch, to whom he had many years before intrusted his son and a part of his fortune, and who by successive changes had come to be his fellow-lodger in an obscure boarding-house in New-York: but surely all this is very improbable, and would have been regarded as miraculous, if it had really occurred. The events at Trenton Falls must, we fear, fall under the same censure. It is not a little singular, that all the principal personages should meet there by accident; and the moonlight scene is too much like one of Mrs. Radcliffe's wild creations, to seem in keeping with a 'tale of our own times,' and our own sternly matter-of-fact country. Would a lady of Miss Clarence's delicacy be likely to stroll out alone at midnight in search of the rapturous, like some love-lorn Rosa Matilda, and engage in conversation with a man to whom she was an utter stranger? How can we imagine that Louis Seton, dangerously ill, and an object of so much interest to a wealthy family, should be neglected to that degree that he could steal out from his room, and wander unobserved to the very brink of the cliff that overhangs the Fall?

And how could his delicate frame, weakened by illness, survive the exposure to the chill night-air, the plunge into the water, and above all the exhaustion of the nervous system by the frenzy of excitement into which he was thrown?

The relations too, under which Pedrillo is introduced to us, seem hardly consistent with probability. He is a dashing foreigner, whose home is that common-sewer of the nations, the Spanish West Indies, with the air of a voluptuary and an adventurer; precisely the sort of character to be regarded with the most suspicion by our shy and inquiring people, and to whom nothing short of the very strongest recommendations would have persuaded them to open their houses; and yet we find him the intimate friend of one of the most aristocratic families in New-York, and afterwards the affianced husband of the daughter —and such a daughter too—whose affections had been already given to a man every way worthy of her. It may be urged, that this is explained by the influence which his daring character had acquired over the timid and guilty Layton, but this is not the least unnatural part of the whole. That Layton's extravagance and love of dissipation should have driven him to the gaming-table, and that he should have attempted by unfair play to make his success certain, and should have been detected, we can easily imagine; but that he should have been so unmitigated a villain, so dead to human nature, as, for the sake of relieving himself from his embarrassments, to be willing to betray his first-born and favorite child into the hands of one whom he knew to be a monster of iniquity, supposes a degree of moral turpitude hardly conceivable, considering his education and rank in life. And the liberality of Mr. Clarence in disposing with a dash of his pen of sixty thousand dollars to second the generous zeal of his daughter, seems so quixotic and extravagant, that if it had occurred in real life, we fear the law would have extended its protecting arm to relieve him of the care of a fortune, which he lavished in so wild a manner. That the young lady, in the glow of enthusiastic attachment, should have thought all the money in the world mere chaff in comparison with the happiness of her friend, is not at all surprising; but that the father should have given up so large a sum to extricate a profligate and selfish man, who set a price on his child's head, from his self-caused difficulties, is a thing, we may safely say, which would never have occurred except in a novel. The means by which Gertrude Clarence

discovers the retreat of Louis Seton are extremely inartificial, and depend upon a succession of most improbable contingencies; but the last hours of this sensitive child of genius are described in a scene so full of touching, yet sublime beauty, that we quite forget, in our sympathy and admiration, the manner in which we were introduced into his sick chamber. If the author had never written any thing but this scene, she would have entitled herself to the gratitude of all those, who know how much the character may be purified by the fountains that flow from the heart; and we little envy the constitution of the man who can read it without emotion.

The *denouement* of a novel is the part which most severely tries an author's ingenuity; for it is very possible that a story may have been skilfully constructed to a certain point, and then be wound up in the most hurried and clumsy manner, reminding us of the placid flow of a river till it reaches a cliff, over which it throws itself in foam and thunder. And here we cannot congratulate our author upon her success. A most cumbrous mass of machinery is employed to disengage and bring to a point the tangled threads of her story; plot is set against plot, manœuvre put in opposition to manœuvre, and we are hurried on through so tortuous a maze of policy, that we involuntarily take a long breath by way of relief, when the ladies are finally restored to the arms of the true knights. The wretched Layton, having lost at the gaming-table the money given him for so sacred a purpose, and rendered half frantic by the threats of Pedrillo, who had his reputation in his power, consents to betray his daughter into the hands of the latter at a masquerade. Through two or three servants this plan comes to the ears of Gertrude Clarence, who (as woman's wit is always better than man's in matters of love and elopement) contrives, by dint of zeal, shrewdness and money, an ingenious counter-mine which is entirely successful; and Miss Layton flies with her lover from the guardianship of the parents, who had proved themselves so unworthy of their trust. While we are clapping our hands for joy and benevolently smiling on the sagacious Roscoe, who has at length discovered that his fair *incognita* is no other than the rich and famous Miss Clarence, our spirits are quite dashed again by the appearance of the formidable Pedrillo, who, on learning how he had been duped, sets out with a band of trusty desperadoes with the resolution of regaining his lost mistress by open force or perishing in the

attempt. But he is doomed to be again baffled, for Gerald Roscoe follows close upon his heels with a party, well armed and strong in the consciousness of a good cause. They all meet at an obscure inn, a *rencontre* takes place, which ends (of course) with the success of Roscoe and his followers, and the death of Pedrillo. Every one who has read the book, must have remarked in how unskilful a manner, and with what violations of probability this catastrophe is effected; but it is so satisfactory to our feelings, and the letters with which the work ends are so exactly what they ought to be, and leave the mind so full of images of peace and happiness, that we close the book with a glow of pleasure, unalloyed by the recollection of strange adventures and unnatural incidents.

The story, with all its faults, is eminently free from the unpardonable sin of dulness. It is, in fact, highly interesting, perhaps the more so from the romantic coloring thrown over it, and the occasional violations of strict probability. The variety of adventures, the rapid changes of scene, the succession of incidents, never permit the attention to flag for a moment; and though we are conducted to our journey's end by a circuitous route, it is one 'so green and so full of goodly prospects on every side,' that we quite forget our fatigue in the pleasant scenes that open around us. There are some delightful episodes scattered along the narrative, of which we have not spoken, but whose merit the reader will find out for himself. We were particularly pleased with the description of Abeille and his abode—an oasis of verdure amid a desart of brick pavements and dead walls—his own buoyant temperament proof against that keenest arrow in fortune's quiver, the recollection in poverty of former wealth and splendor. The laughing beauty of his daughter, graceful and merry as one of her own canary-birds, the tempter that enters this Eden of peace, the struggle in the heart of poor Angelique, and her happy deliverance from the snares of the seducer, are sketched with exquisite fidelity; and over all is shed that nameless charm arising from true sensibility and feminine tenderness of feeling, for which all the scenes of our author, in which the workings of the affections are pourtrayed, are so remarkable. The history of Louis Seton (with the exception of, now and then, a little high-flown extravagance) is beautifully told, and the tale of his melancholy fortunes runs like a thread of sable, through the chequered web of the narrative. The galling pain that genius writhes

under when forced to drink the bitter cup of poverty and dependence, the jealous misinterpreting suspicions of a diseased sensibility, the agonies of a spirit bleeding from self-inflicted wounds, and the effect of all these upon a frame which, from its sensitiveness, seems to be one nerve, are conceived with a high degree of power. In some parts, particularly in the closing scenes, she has soared to a higher elevation than in any other portion of this novel, and we know not, but that we may add, of her former ones also. We almost wonder that Miss Clarence could not make up her mind to return his devoted passion, as we are told on good authority, that 'pity is akin to love,' and no one could help feeling the deepest compassion for his desolate situation and the gloom in which his life was steeped. When we remember his fine intellect, his enthusiasm, his purity, and the idolatry which women always feel for genius when united with moral feeling, we think that if we had been in the place of Gerald Roscoe, we should have been considerably agitated if we had been aware that we had so dangerous a rival. The least efficient portions of the book are those in which the author has attempted to give a tragic grandeur to the workings of dark passions, and to thrill us with the fearful collision of guilty minds. To do this with success, requires not only a peculiar and masculine talent, but a familiarity with all the dark corners of the human heart, and a cool observation of the language and conduct of men, in such circumstances, and under such excitements, as no respectable woman has ever an opportunity of remarking. The most valuable and characteristic scenes are those in which the lash of playful satire is applied to the lesser foibles of life, and the unostentatious *home-bred* virtues are set forth and eulogised; for these are the traits which women have the most frequent opportunities of observing, and are the most skilful in catching and delineating. The visit of the heroine to the family of the Browns suggests itself to our recollection as an example in point. It is admirable and consistent with itself throughout. Their gorgeous house, in which the master and mistress are the only plain pieces of furniture, and the rich ore of sense and feeling running through their homely conversation, are described in a manner that seems to shew that the author is struggling between her sense of the ridiculous, and her sympathy with goodness, under however coarse an outside; and the different manner in which the unworthiness of their son affects the parents, the forgiving tender-

ness and garrulous sorrow of the mother, and the affected sternness of the father, which renders only more striking the convulsive workings of natural affection, shew a very nice discrimination, and are conceived with a genuine pathos, that goes straight to the heart. If there be any one so fastidious as to pronounce this scene vulgar, we think his taste needs correcting. Another excellent scene of the same nature, but more comic in its cast, is the description of the dinner-party at Mr. Clarence's, in which we hardly know which to admire most, the spirit of the individual portraits, or the skill with which they are grouped and contrasted. The English traveller is sketched in a most good-natured spirit, with a great deal of sly humor, but entirely free from caricature, and the rude brushes which his dignity meets with from the blundering forwardness of Mrs. Upton are so impregnated with the salt of wit and true *vis comica*, that we regret very much to have seen so little of this hopeful scion of nobility. It is with such weapons as these, that travellers of the stamp of Mr. St. John should be attacked. To employ argument and eloquence against them would be like cannonading a wasp's nest, though that illustration will hardly hold, as these gentry have the buzz of the insect without its sting.

If there are any who agree with us in our opinion, that the best part of a novel consists in its sketches of character, they will find a great deal to admire in Clarence. The author has gone through the high-ways and bye-ways of life and filled her sketch-book with copies of nature, and by decomposing and combining these anew, she has given us a great variety of characters, each of which has the distinctness of individuality and the fresh coloring of nature; and yet none of them, (as far as we know) are representatives of any living being. We feel in reading the book, that we have certainly seen this person and been acquainted with that one, but we cannot tell when or where, and in endeavoring to remember, we feel that puzzling sensation attendant upon the effort to recall the effaced images of a dream. In the character of the heroine, (for as in gallantry bound, we assign her the first place,) the author has accomplished what few would have the courage to attempt, and still fewer the talent to execute; namely, the making her principal female character interesting without great personal beauty. We can hardly conceive of a heroine without beauty, any more than we can of a star without brightness, or a rose without fragrance, and even Jeanie Deans, universal favorite as she

is, is regarded as but a fine exception to a general rule. Miss Clarence is well defined by the author herself, as a 'heroine of the nineteenth century.' She has the strong sense, the quiet energy, the pure-toned feeling, the absence of affectation, extravagance, and mawkish sentimentality, which would secure the highest esteem and admiration in real life, and which enable her to act with decision and success in situations where some young ladies we have read of would only have screamed and fainted away. When we were first introduced to her, we were afraid she was going to be one of those pattern-women, who never do any thing wrong, and who make the worst imaginable heroines, because we know that in whatever circumstances they may be placed, they will do and say exactly what is most proper; but we were refreshed by perceiving, on a little further acquaintance, that she could now and then commit an amiable indiscretion, and be hurried by her warm-hearted impulses out of the pale of rigid prudence. The author has shewn no little skill in suffering her fine traits of character to be developed by circumstances, and in leaving the reader to form his own opinion without continually challenging his admiration, and this makes the lady herself far more interesting; for there is a great charm in those characters that keep something in reserve, and shew new excellencies to meet the call of new emergencies. We regard her as quite superior to the hero, though he is a very fine fellow, spirited, high-minded, self-forgetting, and with 'all good grace to grace a gentleman.' He richly deserves the happiness that falls to his lot, but he has not that charm of individuality which Miss Clarence so eminently possesses. He seems to be merely one of a species, a promising young man about town. We hear rather too much of his white teeth, his flashing eyes, and his noble bearing, and we feel almost afraid that he must himself have participated in the general admiration which his graces and accomplishments excited. But the hero of a modern novel is always the least important personage in it, and all that is required of him is, that he should be young, handsome, and brave, bow gracefully, and speak good English.

Mrs. Layton is the most brilliant and effective character in the book, and the perfect success with which she is conceived and embodied, discovers no inconsiderable portion of genius and inventive power. From the first to the last, she is the same finished piece of art. She wears elegance like a mantle,

and to be graceful and *recherchée*, costs her no more effort than to move and breathe. Her conversation and letters are full of that sparkling originality, which arises from the union of wit in conceiving, and taste in expressing thoughts. She has made the art of pleasing a study, and has neglected nothing which may contribute to entire success. She can encourage the diffident, flatter the vain, amuse the grave, instruct the gay, and adapt herself so dexterously to the tastes and opinions of all she talks with, as to make each one imagine himself an object of particular interest to her. She has seen enough of mankind to be able to discover with ease the assailable points in the characters of those whom she wishes to influence, and knows enough of books to quote opportunely and give her opinions confidently; yet to a superficial observer, she might seem to have studied man as profoundly as Bacon or Tacitus, and to possess a mind enriched by tributes from every province in the realms of thought. She is armed cap-a-pie for the encounter of wits, and possesses every weapon requisite for the mimic jousts of a drawing-room, the sparkling repartee, the keen-edged, yet sheathed rebuke, the disguised compliment, the gay *bon mot*, the pensive sentiment. She can employ them all with the happiest effect, wound without seeming to wound, and charm we know not why. Yet with all this, she is deficient in every thing that makes a person truly respectable and praise-worthy. She has not a spark of genuine feeling nor a ray of genuine sense, and has not read one page of the true philosophy of life, that philosophy which feeds the mind with thoughts of beauty, and stamps upon the heart sweet images of love. She fears nothing but ridicule, and worships nothing but opinion. She bows to the golden calf of fashion, and neglecting the unchanging forms of things, watches the shadows of the clouds that pass over them. She is so exquisitely selfish as to sacrifice the affections of others to her own tastes, and she would not hesitate to gratify her slightest whim, though at every step she crushed a human heart. This portrait is drawn with a master hand, and what is peculiarly excellent in it is, that in our admiration of her fine powers, we never cease to lament and pity their perversion. No young lady could ever wish to be like Mrs. Layton, and no one can read her history without learning from it a valuable lesson. We have heard many people express surprise, that the author should have made Gerald Roscoe, a young man

of so much moral purity, (and the young have the least charity for the unprincipled,) so great an admirer of Mrs. Layton, especially as the latter was so little of a hypocrite, and so openly avowed her contempt for things which most people regard as sacred. But no one will object to this, who knows the amount of the influence exerted by a fascinating married woman upon a young imaginative mind, and how possible it is for the strongest and purest natures to be, like Tasso's hero, caught in the toils spread by an artful Armida.

We do not think the character of Pedrillo a very successful effort. He is rather common-place, and has nothing to distinguish him from all the genteel scoundrels that act by 'insinuation and not by bluster.' There is too much of the bragger and bravo about him. He reminds us of a vulgar actor, who rants the louder, and gesticulates the more vehemently as the plot deepens, and the storm grows darker around him. He is a mere tyro in knavery, for the foppery of his dress and the *gôut de spectacle* which runs through his air and manners, are the things most calculated to draw the attention of others towards him, and make him an object of suspicion; while the very first effort of a complete knave is to throw people entirely off their guard by an affectation of great plainness and sincerity. He has not the fabled power of the basilisk to slay silently, but his rattles betray him as he moves to his work of death. The fair author cannot be supposed to have speculated very deeply on these subjects, and we presume no one will regret it, for if there be a 'knowledge which is power,' there is also an 'ignorance which is bliss.' The scenes between him and Layton are the least efficient in the book, for there is no thrilling sense of sublime energy or heroic suffering in them, and our detestation of the villainy of the one, and our contempt for the craven spirit of the other, are not qualified by the admiration which we cannot help feeling for guilt when united with great intellectual power.

There are a number of well-drawn characters besides these, which our limits will hardly permit us to mention. There is Emilie Layton, graceful and lovely as a wood-nymph, pure as a dew-drop, and full of sweetness, feeling and truth; in every thing presenting a most delightful contrast to her artificial and heartless mother. And there is Mr. D. Flint, (whose feelings we will not wound by writing his name at full length,) for whom we have a great deal more respect than we could have sup-

posed possible when we were first acquainted with him. He is a very fair specimen of a Yankee adventurer, and it would be well for New-England if all those of her children who have his bustling perseverance, his impudence, and his self-complacency, had also his honesty, his warmth of heart and his rectitude of principle. Let us not forget that gentle carpet-knight Major Daisy, whose warlike *prænomen* was won, as you may guess, in no desperate fight, and who in all his campaigns never suffered any greater inconvenience, than that of a slight ducking, and never encountered a more dangerous foe than a restive horse. Long may he live, and have no rival near the throne in his judgment of shawls, perfumes, and laces, and may the next lady to whom he offers his illustrious self, have more taste than Gertrude Clarence.

We close our imperfect notice by cordially recommending this novel to the reading public, and we would even beg those who, as a general rule, avoid works of modern fiction, to make an exception in this instance. We are proud of our distinguished countrywoman, and regard her works as an honor to our land; and the reason that we have spoken so much of the faults of Clarence and dwelt so sparingly upon its beauties, is, that the latter bear so large a proportion to the former, and are in themselves so striking, that no reader of common apprehension can help finding them out and admiring them for himself. We are grateful to her for the pleasure she has afforded us, and would beg her to continue her labors in the neglected vineyard of American fiction; to paint the glorious scenery of her own native land and the virtues of its children, to tell us of the nobleness of its sons, and the beauty of its daughters, and 'to hold the mirror up to every shape of life and every hue of opinion.' Let her not attempt to give a highly romantic coloring to her plots, for the web of life in our Western world is too coarse to bear the embroidery of romance. Nor let her attempt to give a highly dramatic effect to detached scenes and particular situations, for the power of doing this is a gift bestowed upon very few, and much as we admire the author of Clarence, we are constrained to say that she is not one of them. Her excellence consists in her strong sense, her feminine feeling, her powers of description, her vigorous and beautiful English, the touching eloquence with which she pleads the cause of humanity, and above all, the keenness of her observation and her skill in de-

lineating the lights and shadows of character. She has but to look around her to find an ample field for the exercise of her talents;—she may find abundant food for speculation in the Protean forms which society assumes in our wide continent,—in the gay throngs that chase amusement from one watering-place to another, and in the lowly virtues that cluster round our farm-house hearths, and, like flowers that twine around the living rock, give beauty and fragrance to the hardest and coarsest forms of life. To the writer of fiction, whose *forte* is character-drawing, we know of no land like ours, whether we regard the extent of our territory, the variety of the stocks from which we sprung, the youthful and electric vigor with which the veins of our world are filled, and the unchecked freedom with which it is our unvalued privilege to act and think. The face of society has not by long attention been ground down to one uniform level, and vigorous and fantastic shoots of character are not nipped by the frost of hoary convention. The mountain-wind is not more free to blow, than is each man to indulge his wildest whims. And as the harvest is plenty, so are the laborers few;—the materials of romance in the old world are waxing threadbare, but the charm of unworn freshness is here like morning-dew. We would call upon all the sons and daughters of genius to be up and doing, and we would entreat the author of Clarence in particular, to persevere in the course she has so successfully entered upon, for her own sake and her country's sake.

ART. V.—*Essay on the Hieroglyphic System of M. Champollion, Jr. and on the Advantages which it offers to Sacred Criticism.* By J. G. H. GREPPO, Vicar-General of Belley. Translated from the French, by ISAAC STUART, with Notes and Illustrations. Boston. Perkins & Marvin. 12mo. 1830.

Our number for October, 1829, contained an article from a learned correspondent, on the subject of Egyptian Antiquities, satisfactorily showing the light, which M. Champollion's discoveries have already cast upon the ancient history of Egypt. The appearance of a translation of M. Greppo's work has seemed to us a fit opportunity for a brief account of the origin and nature of those discoveries, a curious subject,

which has not yet, we believe, been treated in the North American Review.

This work of M. Greppo is an exposition and illustration of the Hieroglyphical System of Champollion, the younger. It will afford the reader, who has not access to the works of Champollion, (and they are not translated into English, nor of common occurrence in this country,) and the other original authors, who have contributed to the present state of hieroglyphical learning, the means of forming a pretty satisfactory acquaintance with its elements. M. Greppo does not profess to have added any thing himself to the stock of hieroglyphical literature; but he has furnished several chapters, which will be read with interest, on the application of this literature to the study of history, and to sacred criticism. Being the production of a French writer, it may exaggerate a little, though as our readers we think will see, but little, the credit due to M. Champollion, on the score of originality; but M. Greppo is wholly free from the violent party spirit of most of the English writers on this subject, who really go beyond the bounds of reasonable excitement, whenever the comparative merits of Dr. Young and M. Champollion are named. The Marquis of Spineto, as might have been expected of a philosophical writer, English only by adoption, divides the palm with tolerable justice, between these rival antiquaries, with perhaps a slight leaning toward Dr. Young.

The translation of M. Greppo's work has been very creditably executed by Mr. Isaac Stuart. We have not seen the original, and consequently cannot speak from actual comparison; but the translation has all the appearances of fidelity, and the style is neat and perspicuous. It is enriched with an appendix, consisting of notes partly by the translator, and partly by his father, Professor Moses Stuart, whose reputation in the departments of sacred philology and literature, will prepare the reader to expect, what he will find in those portions of the appendix, which proceed from his pen,—a choice specimen of learned and critical reading. The whole volume is well calculated to awaken a taste for hieroglyphical studies, and to possess the reader with a general knowledge of the progress made in this interesting and novel region of investigation. In having presented it to the American public, Mr. Isaac Stuart has entitled himself to the thanks of the scholar and the general student; and gives a hopeful earnest of further contributions to the cause of learning.

Among all the wonders of human art, *language*, although going back in its origin to a period alike beyond history and tradition,—the product of the infancy of the world,—is certainly the greatest. If we can conceive of a community, possessing all the other arts and refinements of civilized life, but destitute of language, (a thing of course impossible,) we shall easily admit, that the invention, by such a community, or any member of it, of such a thing as a regular language would take rank in importance, curiosity, and difficulty of all those arts and inventions, even the most wonderful and useful, which excite the admiration of men, in the most cultivated ages. Yet this stupendous invention dates from what we call the infancy of the world. The amazing incongruity between what we must suppose the condition of man, at such a period, and the invention of such an art, even in its rudest forms, has led to the solution of the problem, by divine interference. It is not an unworthy occasion for such interference.

Among almost all nations, there are two kinds of language wholly distinct from each other, though by use intimately associated, the more difficult of which was probably the first in the order of invention;—we mean the spoken and the written language. Some imperfect indication of feelings, ideas, and objects by sounds, must have been coeval with humanity. Such an indication is the basis of a spoken language, and the foundation of that marvellous system of denoting sensible and external substances, grammatical relations, and mental operations by words, which strikes us the more with admiration, the longer we contemplate it. The rude beginning of a written language, may have taken place in the delineation of the form of sensible objects,—the picture of a wild animal slain, of an enemy conquered, of the moon to indicate the number of natural months since an event happened, and other like rudiments of picture-writing, employed as an aid to oral tradition. An inscription like those on Dighton rock, and other similar rocks in different parts of North America, and pictures like those of our Indians on buffalo-skins, may be regarded as a specimen of the earliest essays in writing;—we mean, not in point of antiquity, but in the order of invention. Contemporaneously with these two kinds of language, a third, different from writing, but also addressed to the eye, must likewise have been used, that of signs and gestures, which probably existed in greater perfection, at a period, when the other two modes

of communication were imperfect, than it has at any subsequent period, except as applied in modern times, to the education of the deaf and dumb. We cannot but remark, that the astonishing perfection to which this language of signs is carried, by the deaf and dumb, shows the great and innate aptitude of man for social intercourse, and for the expression of feeling and thought, by an artificial system of communication.

Circumstances, impossible to be traced, decided to what degree these several modes of expression should be cultivated and developed, in the different communities of men. The language of signs must early have dropped into disuse, except as very partially retained to enforce the spoken language, by a few gestures, indicating emotions or some simple relations of place, which form a part of the oratory even of savage tribes. To what degree of improvement the spoken or the written language arrived, in any country, before these two languages were made to represent each other, (a process wholly distinct from that, by which either of them represents ideas or things) cannot now be known. But we can conceive, that the different stages of the written language denote the successive improvement in the art of reading, that is, of converting the written into the spoken language. From using the whole of the picture for the whole of the sound, the progress is natural to using a part of the picture for a part of the sound; and in the final result of this progress, we find alphabetical writing deduced from hieroglyphical. The recent discoveries in Egyptian hieroglyphics fully establish this, as the order of improvement. We find not only hieroglyphical signs employed as alphabetical characters, in their original shape of animals, plants, utensils, &c.; but we also find a sort of popular current alphabet formed out of the hieroglyphic, merely by a more compendious delineation.

With all the nations of Western Asia and the Europeans descended from them, the invention of alphabetical characters was the signal for the disuse of hieroglyphics. The Egyptians alone, on the confines of Western Asia, retained their hieroglyphics, and used them conjointly with the alphabetical system of writing originally deduced from them, intermixing the two in the same document, and at the same time, in a manner not as yet thoroughly investigated, and threatening some embarrassment, in decyphering the hieroglyphical legends, which still remain. It appears, beyond all doubt, and is assumed by M. Champollion,

as one of the facts ascertained by him, that the same sign is sometimes phonetic, sometimes figurative, sometimes symbolic; that is, that the picture of a hawk sometimes stands for the letter A; sometimes for the animal, of which it is the picture; sometimes for the qualities of which that animal is the supposed symbol. Had not the sagacity of M. Champollion and his associates already overcome obstacles seemingly insurmountable, we should regard with some apprehension this admission, that the hieroglyphic characters in existence are not a uniform alphabetical system.

The fact that the Egyptians alone retained their hieroglyphics, the imperfect intercourse between ancient nations, the great superiority of alphabetic over hieroglyphical signs, the want of a cultivated literature among the Egyptians, (whether as cause or effect of retaining a mixed use of hieroglyphics and alphabetical characters) seem to have been causes which prevented the knowledge of the hieroglyphics from extending beyond Egypt. Modern scholars, Mr. Greppo among the number, have expressed themselves with considerable severity, on the subject of the rather unaccountable silence, observed on this matter by those Greek authors, who must have been well informed as to the nature of hieroglyphics. It must be admitted to be somewhat singular, that a man, for instance, like Plato, who, in the maturity of his powers, passed thirteen years as a student in Egypt, should have left us no information, on this subject. He tells us, indeed, that when Thoth invented letters, he consulted king Thamus, whether he should make his invention public. His majesty, with a foresight which does him great credit, dissuaded the publication, as likely to lead to the disuse of hieroglyphics and the consequent detriment of learning. Considering the period, in which Plato lived and the length of time for which alphabetical writing had been known in Greece, (a thousand years and more,) we should infer from this passage, (what indeed is otherwise ascertained) that, at the period of his visit to Egypt, the hieroglyphical system had passed over into the alphabetical. If the Egyptian priests, his masters in philosophy, had been still in the habit of using a kind of ideographic and symbolic characters, unintelligible to the rest of men, Plato could hardly have avoided intimating, that the apprehensions of king Thamus had not been justified by the result. Or in other words, the tradition recorded by Plato is evidently an enunciation of the fact, that

alphabetical writing, among the Egyptians, had superseded the ancient symbolical and ideographic writing; not that hieroglyphics were not used, (for we know they were for many hundred years later,) but that they were used phonetically, as letters of the alphabet.

This fact must have been notorious in its nature. Plato, living thirteen years in Egypt, could no more have been ignorant, that the hieroglyphics were substantially an alphabetical character, than he could have been ignorant of the rise of the Nile. The same thing must have been familiar to the scholars of the Alexandrian school; and the true reason why so little is said on the subject, in the Greek authors, may be, that the ordinary use of hieroglyphics contained nothing strange. The Egyptians made their letters one way, and the Greeks another, and this was the chief difference in the mode of writing, practised by the two nations. Still it was true, that some use of hieroglyphics as a figurative and symbolical language remained, and this being necessarily of a more recondite and arbitrary nature, depending for its true construction on an accompanying tradition, it was in the nature of things, that this should be gradually less and less understood and used, both at home and abroad, as the Egyptian polity gradually declined, and sunk under the Grecian and Roman arms. As this was the only part of the Egyptian system of writing, which was peculiar, it was that, to which the Roman travellers and philosophers turned their attention, and that also, which the Egyptian scholars, of a later date, such as Horapollo, endeavored to illustrate.

With the revival of learning, all tradition of the alphabetical character of hieroglyphics had passed away. They were regarded, what to the eye they evidently seem, a system of figurative and symbolical signs. All attempts to explain them proceeded on this assumption and all failed. Father Kircher wrote six folios on the subject, surcharged with all the erudition of ancient and modern days, aided by personal inspection of all the Egyptian works at Rome; and how utterly baseless, how laboriously absurd was his entire scheme of interpretation, can only be felt by an example, which though frequently quoted before, cannot be omitted here. On one of the obelisks at Rome, called the Pamphilian, is a group of hieroglyphical characters, enclosed in an oblong ring, (according to a practice which will be hereafter alluded to,) which has been found by Champollion to be the Greek words corresponding to *the Em-*

peror Domitian Augustus. Out of these three words, Father Kircher has made a sentence in Latin, from which most of the modern critics recoil in horror, leaving it as they find it, but which may be guessed at, about as follows, 'the beneficent lord of generation, fourfold powerful in the heavenly realm, transmits the air, through Mophta the genial airy moisture, to Ammon, most powerful in the lower world, who, by the statue and appropriate ceremonies, is induced to exercise his power.'

Absurdities like these continued to be broached on this subject, down to the present day. As late as 1821, an essay was published in Genoa, containing a new translation of the Pamphilian obelisk, in which it was declared to be a monument of 'the triumph over the ungodly, obtained by the worshippers of the thrice holy Trinity, and of the Eternal Word, under the sway of the sixth and seventh kings of Egypt, in the sixth century after the deluge.'* In the like spirit, the astrological symbols, composing what was called the zodiac of Denderah, have been pronounced within the present day, a Psalm of David.

Here let us consider for a moment the capriciousness of human destiny. Language, as we all know, fluctuating and evanescent as it is in its forms, is in its substance all but indestructible. The nations of the Germanic stock, in the North of Europe, speak substantially the same tongue, which was spoken by their fathers, in the days of Tacitus. In the mountains of Wales and in the highlands of Scotland, in the fastnesses of Ireland and in Britanny, the dialect of the Celts has been handed down and is yet a living tongue, as it was when Julius Cæsar invaded Britain. The Greek peasant in the Ægean Islands, calls most of the common objects of life, by the names, by which Homer called them; and rouses himself and his brethren to arms, with a cry of Δεῦτε, παῖδες τῶν Ἑλλήνων. Some relics of the language of Cicero have been preserved, by Roman colonists, who call themselves Roumuni, on the banks of the Danube and the plains of Wallachia. The descendants of the Cimbri, who were conquered by Marius, though for ages embosomed in an Italian population, are still recognized in the neighborhood of Vicenza, by a language retaining its northern radicals. The Bedoween rover, who never had a dwelling, of which the next wave of sand does not efface the traces, ad-

* Champollion, Précis I., p. 437.

dresses the traveller in a dialect of the Arabic, not more unlike the primitive records of that tongue than the Italian is to the Latin; and so does the descendant of the Mahometan conquerors, in the farthest island of the Indian Archipelago. The Polish Jew keeps his accounts and conducts his correspondence, at the Leipsic fair, in a language and character, which would have been intelligible to Ezra; and if reliance is to be placed on the late investigations of the Continental philologists, there is a similarity between the languages of the Teutonic stock and the sacred dialect of Hindostan, which must have had its origin in a consanguinity of nations, dating from a period anterior to all our historical traditions. So permanently does a language take root!

It would have been thought *à priori*, that Egypt bade fairest of all the nations of the earth, through this medium of communication, to hand down the memorials of her civilization to posterity. Originally contriving, and never wholly abandoning a written language, consisting not of arbitrary signs but of images of things, and therefore less likely (as it would seem, on first thought) to be forgotten in the lapse of ages, or become unintelligible to other races of men, she appeared, even in this, to have possessed herself of a preservative against oblivion. Not resting here, she recorded the names of her rulers, the fortune of their wars, the events of their history, on shafts of solid granite, on the architraves and pillars of massive temples, and on the walls of palaces. Some of the obelisks are still perfect, some of the temples can scarcely be called ruinous; and the characters inscribed upon both are often as fresh, sharp, and legible as they were ages ago. But till the last ten years, they told no tale to the inquisitive mind of man. A horror of being forgotten,—of passing away from the presence and memory of men,—seems to have been the prominent trait in the ancient Egyptian character. Besides the stupendous structures, to which we have alluded, charged and crowded with legends, which, as far as the characters in which they are written are concerned, have bidden defiance to three thousand years and more, the Egyptians carried to a curious perfection the art of embalming the bodies of the deceased. Having thus secured a disgusting permanence to the mortal remains, and prevented the dust from returning to dust, the mummy was often deposited in a sarcophagus of granite or alabaster, covered within and without with hieroglyphics; and a roll of linen cloth, also filled

with the same characters, was often deposited in the same receptacle. Hundreds of these rolls are in existence. All the great museums in Europe contain these sarcophagi; and yet it is but a few years since any reasonable hope has been entertained by scholars of extracting their meaning.

When we compare this with what has happened to the records of Greek and Roman literature, we cannot but be struck with the contrast. A purely alphabetical character would seem in itself a less perfect representation (to say the least) of all sensible objects, and of all qualities and relations, capable of being compared or identified with the known properties of natural bodies. When made use of in books or tablets, of wood, linen, parchment or paper, they would seem less likely to survive the casualties of time, than characters inscribed on temples or obelisks, built, as the event has proved, for other ages; or on rolls preserved by art and by their place of deposit from decay and destruction. The opposite fortune of the two sorts of record is extraordinary enough. The book of the law of Moses, the oldest book in any language, although in the decline of the Jewish polity all but lost, being preserved but in a single copy, buried in the rubbish of the decaying temple,* is now the familiar reading of Christians, in the four quarters of the world. Not all its scholars have yet, (or at least not till the present day,) decyphered the legends of those obelisks, which were braving the storms of time, in front of the temple of Jupiter Ammon, at the moment, when the book of the law, a simple roll of parchment, lay buried in the ruins of the temple at Jerusalem. The fairness of this contrast may be objected to, on the ground of super-human agency. Let us take, then, the poems of Homer. They are now read in the schools of Europe, of European India, and of this continent undiscovered when they were produced. Nearly three thousand years ago, a blind old man chanted these poems about the Grecian islands. Whether *he* ever committed them to writing is disputed. If he did, it is probable that they were soon dispersed in separate portions, and four hundred years after the death of their author, collected from the recitation of the rhapsodists and committed to writing, by the liberality of the Athenian princes. The works of Aristotle, written on parchment, were shortly after his death, buried by his heirs, to preserve them from the rapacity

* 2 Chronicles, xxxiv. 14.

of the kings of Pergamus, who adopted a compendious method of filling their library. A hundred and sixty years they lay forgotten in the ground, exposed to dampness and mildew. They became, in the lapse of time, the manual of learned men in Europe and Asia, the theme of speculation for ages, and they are now in every classical library in the world. The text of the Roman law, the Code and Pandects of Justinian, existed in an entire form, (such at least is the popular opinion,) but in one copy, which lay lost in the convents of an obscure trading town, on the gulf of Salerno. The courts of the greater part of Christendom administer justice from the text of this manuscript at the present day. In consequence of the dearness of parchment and the barbarity of the times, it was the custom, in the dark ages, to erase one writing from a roll of parchment, and substitute another. In this way, some of the finest productions of Grecian and Roman wit; nay, the books of Scripture themselves, were often effaced, to make way for the epistles of a church father, and the legends of a saint. Modern ingenuity has found out the means of restoring the *first* writing, after it had been thus scratched out, and written over; and the literary journals of the day are continually reporting some new discovery of books and authors, thus lost and thus retrieved. Nay more than all, a stream of burning lava, in a state of fusion, covered the city of Herculaneum, on the bay of Naples, seventeen hundred years ago. The lava settled over some parts of the city, to the depth of fifty feet. When we think of the destructive power of such a mass of molten rocks and metal, so long as it remains hot; of the situation of a manuscript of paper, submerged in this fiery inundation; and then left for ages under a solid mass of almost impenetrable rock, at a depth of fifty feet; and reflect that paper manuscripts thus inundated, thus soldered down as it were into the solid rock, have been dug up, unfolded, and printed; some of them works, of which no other copies had survived,* and compare these and the other facts alluded to, with the fate of the Egyptian records—perfect, entire, engraven on walls and shafts of stone, which will stand while the earth does, and still as fresh as when first inscribed, and till the last ten years utterly unintelligible,—we have, perhaps, one of the strongest contrasts of fortune, which literary history has recorded.

* Such as Epicurus and Philodemus.

This strange oblivion, which crept over the Egyptian literature, to the degree that men could not even comprehend the general nature, and far less the import of a mass of written records, spread before them in the most imposing and enduring form, has, of course, as far as original authorities are concerned, had the effect of almost wiping out from the annals of the world the early history of Egypt. One authority only, entitled to the name of original, has survived, mutilated indeed, but still valuable, and brought into new credit by M. Champollion's researches. In the reign of the second Ptolemy, who came to the throne in an enlightened age, about three centuries before our Saviour, Manetho, an Egyptian priest, was employed to search the archives of state, and examine the monuments of antiquity, and from them compose the history of the country from the beginning. In the composition of this important work, he was aided by Eratosthenes, one of the most distinguished of the geographers of Greece. Eratosthenes was charged with the preparation of that part of the work, which related to the Theban dynasties. The knowledge of the hieroglyphics was still in preservation, as has abundantly been proved by the splendid discoveries of M. Champollion, and as we shall presently see. The nature of many of the public records, (the inscriptions on the walls of temples and on obelisks,) prevented those frauds, which are often practised in forging pretended ancient papers. We may accordingly suppose, that the work of Manetho contained the ancient history of the country, authentic as far back as these permanent and substantial records ran, and such as, in his day, it was believed and understood to be, in reference to times still more ancient. This work, in the original, is unfortunately lost; and small fragments of it only remain. Of these, some are found in the form of citations in the work of the Jewish historian Josephus, written against Apion. But our principal knowledge of the lost work of Manetho, is derived from a different source. In the third century of the Christian era, Julius Africanus, a father of the church, undertook a chronology of the world from the creation. In that portion, which related to Egypt, he followed Manetho. The Chronicle of Julius Africanus is lost, but in the fourth century, Eusebius, another father of the Christian church, wrote a similar Chronicle, in which he drew the Egyptian annals from Julius Africanus. Of the original Greek of the Chronicle of Eusebius, a few fragments only remain; but a Latin translation of it by St. Jerome,

and an Armenian version, lately published, have descended to us. Besides this, in the ninth century, while the Chronicles both of Julius and Eusebius were extant, a Greek monk, George Syncellus, composed a new chronicle, on the plan of these ancient works. The Chronicle of Syncellus is entire, and from this we chiefly derive our knowledge of the Egyptian antiquities, as related by Manetho.

We ought, perhaps, to mention, by anticipation, another singular document, which has been called a translation of Manetho, the tablet of Abydos. The name of *translation* of Manetho can, of course, only be given, by a pretty violent figure of speech, to an inscription on the front of a temple, containing at most a series of perhaps twenty different names. This inscription, however, is exceedingly curious. It was found by Mr. William Bankes, while exploring the ruins of Abydos, a city of ancient Egypt, on the western bank of the Nile, between the twenty-seventh and twenty-eighth degrees of north latitude. It is a series of forty rings or ovals, (containing each a name,) arranged in three horizontal lines. The two first lines contain the honorary titles of the Egyptian Pharaohs, who preceded Rameses the Great (the Sesostris of the Greeks); and the third line contains exclusively the name and titles of this renowned conqueror.

This list contains only the *prænomina* or honorary titles of the Pharaohs, who preceded Rameses, and would not, therefore, of itself have thrown much light on history. But M. Champollion has, with infinite labor, compared these titles, as found on the tablet of Abydos, without the proper names of the princes to whom they belong, with the same titles as found on other monuments in connexion *with* the proper names, and has thus constructed what may be called the *complement* of the tablet of Abydos, and has found, that this tablet presents, in that part which is legible, the series of the Egyptian sovereigns of the eighteenth dynasty of Manetho.

This tablet was first copied by Mr. Bankes, and by him brought to Europe. It was subsequently copied by M. Caillaud, and from his drawing, it is engraved in the Atlas to the second letter of M. Champollion to the Duke of Blacas d' Aulps.*

* See on the subject of this tablet the Marquis of Spineto's lectures, pages 36 and 205; M. Champollion's first letter to the Duke of Blacas, page 15, and his second letter, page 12; also his *Précis du Systeme Hieroglyphique*, page 295; and the Edinburgh Review, in the masterly

It may be proper, before quite passing from this part of the subject, to allude to the work of Horapollo, called *Hieroglyphica*. This work has descended to us in Greek, but purports to be a translation executed by Philippus, from an Egyptian original. Neither the age nor the history of Horapollo, nor of his translator is known. His work is an explication of the symbolical purport of certain hieroglyphical emblems. Mr. Stuart has given a specimen of this author's explications, in the appendix to his work, page 215, to which we refer the reader. According to him, a *bee* signifies a people obedient to their king, the *fore-parts of a lion* power, an *asp* the power of life and death. Such expositions, being given without any intimation on the

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article already cited, (and of which several pages are taken without acknowledgment from M. Champollion's last chapter,) in a note to page 143. We cannot but think that the Edinburgh reviewer does M. Champollion considerable injustice in this note, as well as in several passages in the article. We have already alluded to the unfortunate controversy, which existed between M. Champollion and Dr. Young, (now deceased) on the claim to the priority of this great discovery. We shall state the main point, in this controversy, in a subsequent part of the text of our article. In the note alluded to, the Edinburgh reviewer charges M. Champollion with a want of ingenuousness, of which we see no proofs, touching this tablet of Abydos. 'M. Champollion,' says the reviewer, 'in his letter to the Duke de Blacas, published in the same year with the *Précis*, expressly describes the monument in question, as *un tableau precieux, dont une copie est depuis plusieurs années dans les portefeuilles de M. W. Bankes en Angleterre*; but he cautiously avoids dropping so much as a hint, which might lead his readers to suspect, that the discovery was due to the exertions of Mr. Bankes; and in his *Précis* he certiorates his readers, that it is a hieroglyphic text of the greatest interest, *et dont le dessein a été apporté par notre courageux voyageur M. Caillaud*, thus leaving them to infer that the discovery was due to that traveller. This literary dishonesty, in every case in which the pretensions of Englishmen are concerned, &c.' There is too much readiness to find fault here; especially as the *reviewer suppresses* a part of the passage, which he quotes from M. Champollion's first letter, which puts quite a different face on the matter. We give it entire. 'A precious tablet, of which a copy has for several years been in the portfolios of Mr. Bankes, in England. *I owed the first knowledge of its existence to the friendship of Dr. Young; but soon after, I was able to study it upon a copy, made also on the spot by our countryman, M. Caillaud*, &c.' Here we think full justice is done to all the parties; and the reviewer, by suppressing the lines in italics is we think obnoxious to very nearly the same charge, that he makes against M. Champollion. This important tablet is contained in Mr. Salt's Essay on Dr. Young's and M. Champollion's Phonetic System of Hieroglyphics; a work in which several happy applications are made of M. Champollion's alphabet.

part of Horapollo, that the hieroglyphical characters were generally phonetic, made his treatise a source of error, rather than instruction. It contributed to keep the student on a wrong path; and gave him no clue whatever to the nature of the subject he was investigating.

We cannot forbear noticing here an ingenious conjectural illustration of a passage in the Old Testament, founded on one of the interpretations, which Horapollo has given of Hieroglyphical Symbols. It is related, in the Book of Isaiah, that the army of Sennacherib, invading Egypt, was destroyed by the Angel of the Lord, in the night, to the number of 185,000 men. What particular mode of destruction is intended by this expression, does not appear. It is such language as the sacred writers usually employ, to describe, what in more modern phraseology of import substantially the same, would be called a great judgment. Herodotus informs us that the destruction of the Assyrian troops was owing to the circumstance, that in the course of the night, the strings of their bows, and the straps of their shields were eaten by mice, and they were thus left defenceless against the Egyptians. Herodotus adds, that a statue of the Egyptian king, under whom this victory was achieved, was, when he was in Egypt, standing in the temple of Vulcan, holding a mouse in his hand with this inscription, *Look on me, and learn to fear the gods.* Horapollo informs us, that a mouse was the symbol of destruction; by what association of ideas, cannot now be traced. As such it formed an appropriate part of the accompaniments of the statue erected in honor of the king, who destroyed the Assyrian army. The priest, who explained the statue to Herodotus, from ignorance or to tax the Grecian traveller's credulity, may have attempted to point out an actual connexion between the figure of the mouse and the destruction of the army; or Herodotus may have misunderstood him, as calling the mouse the agent and not the symbol of destruction, and drawn on his own ingenuity for the *modus in quo.* This ingenious illustration is proposed by the late celebrated Mr. Eichhorn.

The reader, who is aware that of the several obelisks at Rome, there is one, of the transportation and erection of which a particular account has been given by Ammianus Marcellinus, a Roman historian, accompanied with an explanation of its hieroglyphics, by a Greek version, will expect us to account for the fact, that no aid has been rendered by this version, toward

decyphering the characters, of which it purports to be a translation. Unfortunately it appears from the researches of M. Champollion, that this version of Hermapion, though in his judgment obviously a correct version of the legend of some obelisk, does not belong to any obelisk, now known to be in existence. M. Champollion's discoveries enable him to re-translate into the hieroglyphical language a considerable part of Hermapion's Greek, and it is satisfactorily shown, that it belongs neither to the obelisk opposite the *porta del popolo* at Rome, nor to that before St. John Lateran, nor to any other of these works known to be in existence.* It is a singularly untoward accident, that Ammianus, in extracting probably from a work, which contained the interpretation of several obelisks, should have happened to fix upon a translation, belonging to an obelisk, that has not survived the effects of time. Ammianus wrote his history toward the close of the fourth century. Hermapion's work must have been then extant, and it is not perhaps extravagant to hope, that it may yet be recovered.

Meantime, however, if M. Champollion's discoveries proceed as they have begun, we shall be able to dispense with Hermapion. That light, which neither temples nor obelisks were able to cast on the nature of the characters, with which they were inscribed, in the ancient and glorious days of the Egyptian monarchy, has, by the sagacity of modern scholars, been made to shine from a mutilated fragment of a votive block, of no historical interest in itself, and dating from the age of the Grecian sovereigns of Egypt. Of the curious observations and comparisons, by which this has been effected, it is more than time that we should speak. Most of the facts we are about to state have been repeated in almost all the respectable literary journals of the day. But as the discoveries of M. Champollion are perhaps the most extraordinary of a merely literary kind, which the history of modern learning contains, our readers will not perhaps be displeased with a brief re-statement of the main points of the subject.

Napoleon, in his expedition to Egypt, was attended by a large company of learned men, the result of whose observations is embodied, in the magnificent work on Egypt, published under the auspices of the French government. It is a singular fact, however, that by these *savans*, much as they did to illustrate

* Champollion, *Précis*, page 187.

almost every other point of Egyptian history or antiquities, nothing was done to promote the progress of hieroglyphical science, beyond the accurate transcription of the legends existing on the ancient works in that country. But in digging for the foundation of Fort St. Julian, near Rosetta, a huge broken block of black stone, covered with characters, was discovered. It was appropriated by General Menou to himself, and on the capitulation of the French army to the English, it was claimed as the General's private property, and as such not subject to the fortune of war. It was, however, taken possession of by the English, and eventually transferred to the British Museum, where it still is.

The society of antiquaries in England undertook the investigation of the stone, which bore on its surface three inscriptions, standing one under another; the first in hieroglyphical characters, the second in an unknown character not hieroglyphical, and the third in Greek; and a hasty perusal of the latter showed, in its conclusion, that the inscription on the stone was an honorary inscription to Ptolemy Epiphanes, ordered to be set up in the Egyptian temples, *In sacred, enchorial* (or native,) and *Greek characters.** This disclosed the very interesting fact, that the learned world was at length in the possession of a hieroglyphical legend, with a Greek translation, and with another translation, in an unknown character, and perhaps an unknown language. An engraving of this inscription was prepared by the society of antiquaries, and distributed to the learned bodies throughout the world, among others the Philosophical Society at Philadelphia. Heyne at Göttingen took it in hand, and furnished a masterly translation of the Greek, with a Latin commentary. This was no easy task, as the stone was not free from mutilation and the subject-matter almost wholly new. His translation, however, was published in the transactions of the Antiquarian Society, and the mode in which it is treated by Dr. Young, (a man himself of matchless sagacity, and of quite as much candor as his neighbors) shows how hard it is to do justice to a foreigner. 'Several of the best scholars of the age,' says he, 'in particular Porson and Heyne, had employed themselves in completing and illustrating the Greek text, which constituted the third part of the inscription: and it so happened, that, although no person acquainted with both these

* ΙΕΡΟΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΓΧΩΡΙΟΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΟΙΣ ΓΡΑΜΜΑΣΙΝ.

critics, could hesitate to give the general preference for acuteness of observation, felicity of conjecture, and soundness of judgment to the English professor, yet, in this instance, the superior industry and vigilance of the German had given him decidedly the advantage, with respect to two or three passages, in which their translations *happen* to differ.'*

Now this is really hard. Here is a piece of work, in its nature requiring not so much 'industry,' as 'acuteness of observation, felicity of conjecture, and soundness of judgment.' Porson and Heyne undertake it, and Heyne, by admission, carries the palm. Unable to disguise this, it cannot be candidly admitted, without laying in a vague and sweeping claim in favor of Porson of general superiority, in precisely those qualities, by which he should have gained the victory, on this occasion; and even ascribing it to *chance*, at the end of the sentence, in the middle of which it is attributed to vigilance and industry.

The Greek text of this inscription fills five quarto pages of the transactions of the Antiquarian Society, which will show that this interesting document is of very considerable extent. The next attempt of scholars was made upon the middle inscription, called in the language of the Greek *enchorial*, that is, the character of the country. This character was wholly unknown; although since recognized on Egyptian manuscripts, written on papyrus, which had not then attracted the attention of learned men. Not only was the character unknown, but the language was uncertain. It was presumed to be the language current in Egypt, in the time of Ptolemy Epiphanes, but nothing in this language had descended to modern times; and the Coptic versions of the Scriptures, made in an early age of Christianity, were the nearest approach to it. It is, however, generally admitted by scholars, that these Coptic versions are substantially in the language of ancient Egypt. M. Quatremère de Quincy has written a work, in which this is attempted to be proved; but it is well known, though the substratum of languages is permanent as we have seen above, that in the lapse of centuries, all languages, especially such as are destitute of a cultivated written literature, (which comparatively with the Greek was the case with the Egyptian) undergo great changes. The Latin of the Vulgate certainly would not have been intelligible at Rome, in the days of Psammeticus, king of Egypt.

* Dr. Young's account of some recent discoveries in hieroglyphical literature, page 8.

The attempts to decypher the enchorial inscription were not very successful. M. Sylvestre de Sacy of Paris, one of the most distinguished oriental scholars of the present day, was only able to detect the words Alexandria and Alexander, from their occurrence in corresponding places of the Greek and enchorial inscriptions. Mr. Akerblad, a learned Swede, residing at Rome as the Minister of his Government, pursued the task with great ardor and partial success. He constructed an alphabet of the enchorial character, which has not, however, in all points stood the test of farther investigation.

The first person who threw any real light on this subject, was the late most ingenious Dr. Thomas Young. His first efforts were made upon the enchorial inscription, which, by placing it side by side with the Greek, guided by the corresponding recurrence of the proper names, and employing Mr. Akerblad's alphabet in decyphering them, he succeeded in interpreting. That Dr. Young's procedure, however, with this inscription must have been partly conjectural, and as far as respects the nature of the language in which it is concerned, superficial and incorrect, appears from the circumstance, that he considered the enchorial character to be only a sort of running-hand of the hieroglyphical, and, like that, an *ideographic*, and not an *alphabetic* character. Dr. Young's first views on this subject were published in the *Museum Criticum* in 1815. In the letters published in this journal, he laid down several principles, some of which have, and some of which have not, been confirmed by subsequent discoveries, and of all of them he observes, that they had not, to his knowledge, been established and placed on record by any other person dead or living. Two of the propositions, which have been sustained, are, that the hieroglyphic characters included in oval rings are proper names, and that Ptolemy is the only proper name to be found in that part of the hieroglyphical inscription which remains; for it had by this time been ascertained that the stone was mutilated, and that a considerable portion of the hieroglyphical inscription was wanting. The first of these propositions had, however, been advanced by Zoega, a learned Dane, in a work of stupendous erudition, *de Obeliscis*.

But all that had hitherto been done by himself or others, was far surpassed by Dr. Young, in his admirable essay on Egypt, in the Supplement to the Edinburgh Encyclopædia, in which he reviewed the whole ground of his former researches, and

succeeded in decyphering the name of Ptolemy, the only proper name contained in the hieroglyphical portion of the Rosetta stone. This is the great discovery of Dr. Young in hieroglyphics, on the ground of which a priority is claimed for him over M. Champollion, in establishing the fact, that the hieroglyphical character is an alphabetical character, and in furnishing the series of the alphabet. No controversy, since the days of Newton and Leibnitz, has been agitated with so much acrimony, between the learned of England and the continent. And there is not a little similarity in the history of the two cases. As the English claim for Sir Isaac Newton the priority in point of time over Leibnitz, so they claim it for Dr. Young over Champollion. They charge Leibnitz with having had a private communication of Sir Isaac Newton's fluxions, and they charge M. Champollion with having stolen the idea of his system from Dr. Young. It is also undoubtedly true, that if Sir Isaac Newton first invented, Leibnitz first published the new method to the world. And it is not less true, that if Dr. Young gave the first hint, Champollion first distinctly proposed the alphabetical system. In the zeal and success with which the two discoveries were pursued, the parallel fails. Sir Isaac went far beyond Leibnitz in the application of the new found Analysis; but Dr. Young, long before his death, abandoned his discovery to M. Champollion. We may hope that a century hence, some British scholar will arise, capable of imitating, in a history of this controversy, the dignified candor, with which Mr. Playfair, in his preliminary discourse to the fourth volume of the Edinburgh Encyclopædia, does justice to the rival claims of Newton and Leibnitz. We hope our scientific readers will not disdain the comparison of the two controversies; for if the mathematical discoveries of Leibnitz and Newton are the most brilliant which the modern world has produced in exact science, those of Young and Champollion are entitled to the same rank in critical learning; and are destined to throw, we doubt not, a flood of light on a chapter of the history of mankind, hitherto almost a blank.

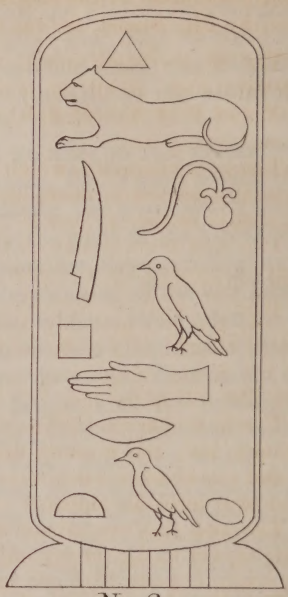
In the view which we take of this subject, truth compels us to state, that though we think the germ of M. Champollion's discoveries lies in Dr. Young's analysis of the name of Ptolemy, yet Dr. Young himself does not appear to us to have perceived the extent to which it might be carried, nor to have made the deductions from it which Champollion did. In other words, we

cannot find in Dr. Young's essay, the broad, plain proposition, *that the hieroglyphics are phonetic or alphabetic characters*, and we think we shall make it pretty clear, that he did not so conceive them, and that M. Champollion made this discovery; and we shall, to prove this, depend mainly on the evidence of Dr. Young himself and his friends.

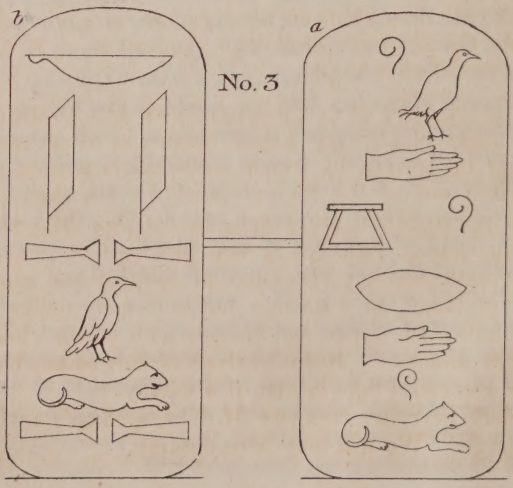
In the Essay on Egypt alluded to, after an able discussion of several points in Egyptian literature, Dr. Young passes to an analysis of the Rosetta stone, relating the steps which he had pursued, by juxta-position, to bring the parts of the hieroglyphical and enchorial inscriptions, against the corresponding portion of the Greek, and thus ascertain the meaning of the two former. Dr. Young goes through this topic, without hinting that he had discovered any phonetic quality in the hieroglyphical or enchorial signs. He then proceeds to 'Sect. vii. *Rudiments of a hieroglyphical vocabulary.*' He begins with the deities, and proceeds with kings, private persons, animals, inanimate objects, attributes and actions, relations, time, numbers, *sounds;* and collects, in the whole, two hundred and eighteen hieroglyphic characters, or groups of characters, of which, from various monuments and sources of comparison, he considers himself as having discovered the import. In going through with all these hieroglyphical emblems, it is no where distinctly stated by Dr. Young, that any of them are phonetic. M. Champollion rejects one hundred and forty-one of the two hundred and eighteen groups, as wholly mistaken. In Dr. Young's list, No. 58 is the name of *Ptolemy*. He introduces it without any remark, by which it would appear that he had made any discovery relative to this word, which he had not made in every other. He remarks, that 'in *this and a few other proper names*, it is extremely interesting to trace some of the steps, by which alphabetical writing seems to have grown out of hieroglyphical.' Here, no doubt, Dr. Young's mind trembled on the verge of the discovery; but surely this is not the language of a man announcing the brilliant discovery that the hieroglyphical signs were alphabetical characters. He proceeds to compare the process by which foreign names are spelt in hieroglyphics, with that by which the Chinese do the same thing. As the Chinese character is repeatedly stated by Dr. Young not to be alphabetic, this comparison shows his view of hieroglyphic emblems. He then proceeds to analyze the name of Ptolemy, in the following manner. We have, with the permission of Mr. Isaac

PL. I

No. 1



No. 2



No. 3

Pendleton's Lith.ª Boston.

Stuart, and the publishers of his work, introduced, for the better illustration of the subject, the first of the two plates, prepared by Mr. Stuart, for his translation of Greppo.

'The square block and the semi-circle,' says Dr. Young, 'answer invariably, in all the manuscripts, to characters resembling the P and T of Akerblad, which are found at the beginning of the enchorial name.

'The next character, which seems to be a kind of knot, is not essentially necessary, being often omitted in the sacred characters, and always in the enchorial.

'The lion corresponds to the LO of Akerblad; a lion being always expressed by a similar character in the manuscripts; an oblique line crossed standing for the body, and an erect line for the tail; this was probably read not L but OLE; although in more modern Coptic, OILI is translated ram; we have also EIUL, stag, and the figure of the stag becomes, in the running-hand, something like this of the lion.

'The next character is known to have some reference to 'place,' in Coptic MA; and it seems to have been read either MA or simply M; and this character is always expressed in the running-hand, by the M of Akerblad's alphabet.

'The two feathers, whatever their natural meaning may have been, answer to the three parallel lines of the enchorial text, and they seem, in more than one instance, to have been read I or E.

'The bent line probably signified *great*, and was read OSH or OS; for the Coptic SHEI seems to have been nearly equivalent to the Greek SIGMA.

'Putting all these elements together, we have precisely PTOLEMAIOS, the Greek name; or perhaps PTOLEMEOS, as it would more naturally be called in Coptic.'

Such is the analysis of Ptolemy, which Dr. Young proposes, as an instance of 'the *few* proper names, in which some of the steps may be traced, by which alphabetical writing seems to have arisen out of the hieroglyphical.' He then proceeds, after an intermediate paragraph, to his No. 60, which is a similar analysis of BERENICE, and in which he remarks, 'we seem to have another specimen of *syllabic* and *alphabetical* writing combined, in a manner not extremely unlike the ludicrous mixture of words and things, with which children are sometimes amused.' In his analysis of this name, Dr. Young was less successful than in that of Ptolemy.

We shall hereafter compare M. Champollion's analysis with Dr. Young's. We will only here observe,

1°. That Dr. Young proposes it *en passant*, in two out of about two hundred and eighteen paragraphs, without any intimation that there was any thing novel or important in it.

2°. He proposes his mode of resolving these two proper names, as specimens of the manner, in which, 'in a few proper names,' the traces of a transition from hieroglyphic to alphabet writing can be perceived.

3°. He calls it a mixture of syllabic and alphabetic characters, and in fact reads one of the characters in Ptolemy OLE, and one in Berenice BIR; the former being, in reality, only an L, and the latter only a B.

4°. He proceeds, whenever he can, by identifying the hieroglyphic figures with Akerblad's enchorial characters; and it is Dr. Young's repeatedly declared opinion, that the enchorial is *not* an alphabetical character.

5°. Dr. Young makes no attempt to decypher any other of the numerous proper names, of which he gives the hieroglyphic symbols. Is it conceivable that, if he had imagined he had hit upon the key to a regular alphabet, and detected eight or nine letters, he should not have applied it to the attempt to read some of the other numerous names, which he interprets? For instance, his number 48 is Psammeticus; (totally mistaken, by the way, see the real hieroglyphical emblem in Champollion's general table, No. 121, 122;) could he have avoided examining, whether the first sign of Ptolemy was the first of Psammeticus, and whether an M was to be found in each, in a corresponding place? The same remark may be made of Rameses. Dr. Young's hieroglyphical emblem of this Pharaoh is also wholly erroneous. The true reading of this great Egyptian name is in Champollion's plate XVI, No. 4. But how could Dr. Young have avoided the attempt to decypher it, had he supposed himself in possession of the key?

6°. If there be any doubt left on the subject, we think it must be removed, by what Dr. Young says, at the end of his hieroglyphical vocabulary, under the head of 'sounds.' It is as follows:—

'The *phonetic characters*, according to the traces which may be discovered in the words Berenice, Ptolemy, Greek, and some others, will afford something like a hieroglyphic alphabet, *which however is merely collected as a specimen of the mode of expressing sounds, in some particular cases, and not as having been universally employed, where sounds were required.*'

This is absolutely *all*, that Dr. Young says *expressly* on the point of the hieroglyphics being an alphabetical representation of sounds, and with this he dismisses the subject.

But one or two more considerations will, we think, settle this matter. M. Champollion is charged, civilly by Dr. Young himself, but most opprobriously by many of his countrymen, with having pillaged from Dr. Young the discovery, that the hieroglyphics are phonetic, that is, alphabetic. No one makes this charge in rounder terms, than the author of the interesting life of Dr. Young, in the Annual Biography for 1830. In order to convict M. Champollion of inconsistency, this author cites a sentence from a work of M. Champollion, published in 1821, wherein he says, 'the hieroglyphics are the signs of things and not the signs of names.' As Dr. Young's article on Egypt was published in 1819, and as M. Champollion (according to this biographer) held two years after, that the hieroglyphics were not phonetic but symbolic, it would appear that Dr. Young had the priority. But having made this use of the quotation, it seems to have crossed the biographer's mind, that he had proved a little too much. For the next year, 1822, M. de Champollion published his letter to M. Dacier, in which the phonetic theory is displayed at length. If then two years after the article on Egypt appeared, M. Champollion still held hieroglyphics not to be phonetic, but the next year had made the discovery that they were phonetic, it would create a very strong presumption, that that discovery was not borrowed by M. Champollion from the article of Dr. Young; and an equally strong one that it was not in the article. To avoid this awkward consequence, this biographer says, 'it might be proved, if it were necessary, that in this interval of one year between his two works, M. Champollion had read and studied the article on Egypt.' If it were necessary? Why this is the turning point of the charge. You say, that in 1821 Champollion confesses he did not understand that the hieroglyphics were phonetic, and that in 1822 he published a learned essay, demonstrating that they were phonetic. Since then Dr. Young's book had been published, ever since 1819, unless it can be proved, that Champollion read it between 1821 and 1822, *and not before*, the whole charge falls to the ground. Now it so happens that Champollion had read the essay two years before the letter to M. Dacier appeared; at least he is charged with it by another of the English critics, the writer of the Edinburgh Re-

view,* and this last writer maintains that 'M. Champollion was in the knowledge of Dr. Young's opinions, at almost every stage of his progress.' If then M. Champollion still taught in 1821, that the hieroglyphics were not phonetic, a year after he had read the article on Egypt, and being in possession of Dr. Young's opinions, it proves that he did not derive from Dr. Young or his article the doctrine that they were phonetic.

If this is not yet plain to demonstration, we will try to make it plainer. M. Champollion's letter to M. Dacier appeared in 1822, and was reviewed in the Quarterly Review for October, 1822, and January 1823. M. Champollion, in this essay, completely established the phonetic character of the hieroglyphics and decyphered a large number of words, in the most satisfactory manner. Now what was the judgment passed by the Quarterly reviewer on the state of hieroglyphical science, after all this? He declares that the characters are alphabetical, only in writing proper names foreign to Egypt, resembling in this the similar use made of the monosyllabic characters of the Chinese, —he denies that even this use was made of the hieroglyphics, till after the domination of the Greeks, and declares that in 'the knowledge of Egyptian symbols used to represent ideas, *which the hieroglyphics unquestionably are*, M. Champollion's alphabet does not advance us a single step'!† So that it seems that, four years after Dr. Young had discovered, that the hieroglyphics were a phonetic character, and one year after M. Champollion had pillaged this discovery from Dr. Young, the very man, who charges him in the strongest terms, with the theft, teaches that no such discovery had been made, and consequently, we presume, none such had been pillaged. We mention this, with greater emphasis, because to our misfortune, we originally formed our own notions of M. Champollion's works, from this unfriendly English review. M. Champollion's writings are exceedingly rare in this country, and did not fall in our way till our opinions had received a pretty strong bias from this

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*Vol. XLV. page 121.

†This reviewer uses also the following polite and generous language: 'Such being the case, we may say, without at all derogating from the merit of M. Champollion's indefatigable labors, that whether we weigh their value in the scale of utility or novelty, we find little or nothing in them that can repay him, for the persevering siege, which he has conducted against the pothooks of Egypt, for just so many years as the Greeks sat down before Troy.'

very article, in which M. Champollion is charged in one breath, with having purloined a discovery of Dr. Young, while in the next breath, it is declared that there is no such discovery by any body.

We now, in justice to M. Champollion, present them his remarks on Dr. Young's analysis of the word Ptolemy, that our readers may compare the mode, in which these two distinguished critics have proceeded.

'The square block and the semi-circle'—says Dr. Young—'answer *invariably* in all the manuscripts, to characters resembling the P and T of Akerblad, which are found at the beginning of the enchorial name.'

'This is true,' observes M. Champollion, 'only of the semi-circle or segment of a sphere. I have never seen, in any of the hieratic manuscripts, which I have studied, that the square resembled M. Akerblad's P. * * *

'My position, on the contrary is, that the square is proved to be the letter P, because it is found in the corresponding place, in the word Cleopatra, and that the segment of a circle is shown to be T, *first*, because in all the hieroglyphic texts, the feminine article, which is T, is represented by this segment, and *second*, because it represents this consonant in numerous Greek and Roman names, whose hieroglyphical form has been decyphered.'

In other words M. Champollion pursued the inductive method, and ascertained the alphabetical value of these hieroglyphical characters, by examining the different words where they occur.

'The next character, says Dr. Young' (we are quoting M. Champollion) 'which seems to be a kind of knot, is not essentially necessary, being often omitted in the sacred characters and always in the enchorial.'

'I am ignorant,' remarks M. Champollion, on this position of Dr. Young, 'on what foundation the learned Englishman has felt himself authorized to declare, that the third hieroglyphic sign, in the name of Ptolemy, is not essentially necessary, and why he omitted to examine its import. I have found it omitted but once, in the numerous instances in which I have recognized the name of Ptolemy, on Egyptian monuments, although it is sometimes transposed with the next character; and the corresponding demotic (enchorial) character, instead of being always *omitted* is always *expressed*. Dr. Young's error proceeded from considering it to be a part of the enchorial character, which precedes it.

'In my system, the character, which Dr. Young calls a *knot*

and considers useless, but which I should rather call a fruit, or a flower with a bent stalk, is recognized as the vowel O, and as such fills the fourth place in the word CLEOPATRA.'

The group of characters No. 2, in the plate, is the word Cleopatra.*

'The lion, says Dr. Young' (we still cite M. Champollion) 'is the LO of Akerblad; a lion being always expressed by a similar character in the manuscripts; an oblique line crossed standing for the body, and an erect line for the tail; this probably was read not LO but OLE.

'It is evident,' continues M. Champollion, 'that the learned Englishman at the fourth character, in order to read this name, of which the two first signs, PT, seemed to him *alphabetical*, and after suppressing the third as useless, is obliged to suppose that the fourth, the lion, is not an *alphabetical* sign like the two first, but a *dissyllabic character*, equivalent to OLE. Such a mixture of signs, different in their nature, in the same word, would be singular. For myself, finding that the lion, the fourth character in PTOLEMY, was the second in CLEOPATRA, I recognized it simply as the sign of the consonant L. I must add, that in no hieratic manuscript, has the sign corresponding to the hieroglyphic lion appeared to me to resemble either the L or the LO of Akerblad.'

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* No. 3, a and b in the plate are the words the *Emperor Cæsar*, as appears from the following note of Mr. Stuart.

'Another example is here subjoined, of hieroglyphical phonetic writing in the name of one of the Roman sovereigns of Egypt. It is that of the *Emperor Cæsar* in the cartouches *a* and *b*, No. 3. It is written in the Greek legends Αὐτοκράτωρ Καίσαρος. The imperial title *AYTOKPTΩP* (with the second *A* suppressed), frequently stands in a cartouche by itself, and is joined by a line or lines to another cartouche containing the *proper names* of the emperors. Such is the case in the example given in No. 3, *a*. *AYTOKPTΩP* is thus explained.

'The *hawk* is the vowel *A*; the *line curved to the left*, which somewhat resembles our numeral figure 9, is the Greek *Y*; the *open hand* is the *T*; the *curved line* is also used to denote the *O*; the *triangle surmounted by a small parallelogram*, is the *K*; the *mouth* is the *P*; the open hand is the *T* as above; the line curved to the right is the Ω; and the *lion* is the *P*. The word *Emperor* is frequently written hieroglyphically, with a suppression of more letters than in the present example, and in different ways; e. g. *AOTOKPTP*, *AOTKPTOP*, *AOTAKPTP*.

'The proper name ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ is thus explained (see No. 3, *b*). The *segment of a circle with a handle*, is the letter *K*; the two feathers represent the *H*, or *AI*; the *two horizontal sceptres facing each other*, represent the Σ; the *hawk* represents the *A*; the *lion* the *P*; the *O* is suppressed; and the Σ is represented as before by *two horizontal sceptres facing each other*. All these signs united make ΚΗΣΑΡΣ or ΚΑΙΣΑΡΣ.'

'The next sign, continues the learned Englishman,' (we use M. Champollion's language) is known to have some reference to place, in Coptic MA; and it seems to have been read either simply MA or M, and this character is always expressed in the running hand, by the M of Akerblad's alphabet.'

'I must, in the first place, state,' says M. Champollion, 'that I have never seen, either on the Rosetta inscription or elsewhere, that this character is employed singly or separately to denote *place;* and farther, that I have never, in the hieratic texts, seen this hieroglyphic represented by Akerblad's M. * * *

'I have recognized this character as M, *first*, because the other elements of Ptolemy's name being fixed, this could not be any thing else; and, *secondly*, because I recognized it with the same import, in other Greek and Roman names. It will be presently seen again, that Dr. Young, in reading the word, is obliged to return to his *syllabic* system, and pronounce this character MA. Dr. Young (says M. Champollion) continues;

'The two feathers, whatever their natural meaning may have been, answer to the three parallel lines of the enchorial text, and they seem, in more than one instance, to have been read I or E.'

'I was led,' says M. Champollion, 'to assign to the two feathers the value of the Greek H, because I consider these two feathers, or rather leaves, as a complex character formed by the duplication of the single leaf, which is a short vowel. In fact the two leaves answer, with sufficient regularity in hieroglyphical names, either to the Greek diphthongs AI, EI, or the double vowels IA, IO; and in this respect, this hieroglyphic group strongly resembles the double Epsilon EE found in the most ancient Greek inscriptions. The double leaf also sometimes answers to the Greek I, a new reason for rendering it by H, which was by the Greeks certainly pronounced in the same way as our I.*

'The bent line' (M. Champollion cites from Dr. Young) probably signified *great*, and was read OSH or OS.'

'I hold it certain,' replies M. Champollion, '1°. That the idea *great* is not expressed on the Rosetta stone by this curved line, but by a *swallow* placed on the character *mouth*.

'2°. That if it had signified *great*, it would not have been pronounced OSH or OS, which is the Egyptian, not for *great*, but for *much*.

'3°. And, finally, that this curved line is simply the consonant S, and neither the syllable OSH nor OS, because it constantly terminates Greek and Roman names ending in S, and in the middle of them has but that simple sound.

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*By the modern Greeks H and I are pronounced alike.

'Putting all these elements together,' says Dr. Young, as quoted by M. Champollion, 'we have precisely PTOLEMAIOS, the Greek name itself.'

'For myself,' says M. Champollion, 'considering each hieroglyphic as representing a letter, and not one syllable and even two, I can make nothing of it but ΠΤΟΛΜΗΣ, the skeleton of the Greek Πτολεμαιος.'

'According to the system of the learned Englishman, the Egyptians wrote proper names hieroglyphically, by aid of characters properly ideographic, but arbitrarily employed to represent either a single letter, a syllable, or two syllables.

'In my system, the Egyptians transcribed these names, by means of characters, each of which represented simply one consonant or one principal vowel of the foreign name.

'According to Dr. Young, the Egyptians must have had a sort of mixed ideo-syllabic alphabet, like that of the Chinese when they transcribe foreign words into their tongue.

'On my plan, the Egyptians wrote the foreign names, by a method purely alphabetic, like that of the Hebrews, the Phœnicians, and the Arabs, their neighbors.'

We suppose we need not add much to show, not merely the superior elegance and neatness of M. Champollion's procedure; but that his is, and Dr. Young's is not, a distinct conception of a hieroglyphic alphabet. And imperfect as was Dr. Young's conception of the alphabetical use of hieroglyphics, he appears to have retreated from the enunciation of it with something like timidity, observing that he proposed it only as a specimen of what was done in some particular cases, 'and not as being always employed when *sounds* were required.'

We may add, that M. Champollion's method will recommend itself to those familiar with such researches, over Dr. Young's, for the very circumstance, in which the reader, not accustomed to these inquiries, may think that Dr. Young's has the advantage, we mean the want of the fulness and exact correspondence, letter for letter, with which Dr. Young brings out the name. It is well known, that the nations of Western Asia, generally speaking, write only the consonants of the word, omitting to write most of the vowels by the side of the consonants, and not expressing many of them at all, or only by small points. To the practised eye, the names of Ptolemy, Cæsar, Alexander, Psammeticus, &c. decyphered as they are by M. Champollion, and exhibiting only the consonants and leading vowels, carry with them an air of authenticity, which would be wanting, if they were spelt out at length, according to the plan of Dr. Young.

In about two years after the appearance of M. Champollion's letter to M. Dacier, he published his *Précis du Système Hiéroglyphique* (in 1824), which the Edinburgh reviewer calls 'a masterly performance,' and 'a work beyond doubt of the highest interest and value.' It is unquestionably one of the most extraordinary performances of the age. In this work, which lies before us in the second edition of 1828, M. Champollion has incorporated his letter to M. Dacier. He has perfectly developed his grand discovery of the phonetic character of the hieroglyphics. He has decyphered the proper names of sovereigns of Egypt, from the Roman emperors, back through the Ptolemies, to the Pharaohs of the elder dynasties; and has detected the hieroglyphical expression of a large number of natural relations, grammatical accidents, and terms of the vocabulary. The result of his labors has already thrown a great deal of light on the early history of Egypt; and their further prosecution bids fair to make us better acquainted with that period of history, than we are with the annals of Greece, prior to the commencement of the authentic literary monuments of Grecian history.

As one specimen of the application of M. Champollion's researches, we may allude to what he has done, to settle the question of the antiquity of the zodiac of Denderah. Our readers may recollect our account of this interesting relic, in a former number of this journal.* Its antiquity had been pushed to extravagant lengths, and partly for the sake of shaking the credit of the chronology of Moses. M. Champollion has discovered, engraven on the front of the temple in which the zodiac was found, the names of Augustus, Tiberius, Claudius, Nero, and Domitian. This interesting discovery is usually considered as settling the fact, that the temple was constructed in the Roman age of Egyptian history. We beg leave, however, with diffidence, to suggest one or two doubts on the subject. We freely admit, that these names of the Roman emperors may be *so* engraven on the temple as to appear satisfactorily coeval with its first construction. This can be judged of upon the spot, and perhaps no where else. M. Champollion had not seen the temple, except in the beautiful engravings of the French national work on Egypt. But it will readily occur to the reader, that the mere fact, that the hieroglyphical legends

* North American Review, XVII. p. 233.

of Roman emperors are found on the walls of an Egyptian temple, would not prove, that the temple was built by or under those emperors. Napoleon covered the public works of France,—some of them from the age of Louis XIV—with the imperial N. Most of the obelisks at Rome, some of which are admitted to be of the highest antiquity, contain Roman inscriptions, from the times of the emperors who removed them. St. Sophia's is ornamented with beautiful legends from the Koran. Nay, it would seem to be proved, that these Roman names *cannot* be considered as a safe indication of the time when the temple was built. M. Champollion found the names of Augustus, Tiberius, Claudius, Nero, Domitian, &c. How far down the emperors, not named, extend, does not appear; but from the time that Octavius assumed the title of Augustus till the assassination of Domitian, is a space of one hundred and twenty-five years. Could such a temple have been so long in building? We think not. Some of the names, then, must have been engraven on it, *honoris causâ;* and if some, why not all?

M. Champollion's system has been extensively applied by other scholars. We have before us, in the twenty-ninth volume of the *Memorie della reale Accademia delle Scienze* of Turin, a beautiful essay on several hieroglyphical monuments in the Royal Museum at Turin, but we have time only to refer to it. It is the production of Professor Costanzo Gazzera.

M. Champollion, our readers are probably aware, has been enabled by his government to make a tour of discovery in Egypt, from which he has returned, with his portfolio filled with fifteen hundred drawings, to the publication of which the student of antiquity cannot but look forward with interest and impatience. It were useless to attempt to predict the extent, to which his discoveries have gone. There are some things, which ought to serve to chasten expectation. It is admitted, that, though the hieroglyphics are an alphabetical system, yet that with them the use of hieroglyphic signs in a figurative or symbolic sense, never wholly ceased, but was retained in the same text, and perhaps in the same words. How far this was carried, and what difficulties it may present to the decyphering of the remaining Egyptian legends, experience only can prove. We cannot but hazard the remark, that for contemporary use, it is by no means certain that such an intermixture of figurative with alphabetical signs, is not a more lively and impressive system of writing than the exclusively alphabetical. If, for instance,

most sensible objects, the names of which occur in a written discourse, were represented by a picture of those objects, in a simple but easily recognized form, we are by no means sure, that it would not have its advantages. If the conception of a more compendious system of language, (a conception, which, chimerical as it may seem, occupied the attention of such a man as Leibnitz for years,) be ever realized, there is no way, in which it is more likely to take place, than by a partial recurrence to picture writing,—taken as an illustration of the other modes of expressing thought. The perfection, to which the art of picture writing was brought by the Mexicans, a people exceedingly low in the scale of civilization, and the rapidity with which they communicated through this medium, may teach us to what uses it might be applied, as a supplement to other methods. We had intended, at the commencement of our article, to describe the Mexican system of picture writing, and compare it with the Egyptian hieroglyphics, but our remarks have already been protracted to a length, which warns us to draw them to a close.

But whatever advantage might result from a contemporary use of figurative hieroglyphics as an aid to the alphabetical character, the mixture may be found to create embarrassment, till its laws are ascertained. Besides this difficulty, M. Champollion has to encounter that of a language but imperfectly known. We do not know how much M. Quatremère may have undertaken to prove, as to the identity of the dialect of the Coptic version and the Egyptian tongue, spoken in the time of Ramses, *the guardian of truth, approved by Phrè*, who flourished almost as long before the Christian era as we live after it. The substance of the language is no doubt the same; its grammar and vocabulary must be changed. It is much, if they are as like those of the ancient tongue, as modern Greek is like Homer. M. Champollion, then, has to read the hieroglyphical legends into a tongue imperfectly known, and remote from the European stock.

Then comes, after all, the difficulty arising from the paucity of the matter to be read. If we had no Latin or Greek but the inscriptions on public monuments, the reading of them would be a very different thing from what it is, in a page of Livy or Xenophon. One column of a newspaper would probably hold a literal translation of the inscriptions on an obelisk.

With all this, we have strong hopes that brilliant results will

be disclosed. When we consider how much has been deduced from the fact, that the single name of Ptolemy was preserved in the hieroglyphical part of the Rosetta stone, we cannot doubt, that when Egypt shall have been thoroughly ransacked, the means of reading her now difficult legends will be so multiplied as to put us in possession of all they conceal. The Rosetta stone itself informs us, that a similar stone was set up in several other temples. Some one of these, unmutilated, may yet be brought to light. A great abundance of papyri are in existence, written both in hieroglyphics and enchorial characters, from which much may be learned. Meantime, however, care ought to be taken, by those whom it concerns, not to trifle with the public curiosity and impatience, with such reports as that of the papyrus at Aix, containing a complete hieroglyphical history of the conquests of Sesostris.

That the walls of the temples and the obelisks are inscribed with historic legends, there can be now no doubt, and we may soon hope to be favored with some of these venerable records, which excited the curiosity of the Grecian and Roman traveller. The following passage from Tacitus teaches us, that, with M. Champollion for our interpreter, we cannot well place our expectations too high. Speaking of the generous curiosity of Germanicus to explore the sources of the Nile, and describing his excursion to Upper Egypt for this purpose, Tacitus thus proceeds;

'Germanicus next visited the vast remains of ancient Thebes. And as Egyptian characters still remained on the massy edifices, one of the elder priests was directed to interpret the dialect of his country. The priest explained them to signify, that seven hundred thousand men, capable of bearing arms, formerly inhabited the city; and that with this army the king Ramses, made the conquest of Libya, Ethiopia, Media and Persia, Bactriana, and Scythia, and extended his empire over the territory of the Syrians and Armenians and their neighbors the Cappadocians, from the Bithynian to the Lycian sea. In like manner were explained to him the tribute imposed on the subject nations, the weight of silver and gold, the quantity of armor, the number of horses, the ivory and perfumes as gifts for the temples, the grain and the supplies of all kinds to be furnished by each people, to an extent of magnificence not exceeded in the Parthian or Roman empire at the present day.'*

Many of the structures, charged with these inscriptions, remain to the present day!

* Tacit. Annal. ii. lx.

We have already observed, that M. Champollion has returned from Egypt, with the materials of one of the most important works, which the age has produced, and which will probably, in no very long period, be given to the world. It will doubtless require, in order to be understood, that the reader should have a pretty accurate general knowledge of M. Champollion's system. Such an idea can be very conveniently obtained from M. Greppo's essay, as translated and illustrated by Mr. Stuart. His labor, therefore, has been bestowed upon this undertaking at a very seasonable moment; and we close our article with recommending it in the strongest terms, to the lovers of learning in our country. It will lay open to the philologian a wide field of ingenious literary speculation. The student of history will find, that it puts him on the path to rich and hitherto unexplored regions. The theologian will be made acquainted with a new source, from which the sacred volume may be illustrated; and the general reader will derive from it, within a small compass, a large accession of new and curious views.

Art. VI.—1. *Report from the Committee on Commerce to whom was referred so much of the President's Message, as relates to the Commerce of the United States with Foreign Nations, &c.* Read and referred, Feb. 8, 1830.

2. *A Review of Mr. Cambreleng's Report from the Committee of Commerce.* By Mephistopheles. Baltimore. 1830.

3. *Exposition and Protest reported by the Special Committee of the House of Representatives on the Tariff.* Read and ordered to be printed, Dec. 13, 1828.

4. *Mr. Mc Duffie's Speech in the House of Representatives on the Bill reported by the Committee on Manufactures for the more faithful Collection of the Revenue.* Delivered April 26, 1830.

The great advantages that must naturally result from the introduction of home manufactures into the United States, are sufficiently obvious, and are hardly denied even by those who are most hostile to the protecting system. Independently of the obvious considerations of political expediency, which render it the duty and the policy of every nation to depend as lit-

tle as possible on foreign labor for articles of ordinary consumption, and looking at the subject merely under an economical point of view, it is evident, that the influence of home manufactures upon the condition of the citizens of every portion of the country, is in the highest degree favorable. The general operation of these establishments is to check emigration from the settled to the unsettled parts of the country—to increase the population, and with it the wealth and comforts of the former, and to raise the standard of civilization and morals throughout the whole. They encourage the agriculture of the Southern States, by holding out to the planters in addition to the foreign demand for their staples, a new and rapidly increasing domestic one, which will very soon surpass the former in importance, as much as it now does, and always must, in stability and certainty. They supply the cultivators of the Middle and Western States with an ample market for their provisions, which are now, and always will be in times of peace, excluded from the ports of most other countries. They furnish the monied men of the Eastern States with a lucrative and safe investment for the accumulated capital, which no longer finds employment in commerce or the national funds. By supplying products at lower prices than those of foreign ones of the same description, and in exchange for others that in many cases could not be exported, they enable the citizens of every section of the country to consume manufactures in larger quantities, and thus to obtain a fuller enjoyment of the necessaries, comforts, and luxuries of life. They are, therefore—economically viewed—a great and equal benefit to the whole community. The political and moral advantages that result from them are not less apparent. By retaining the rising generations of the people in the neighborhood of their homes, and within the domestic circles to which they belong, they keep them under the influence of the strongest natural motives to virtue. By substituting the cultivation of the arts of social life, and the tastes, manners, and habits that result from it for those of the roving emigrant, or the solitary settler in the wilderness, they improve the character of the people, and elevate the standard of civilization. They finally perfect and accomplish the great work of our national emancipation, which was only begun by the political separation from the mother country, and which will be fully completed when we shall have learned to supply ourselves at home with all the products, which our

domestic resources are fitted to furnish, including the first and noblest of them all, the products of the mind. When we shall have succeeded in relieving ourselves from the sort of colonial relation in which we have hitherto stood to the mechanical and intellectual workshops of Europe—when we shall have acquired an economical and moral, as well as a political independence—we shall then possess a real national existence, and may fairly claim the honors—till then unmerited—of a self-subsisting substantive community.

We have said above, that the great advantages which result from the possession of domestic manufactures, are hardly contested, even by those most hostile to the protecting policy. They have in fact been seldom stated in a more satisfactory form, than they were by Dr. Cooper, in a paper published in the year 1813, from which we make the following extract. The learned President of Columbia College was then as decidedly in favor of the encouragement and protection of domestic manufactures as he is now opposed to them. We quote his ancient opinions, however, not so much for the purpose of bringing them into contradiction with his present ones—we are not anxious that an individual who has obtained what he thinks new light upon a great subject, should be *estopped* by any declarations which he may have made of his former views from publishing his new ones, although we always regret to see a change of this kind happen under circumstances, which have a tendency to render the motive of it in any way doubtful—but because we really do not know where we could find within the same compass, a more distinct and forcible statement of the leading ideas on this side of the question.

'Our agriculturists want a home market. Manufactures would supply it. Agriculture, at great distances from sea-ports, languishes for want of this. Great Britain exhibits an instance of unexampled power and wealth by means of an agriculture, greatly dependent on a system of manufactures—and her agriculture, thus situated, is the best in the world, though still capable of great improvement.

'We are too much dependent upon Great Britain, for articles that habit has converted into necessaries. A state of war demands privations, that a large portion of our citizens reluctantly submit to. Home manufactures would greatly lessen the evil.

'By means of debts incurred for foreign manufactures, we are almost again become colonists—we are too much under the influ-

ence, indirectly, of British merchants and British agents. We are not an independent people—manufactures among us would tend to correct this, and give a stronger tone of nationality at home. I greatly value the intercourse with that country of pre-eminent knowledge and energy; but our dependence upon it is often so great, as to be oppressive to ourselves.

'The state of agriculture would improve with the improvement of manufactures, by means of the general spirit of energy and exertion, which no where exists in so high a degree as in a manufacturing country; and by the general improvement of machinery, and the demand for raw materials.

'The home trade, consisting in the exchange of agricultural surpluses for articles of manufacture, produced in our own country, will, for a long time to come, furnish the safest and the least dangerous, the least expensive, and the least immoral, the most productive and the most patriotic employment of our surplus capital, however raised and accumulated. The safest, because it requires no navies exclusively for its protection—the least dangerous, because it furnishes no excitement to the prevailing madness of commercial wars—the least expensive, for the same reason that it is the safest and the least dangerous—the least immoral, because it furnishes no temptation to the breach or evasion of the laws, to the multiplication of oaths and perjuries, and to the consequent prostration of all religious feeling and all social duty—the most productive, because the capital admits of quicker return; because the whole of the capital is permanently invested and employed at home; because it contributes, directly, immediately, and wholly, to the internal wealth and resources of the nation; because the credits given, are more easily watched, and more effectually protected by our own laws, well known, easily resorted to, and speedily executed, than if exposed in distant and foreign countries, controlled by foreign laws and foreign customs, and at the mercy of foreign agents—the most patriotic, because it binds the persons employed in it, by all the ties of habit and of interest, to their own country; while foreign trade tends to denationalize the affections of those whose property is dispersed in foreign countries, whose interests are connected with foreign interests, whose capital is but partially invested at the place of their domicil, and who can remove with comparative facility from one country to another. The wise man observed of old, that 'where the treasure is, there will the heart be also;' and time has not detracted from the truth of the remark.

'We have a decided superiority in the raw materials of cotton, hemp, and flax; in our alkalies for glass-works; in the hides and the tanning materials of the leather manufactory; and we can easily procure that advantage, so far, at least, as our own con-

sumption requires it, in the woollen manufactory. Other branches might be enumerated, wherein our advantages of internal resources are undeniable; but I cannot see why we should neglect or despise these. Nothing but a stimulus is wanted to induce and enable us to make a proper use of our domestic riches. But men of skill and men of capital fear to begin, lest on the return of peace they should be exposed, in the weakness and infancy of their undertaking, to contend with the overwhelming capital and skill of the European powers, particularly of Great Britain.'

As Dr. Cooper has justly and forcibly described, in the above extract, the great advantages resulting from domestic manufactures, so he has correctly pointed out at the close the nature of the difficulty attending their establishment, and the means by which it may be overcome. The difficulty lies in *beginning*, and it must be overcome by a *stimulus*, which can only be applied in the form of legislative protection. However favorably situated a country may be for manufacturing,—and there is certainly none upon the face of the globe that combines more natural advantages and facilities for this purpose than the United States—whatever care and skill may be employed in laying the foundations of the establishments, it is certain that their products will be for a time inferior to the corresponding ones, which are furnished by an equal amount of labor in other countries. No forethought, care, or vigilance will entirely supply the want of experience. Injudicious and unnecessary expenses will be incurred—unsuitable agents will be employed—erroneous methods will be adopted, and it is not until the progress of years has afforded time and opportunity for reforming errors and supplying defects, that the product begins to wear a finished shape. In the mean time, it is offered in a form at once less perfect and more expensive than the foreign one, and if the market be left open, the necessary consequence is, that there is no sale for the former; or if we adopt the supposition that the domestic article is every way equal to the foreign one, the mere force of habit will give the latter for a time a decided preference. Under these circumstances, the domestic article finds no purchasers; the manufacture of it yields no returns and is abandoned, and the great and permanent advantages that would have resulted from it, if it could have been persevered in, are lost to the community.

In order to secure these results, and remove the dangers that are incident to new establishments, it is only necessary to

give them for a short time the aid of legislative protection, by imposing a duty on the importation of the products of similar establishments in foreign countries. This occasions a rise of equal amount in the cost of the foreign article in the domestic market; and the domestic manufacturer is able to furnish his article at a cheaper rate, though perhaps at first of a somewhat inferior quality. He finds of course, a ready sale; his establishment is sustained through the critical period of its infancy; he gradually acquires experience—reforms his errors—carries his methods to perfection, and finally becomes independent of the protecting duty, because his article, not being charged with the expenses of transportation from abroad, can be furnished cheaper than the foreign one. The establishment is now secure and flourishes—the methods employed in it are copied in others—the duty becomes a mere name, and the domestic manufacturer instead of requiring legislative aid in order to have possession of the market of his own country, begins to supply that of others. Such has been within our own time and in our immediate neighborhood the progress of the cotton manufactory, which would never have taken root and flourished without the protecting duty; but having now grown up to maturity is in a great measure independent of legislative aid, and in some of its branches would continue to thrive if the whole duty were taken off. Such is the history of most of the British manufactures, which, under the operation of a steady course of legislative protection, have gained such a degree of consolidation and stability, that they now defy competition in all markets, foreign and domestic. Under these circumstances, the protecting duty is merely nominal, and the Ministry, by diminishing or removing it on some articles, are able to give themselves without hazard, the credit of a liberal policy—taking care, however, as they regularly do, to retain the duty upon any product in regard to which there is the least possibility of any competition from abroad. The operation of legislative aid on the infancy of domestic manufactures, is like that of favorable circumstances on the seeds of a powerful and productive tree. They require but little aid to make them germinate, but that little is absolutely necessary, and unless it is given, they perish forever. An acorn, which is thrown upon the rocks, or the way-side, is soon converted into a little heap of useless dust; supply it with a handful of earth and a few drops of water, and it forthwith becomes a plant—protect the young plant by a fence from

external violence, and it shoots up into a large and spreading oak—the pride of the forest and the material of future navies. So it is with domestic manufactures. In their infant state, they require the aid of protecting duties, and without it, they can rarely, if ever, take deep root—obtain consistency, or ultimately flourish. Afford them the protection they want, and they soon outgrow the necessity for it—assume a healthy and vigorous developement—send forth branches in all directions, which enliven and adorn the whole face of the country, and yield returns of wealth and well-being, in comparison with which the trifling sacrifice that was originally made for the purpose of securing their infancy, is not worth consideration.

It is in fact an error to consider the policy of protecting our own manufactures by a duty on the importation of foreign ones as occasioning any sacrifice whatever to the community. The opponents of the protecting system uniformly maintain, that these duties are a burden upon the public for the benefit of a particular class. Mr. Mc Duffie, in the speech before us, endeavors to prove, that this supposed burden is borne exclusively by the Southern planters: Mr. Cambreleng pronounces it to be a permanent imposition upon the whole people. These opinions are both erroneous, and the latter involves a double mistake. The operation of protecting duties is—as we have seen already—not permanent but merely temporary. They guard the infant establishment from foreign competition, but when once the domestic manufacture is fully established, it has nothing to apprehend from abroad, and the protecting duty becomes a mere name. The operation of it is, therefore, not permanent but temporary, nor is it, while it lasts, a burden upon the whole or any part of the community. It imposes no new charge. It subjects the people to no sacrifice, which they would not be obliged to make to the same, or even a greater extent, if the whole protecting duty were taken off. The truth of this remark is easily seen on the slightest reflection. The expenses of government must be defrayed by a tax levied on the products of labor in one shape or another; and there never has been, and probably never will be, a period in our history when a single dollar has been, or will be, raised for this purpose more than is absolutely necessary. The expenses of government are, therefore, what Mr. Cambreleng erroneously calls the protecting duties—a permanent burden on the community. These expenses have been hitherto defrayed by

the produce of an impost on foreign articles, which answers at the same time the great additional purpose of protecting our domestic industry. Let us now suppose, that in deference to the opinions of the Southern planters, the duties on the importation of foreign goods are all repealed, and our ports declared entirely free. What follows? Will the freedom of the ports pay off the national debt—maintain our civil, military, and naval establishments, and furnish the large sums that are wanted for the removal of the Indians? Clearly not. No sooner are the protecting duties repealed, than we must provide for raising, in some other way, precisely the same revenue that we now derive from them; and as a given amount of money is collected at a cheaper rate in the form of custom-house duties than in any other, the people would now be subjected to a heavier burden than they were before. We should be compelled to resort to the system of direct taxes, and leaving out of view the vexatious character of this mode of raising money, it is well known to be much more expensive than the other, so that we should be obliged to raise, in addition to what we raised before, one or two millions more for the sole purpose of defraying the additional charges of the new financial system. It is obvious, therefore, that the duties which protect our domestic industry do not impose any new burden on the labor of the people. They occasion no sacrifice, which would not have been made if they did not exist, and not only so, but they actually alleviate the pressure, which, under any other form of collecting the revenue is imposed upon the public by the standing expenses of the administration.

The only incidental inconvenience, which, on general principles, might be expected to result from the growth of domestic manufactures, would be the decline of navigation. If we now supply ourselves at home, with the articles we formerly brought from abroad, the ships that brought them will no longer be wanted, and the navigating interest will sustain some damage, especially if the change in the state of industry be suddenly effected by important changes in the tariff. This, we say, would be the result of the circumstances supposed, on general principles, and although the inconvenience sustained by a few individuals would be far more than counterbalanced by the great advantages accruing to the community from the same cause, it would still be to a certain extent real. It is easy, however, to see, that in the peculiar situation of the United

States, the adoption of a protecting policy will not probably be attended with any positive diminution of the amount of our foreign trade and navigation; that the only change effected by it in this department of industry will be, that our ships will now bring home one description of foreign articles instead of another—French and Spanish products, for example, instead of British—and that, as the former are in general more bulky in proportion to their value than the latter, the amount of navigation employed may be expected to increase, instead of diminishing. We shall have occasion to develope this idea a little more at length when we come to examine the theory of Mr. Cambreleng on the supposed decline of our navigation and foreign trade.

It results in general from the foregoing remarks, that the establishment of domestic manufactures is productive of the most important economical, political, and moral benefits to the country—that they require in their infancy the aid of legislative protection in the form of duties on the importation of foreign goods—that the effect of these duties is in its nature temporary, and that while it lasts, it not only does not impose any additional burden or sacrifice upon the people, but actually relieves them from a part of the burdens, which, under any other circumstances they must necessarily have borne, inasmuch as they furnish a revenue by general acknowledgment, at a cheaper rate than it can possibly be collected in any other way. It appears, therefore, that the protecting policy is attended by no inconvenience tending to diminish in any way the great advantages which confessedly result from it, and that it produces to the country nothing but pure unalloyed good. It is not unnatural, however, that many important interests among us should take the alarm at the prospect of any change in the state of the national industry. The Southern planters *fear*, that the duties on foreign manufactures will diminish the foreign market for their products, more than it will increase the domestic one. The Northern navigators *fear*, that the growth of domestic manufactures will be followed by a decline in the foreign trade, and it is quite in the usual order of cause and effect, that without waiting to see how far these apprehensions, which nothing has yet occurred to confirm, will be justified by results, the parties in question should vigorously oppose by all the arguments and means in their power the measures, from the effect of which they expect so much inconvenience. It is not

perhaps quite so natural, that while they continue to be a minority of the community, they should think that their opinion ought to prevail over that of the majority, or that, under the mere apprehension of some slight pecuniary loss, the former should contemplate a separation of the States. Such opinions and proceedings are not only erroneous, but the errors they involve are at variance with the moral qualities which the parties in question are fond of claiming as the distinctive traits of their own characters—they are such as we should rather look for in the calculating North than in the 'generous South.' But even these errors, obvious and palpable as they are, are sufficiently consistent with the ordinary infirmity of poor human nature; and we are quite willing to extend to them all the friendly and charitable indulgence which the occasion may appear to require —more especially as we do not conceive that they are fraught with any very imminent peril—economical or political—to the welfare of the country.

The report made to the House of Representatives of the United States at the last session of Congress, by Mr. Cambreleng, as Chairman of the Committee of Commerce, and the speech of Mr. Mc Duffie on the bill reported from the Committee of Manufactures for the prevention of frauds on the revenue, are among the most remarkable publications which have lately been called forth by the apprehensions to which we have just alluded. The arguments contained in these papers were fully and satisfactorily answered on the floor of Congress; but as they have since been reprinted in various forms, and circulated much more extensively than the answers which were made to them, it may not be wholly superfluous to give them at present a brief consideration. They represent respectively the feelings and opinions of the planting and navigating interests; and are entitled to much respect as expressions of the sentiments of large and important classes of the community through the agency of leading members of Congress, although it will, perhaps, be sufficiently evident in the sequel, that the cause is essentially too weak to appear to much advantage even in the hands of the ablest and most accomplished advocates.

We shall first notice the report of Mr. Cambreleng, and before we proceed to examine the substance of it, we cannot but remark, that the tone does not strike us as precisely the one best suited on every account to the nature of the occasion. We speak with diffidence on this head, because we are aware,

that the tone which is proper to be observed in the oral and written proceedings of Congress, is in part, a matter of mere usage, and that we have thus far no right to oppose our merely speculative notions to the results of practical experience; but with all the deference that we feel for the high authority of the Chairman of the Committee of Commerce, we must say, that in our opinion a less decisive and triumphant tone than that which he employs, would have been in better taste. The chairman of a committee, in making a report to the House, is in the nature of an agent, submitting for the consideration of his principal the results of an investigation undertaken by his order. The tone which properly belongs to such a position is that of perfect respect and deference, more especially when, as in the case before us, these results are known to be at variance with the established opinions and practice of the principal. Mr. Cambreleng was fully aware, that the system he intended to combat was a favorite one with a decided majority of both Houses of Congress—that the majority of Congress were sustained in their opinion on this subject by the majority of the people—by the opinions and practice of all the preceding and of the present Administration of the General Government—by the almost unanimous voice of his own great State. He was fully aware that the Government and people of the United States are sustained in their opinion and practice upon this subject by those of every other nation in Christendom. He was fully aware that the system which he prefers, is a mere speculative theory—promulgated for the first time half a century ago by an ingenious Scotch writer—which has never been practised upon by any government whatever in any part of the world, and which, as a mere theory, is fast going out of vogue in the only quarter where it ever obtained any authority. In addition to all this, he knew that the system he was opposing was the law of the land, and entitled as such, were it even founded in erroneous principles, to the respect of every good citizen, and especially of those whose particular province it is to superintend and regulate the operations of Government. All these considerations ought not, we are aware, to have prevented Mr. Cambreleng from stating distinctly in his report the opinions of the majority of the committee, in whose name he was speaking, were it even at variance with that of the House and the country; but they ought, we think, to have prevented him from applying to the latter such epithets as 'an-

tiquated absurdities,' 'extravagant speculations,' 'remnants of an exploded system,' 'experiments to encourage gambling and smuggling,' and a variety of others of a similar kind. We cannot consider it as quite decorous in a member of the House of Representatives of the United States, to tell that body in a formal report, that a policy, which a majority of the members are known to approve, is disgraceful to the country, and that it *must* be altered. This style appears to us to suit the position of a General at the head of his army, reprimanding a negligent or offending officer, rather than that of an individual member submitting to the consideration of one of the most imposing deliberative assemblies in the world, the results of an inquiry, undertaken by their order, into the state of an important branch of the Administration.

We have remarked on some other occasions as well as this, in the language of the opponents of the protecting policy, a dogmatical and peremptory tone, which we think exceedingly ungraceful, although it is not uncommon in persons who are opposing what they deem the results of scientific research, to the plain dictates of the experience of practical men. The editor of the New-York Evening Post, for example, in a commentary upon our own poor labors, very coolly remarked, that the doctrines of the protecting policy are regarded by the most enlightened men of all countries as absurd and mischievous. Now it so happens, as we have already hinted, that these doctrines are, always have been, and probably always will be, approved and acted on by the governments of all the powers in Christendom, including the United States. If the simple fact of agreeing or not agreeing on this subject with the editor of the New-York Evening Post be the test of intellectual light or darkness, his proposition is of course identical; but on any other view of the case, it is not more plausible, than it would be to affirm that the leading statesmen of Christendom do not belong to the class of persons, who, from their superior talents and character, are commonly called *enlightened men.* To speak only of our own country, General Washington approved the protecting policy—Hamilton was its great advocate—Jefferson, who differed from Hamilton on so many other points, agreed with him in this. John Adams, Madison, and Monroe, held the same opinion. All these persons belong, in our opinion, to the class of enlightened men—of the most enlightened men in the country. If the denunciation applied only to the

members and principal supporters of the last Administration, we could find a natural motive for it in the party politics of the writer, although we incline to think that candid men of all parties would be willing to allow that Messrs. J. Q. Adams, Clay, Rush, Webster, and their principal coadjutors—all warm supporters of the protecting policy—are yet fairly entitled to the description of enlightened men. But this is not the worst. The present Administration of the General Government partakes on this subject in the error, if such it be, of all the preceding ones. The President, long ago, declared himself in favor of a *judicious tariff*, and on a late occasion expressed anew his firm determination to give a temperate and steady support to the encouragement of domestic manufactures. Mr. Secretary Van Buren and a majority of the Cabinet are understood to agree with him in these opinions, and intentions. Are we to understand, then, that the President, the Secretary of State, and the majority of the Cabinet are, in the opinion of this writer, unenlightened men? Is the editor of the Post, with all his intellectual light, pursuing the track of a set of blind guides? Or if, while he differs from the Cabinet on this subject, he is willing to allow them the possession of a share of common sense, would it not be natural to treat with more indulgence other writers, who can plead in favor of their opinions upon the point on which they have the misfortune to differ from him, the authority of the very statesmen in whom he places the fullest confidence?

But without dwelling any longer on this part of the subject, we proceed at once to notice the substance of the argument, which the Chairman of the Committee of Commerce has presented with so much confidence to the House of Representatives.

The plan of this argument is not distinctly announced, nor is the argument itself arranged in a regular form. The natural course of reasoning in favor of the positions taken in the report, would be to establish in a general way the inconvenience of a protecting policy, and then to illustrate the subject by reference to the effects of such a policy in this country on all the great branches of industry. Of these two leading divisions of the argument, the former is wholly omitted in the report. Instead of entering on a discussion of general principles, the Chairman confines himself to positive assertions and polite epithets of the description quoted above. The law of the land is not shown to be founded in incorrect principles, but is pronounced to be

an antiquated absurdity. Congress are not informed why they ought to change it, but are told peremptorily that it MUST be repealed. In the other division of the argument, which considers the effect of the present policy on the industry of the country, the Chairman omits almost entirely any large and direct observation of the state of either agriculture, manufactures, or commerce, and confines his view to the single article of *navigation*—an interest of high importance, no doubt, but still subsidiary only to commerce, itself but one, and that not the most important of the three great sources of national wealth. A few loose hints are thrown out in direct reference to these, but the only point which is developed and illustrated with any fulness and care, is the state of our navigation in itself and in comparison with that of Great Britain. The protecting policy is bad, because the tonnage of the United States has been decreasing ever since it was adopted, while that of Great Britain—a power that has acted on an opposite system—has been constantly increasing during the same period. Such is the sum and substance of the argument advanced in the report.

This argument—such as it is—is however stated with so little method or distinctness, that it is not apparent whether the Chairman means to represent the supposed decline of navigation as being itself the evil resulting from the protecting policy, or merely an indication and proof of the decline of our foreign trade. In some passages, as in that, for example, where he makes the extravagant assertion, that the rise or decline of our navigation is the index of our national prosperity and power, he contemplates it under the former point of view, and in others under the latter. If the general course of his reasoning were sound, and his facts correctly stated, the argument would no doubt admit of either application. The decline of navigation would be itself a great evil, and would also be an indication of a still greater one, the decline of foreign trade. But as used by Mr. Cambreleng, the argument—supposing even the facts to be well established—admits, under each of the abovementioned applications, of a distinct, peremptory, and unanswerable reply. The suggestion that our navigation has declined since the war, is, as we shall see hereafter, wholly false; but admitting, for argument's sake, that such is the fact, it is perfectly clear, that, whether we consider it in itself or as an index of the state of trade, it can have no bearing on the merits of the protecting system.

1. For if it be argued that our navigation has declined since the war, and, consequently, that the protecting policy, which has been gradually gaining ground during that time, is a bad one, the obvious answer is, that navigation is precisely the one—and it is almost the only one—of all the branches of our national industry to which the principle of protection has not been applied during that period. From the year 1789 up to the close of the late war, our tonnage was protected by discriminating duties; since the war, these discriminating duties have been, for practical purposes, entirely taken off. During the former period, our tonnage regularly increased; during the latter, according to Mr. Cambreleng, it has regularly declined. Supposing the facts to be as he states them, the obvious conclusion is, that the protecting policy was favorable to the growth of our navigation, and the repeal of it the reverse. Mr. Cambreleng argues, on the contrary, that because our navigation has, according to him, regularly declined ever since the repeal of the protecting policy, as applied to this department of industry, while it regularly throve during its existence, it has therefore been ruined by the protecting policy.

In a speech made in reply to one by Mr. Gorham, upon a bill introduced by Mr. Cambreleng, at a subsequent period of the session, the latter gentleman remarks, that the repeal of the discriminating tonnage duties cannot possibly be regarded as one of the causes of what he calls the paralyzed state of navigation, because the amount of American tonnage employed in our foreign trade being to that of foreign in the proportion of seven to one, we gain of course in the same proportion from a reciprocal repeal by ourselves and the nations with which we trade, of the discriminating tonnage duties formerly levied on both sides. We are disposed to agree with him in the opinion, that our navigation has not been injured by a repeal of the protecting duties. It has outgrown the period when protection was useful, and like the manufacturing interest of England, now defies competition. We must remark, however, that the reason he gives why the supposed decline of navigation has not been owing to the repeal of the protecting duties has very little force. Whatever advantages we might gain for the moment, by a repeal of discriminating duties, the question would still arise, whether our navigation, unprotected by duties, can stand the competition with that of other nations. If it cannot, it will of course regularly decline, and this question is so far from being

resolved in the affirmative by the fact of its present superiority, that this superiority, acquired as it has been, under the prevalence of a different system, has an obvious bearing in favor of protection. But however this may be, it is quite plain that the flourishing state of navigation under the protecting duties, and its decline—supposing it to be real—since their repeal, are facts that can never be employed by any sound reasoner as proofs of the inexpediency of the protecting policy; or rather—for this language is quite inadequate to the true state of the case—the employment of them for this purpose is a mode of reasoning which wears upon the face of it an air of open and unqualified absurdity.

Mr. Cambreleng would doubtless reply—if called upon to explain himself—that the effect of the new protecting duties which have been laid upon the materials of ship-building is so much greater than that of the former discriminating duties on tonnage, as to render these a matter of no importance; and to authorize the statement that this branch of our industry is still under the operation of the protecting policy. In the speech to which we alluded above, he asserts that the enormous taxes we have levied on the materials of ship-building account for the present state of our shipping, when compared with its former prosperity; and in the report before us, 'our treaties and our navigation laws are idle pageants, unless we relieve ship-building from its taxes.' It is remarkable, however, that though he has given a minute calculation of the increase in the expense of building a ship of five hundred tons, resulting from this augmentation of the protecting duties on some foreign articles, he has avoided comparing this additional expense with the amount of the discriminating duty formerly levied upon a foreign ship of the same burden. The result of such a comparison would have shown at once, that the latter amount is far more important than the former, and that if our navigation had declined since the war, the fact might have been attributed to the repeal of the discriminating duties with much more plausibility, than to the additional expense of ship-building, resulting from the new duties on foreign materials. The actual difference between the cost of building a ship of five hundred tons in Great Britain and in the United States, occasioned by the difference between the duties levied respectively in the two countries, on Russian and Swedish goods, is represented by Mr. Cambreleng as being at present $18,577,99.

But the former American duties on Russian and Swedish articles, are represented by himself in another document as having been on an average about half as high as the present ones, and as the additional expense can be calculated only on the additional amount of duty, the difference between the expense of building a ship of five hundred tons in England and America, resulting from the increase in our protecting duties, is reduced to about $1,100. Compare now with this, the effect on our tonnage of the repeal of the discriminating duties. A foreign ship of five hundred tons formerly paid, every time she entered an American port, a discriminating tonnage and light duty of ninety-four cents per ton. Supposing that our ships, engaged in the foreign trade, made only three voyages in a year, they lost the first year, simply by the effect of the repeal of the discriminating duty, the benefit of a protection equal to about $1,500. But this is not all. The cargo of a foreign ship formerly paid, as such, an additional duty of ten per cent. Supposing the average value of the cargoes imported in ships of five hundred tons to be only $100,000, and the average rate of duties fifty per cent.—probably a low calculation—the foreigner was subject, on this account only, to an additional charge of $5,000 at every entry; and taking together the two items, the American ship had the benefit of a discriminating duty on the foreign one, equal, on the average, at every entry, to about $6,500. If we suppose her, as before, to make three voyages in a year, and to last ten years, her owner loses, in the whole course of her employment, by the repeal of the discriminating tonnage duties, the advantage of a preference over the foreigner equal to $190,000; while, on the other hand, if we double the additional expense of building her, occasioned by the new protecting duties, for the additional expense of repairing her, arising from the same cause, we shall have, as the total result of the loss upon her, on this account, the sum of $2,200. Such is the comparative influence upon the interest of the navigator, of the repeal of the discriminating duties on foreign ships and cargoes, and of the additional duties on the materials employed in ship-building. It is pretty obvious, therefore, that if our navigation have actually declined, and especially if the proportion of foreign tonnage be, as Mr. Cambreleng affirms, greater than it was formerly, the circumstance is owing to the repeal of the discriminating duties, and not to the new taxes on the materials of ship-building. The latter cause

would, of course, operate—as far as it operated at all—in concurrence with the former, but as the effect of it would be to that of the other in the proportion of two to two hundred, it might be regarded, for the purposes of any general argument, as fractional and null.

It must be sufficiently apparent by this time to all our readers, that our navigation has been since the war entirely under the influence of what Mr. Cambreleng would call a liberal, and not a protecting policy; and that if it be, as he says, in a state of decline, the fact, instead of helping his argument, makes directly against him. So much for the value of his reasoning, so far as he intends to represent the supposed decline of navigation as a positive evil, resulting from the adoption of the protecting policy, and tending, of course, to prove it to be a mistaken one. But the fact admits of another application to the argument, if we suppose a decline of navigation to be not merely an evil in itself, but the indication of another still greater evil, a corresponding decline of commerce. It is accordingly used at times in this way by Mr. Cambreleng, and we proceed to inquire, whether he has been more fortunate in this employment of it than he has in the other.

2. In this application of the fact, the argument takes the following form. The decline of navigation since the war, indicates a decline of our trade during the same period; and as this period coincides with the adoption of the protecting policy, we must presume that it is owing to that cause.

If it were the object of Mr. Cambreleng to found any part of his reasoning upon a supposition of a decline of our foreign trade since the war, it would have been more natural to appeal directly to the annual returns of exports and imports, of which we possess official statements. These would have exhibited a regular increase instead of diminution in the amount of our foreign trade, for the last sixteen years. The supposed fact of the decline of trade is therefore just as chimerical as that of the decline of navigation; but in order to see the full force and beauty of the reasoning of Mr. Cambreleng, let us admit, for argument's sake, that our commerce has declined, and see how the fact will bear upon his conclusions.

The purpose of the protecting policy is to enable the people to make at home the articles they now bring from abroad. As far as they succeed in this purpose, they will of course cease to buy those articles from abroad. Mr. Cambreleng tells us

that our foreign commerce has declined; that is, that we bring fewer articles from abroad than we formerly did, and that this is owing to the protecting policy. Does it follow from this, that the protecting policy is bad? Evidently not. The only conclusion is, that this policy has answered its purpose—that we make at home the articles we desired to make at home—that we no longer bring from abroad the articles we desired not to bring from abroad—that our policy, in short, has succeeded, and will at least have a chance for a fair trial. The fact of the supposed decline of commerce, although it does not, like that of navigation, make directly against the conclusions of Mr. Cambreleng, has yet no bearing whatever in their favor. It proves the success of the protecting policy, and leaves the question of its expediency or inexpediency entirely untouched.

It is obvious, in fact, on a general view of the subject, that it is the necessary and natural operation of the growth of domestic manufactures, to occasion a decline of foreign, and a corresponding increase of internal trade. In proportion as we make at home the articles we formerly brought from abroad, our trade will consist in carrying between different parts of our own country, instead of carrying between that and other countries. This change is at once an advantage in itself, and an evidence of an advantageous change in the general state of industry. The home trade is admitted by all, including Adam Smith, the great authority of the opponents of the protecting policy, to be a steadier, safer, and, on the whole, more eligible branch of business than the foreign; and the increase of it evidently indicates a favorable change in the general state of industry. It shows, that a people employ two domestic capitals where they before employed but one, and that their population, wealth, and resources have increased in the same proportion. This is a point which is apparently not understood by the opponents of protection, but which, if they could once bring themselves to realize it—and it seems to us to be obvious to the plainest common sense—would go near, we think, to satisfy them of the error of their whole system.

If, therefore, there had been, as Mr. Cambreleng affirms, a decline of our foreign trade, since the war, the fact would only prove, that the protecting policy had gone into successful operation, and that we had partially substituted a more advantageous and lucrative branch of industry, for one that was less so. Such, however, is not the fact. There has not been, as

we have previously seen, any decline in our foreign trade, and the reason is, that in consequence of the peculiar character of our intercourse with foreign countries, the case of the United States forms a sort of exception to the general rule, that the growth of domestic manufactures diminishes the extent of foreign trade. Our exports are chiefly of agricultural products, which cannot be raised in the climates of the countries to which we carry them, and which—being employed in their manufactories, and the best and cheapest of their kinds—those countries must at all events have, and must pay for in one way or another. If, in consequence of the growth of domestic manufactures, we should cease to import from any one of them certain articles in which she formerly paid us, the only effect would be, that she would be obliged to pay us in some other. If the whole amount of our imports of manufactures from a particular country were not sufficient to pay for our exports of produce to that country, the immediate result would be a specie balance in our favor on that branch of our trade. If our whole imports of British manufactures, for example, are not sufficient to pay for our exports of agricultural produce to England, there will be a specie balance due to us on this branch of our foreign trade. Exchange on New-York and Boston will be at a premium in England, just as exchange on England has heretofore generally been at a premium at New-York and Boston. But the money balance, thus due to us, would probably not be remitted in cash to the United States. It would be paid to the American merchant by the British manufacturer in bills on some other part of the world, where it would be invested in any articles—such as wines, teas, spices, silks, or fruits,—which are not produced in this country. Until the productive capacity of the rest of the world is so far exhausted, or that of the United States so far increased, that there is no article of use, luxury, or comfort to be found abroad, which is not also produced at home—a period which may be expected to arrive some time after the opening of the millennium—there is no danger of a falling off in our foreign trade for want of something to make up a return cargo; and as the articles of British manufacture, which we have hitherto received in exchange for our agricultural produce, are among the least bulky in proportion to their value, the change to which we allude in the course of our foreign trade, would have a tendency to increase rather than diminish the extent of our navigation.

Mr. Mc Duffie alludes in the speech before us to an article in the number of this journal for last January, in which we introduced nearly the same ideas that we have now expressed respecting the effect of a diminished importation of British manufactures upon the state of our exchange with England, and he represents us as stating, that this effect would be an increase in the amount of gold and silver current in this country. He also represents us as holding the opinion, that such an increase of gold and silver would be a national advantage, and enters into an argument of some length for the purpose of showing that we are wrong on both these points. The learned gentleman has misunderstood us in regard to both, and we regret the circumstance the more, as we had endeavored to make known our views upon them very distinctly, in the hope, which we ventured to express at the time, that they would not be mistaken. We stated before, as we have now done, that if the value of our imports of British manufactures fell below that of our exports to England, there would be a specie balance in our favor on the adjustment of the account between the two countries. This proposition appears to us sufficiently clear. We did not, however, affirm or mean to be understood, that this balance would be actually remitted to the United States in specie, or if it were, that it would increase the amount of gold and silver current in the country—still less that such increase, if it really took place, would be a national benefit. We remarked on the contrary, that the balance in question would probably be invested abroad, and that 'our merchants would bring home more silks, claret and sherry, than they did before.' As respects the general principle, we pointedly and distinctly disclaimed at considerable length the theory of the mercantile system, which supposes that an importation of the precious metals is a great positive benefit, and disclaiming at the same time the opposite heresy of the Edinburgh reviewer—who had asserted that the reverse of the mercantile theory was true, and that there was a great positive benefit in regularly paying out specie—we professed our belief in the modern doctrine, which considers both operations as matters of indifference in themselves, and as no otherwise important than as they indicate and enter into the general course of trade. Mr. Mc Duffie will perceive, therefore, that instead of *gravely maintaining* what we consider with him as 'a gross and palpable absurdity,' we—gravely enough, if he pleases—maintained exactly the opposite

opinion ; having stated upon this subject—doubtless in a very inferior form—precisely the same ideas with his own. We hold with him, that an importation of specie is of no more benefit to the country, than an importation of any other article of equal value ; but we do not quite agree with him in regard to the importance, which he attaches to the circumstance of obtaining a return for our exports to each foreign country in its own particular produce. If the Carolina planter, who exports cotton to England, receive a return for it in bills of exchange or specie, which he invests and brings home in the produce of France, Spain, Turkey, or China, we conceive, that the transaction is not less beneficial to himself, and considerably more so to the domestic manufacturer and navigator, than if he had brought home his returns in British hard-ware and broadcloth.

It results from the above remarks, that although it be the general effect of the growth of domestic manufactures, to occasion a decline of foreign trade, that of the United States forms in this respect, an exception to the common rule. It has accordingly hitherto flourished, and will probably continue to flourish under the existing system, as much as it could possibly have done under any other. This consideration leads us to mention the third and most decisive objection to the argument of Mr. Cambreleng, and this is,

3. That the statement of facts, which forms the basis of it, is directly the reverse of the truth. Our navigation, instead of having declined since the peace, as Mr. Cambreleng affirms, has in all its branches steadily and rapidly advanced through the whole period intervening between that event and the present day. The errors contained in the report, as well respecting the state of our own navigation, as that of Great Britain, with which Mr. Cambreleng compares it, are so numerous and of so extraordinary a character, as to render the document a real curiosity. The most important of them were distinctly pointed out and corrected soon after the publication of the report in an able series of papers in the Essex Register, and in a well-written pamphlet published at Baltimore, from which we shall take the liberty to borrow such details, as may suit our purpose.

The leading statement of Mr. Cambreleng on this subject is, that 'our navigation has remained, at best, stationary since the peace, while that of our rival has been rapidly advancing in all its branches.' We proceed to examine the correctness of this

assertion, and in so doing, shall consider the state of our navigation under its two principal branches of the foreign and coasting trade.

It is well known, that the vessels which are employed respectively in the foreign and coasting trade, are provided with different papers, called in the one case a *Register*, and in the other a *License*, and that a separate account is kept at the public offices of the number and description of each class. In the document No. 5, to which Mr. Cambreleng refers in support of his assertion, that our navigation has been at best stationary since the peace, he gives a table of the annual amount of tonnage, recorded under each of these heads, for every year, from 1815 till 1828. It appears from this table, that the amount of registered or foreign tonnage for the two years, 1816 and 1817, was greater than usual, and that for 1828 less. By taking advantage of this circumstance, Mr. Cambreleng deduces from the table in two passages of his report, two different conclusions, both unfavorable to the state of this branch of our navigation. In one instance, by taking an average of the amount for the two years, 1816 and 1817, and comparing it with that for 1828, he makes out an actual decrease of rather more than 4000 tons, and in another, by comparing the amount for the single year 1816, with that for 1828, he makes out an actual decrease of more than 50,000 tons. Now, if instead of employing this obviously unfair method, we take an average of the annual amount of tonnage for the former half of the period, and compare it with a similar one for the latter, it will appear that the latter is greater than the former by more than 50,000 tons. It results, therefore, from Mr. Cambreleng's own table fairly used, that our registered tonnage, instead of being *at best stationary*, or as he states it in numbers, *really declining*, has obtained a very considerable increase during the period in question. This error, palpable as it is, is however not the most singular one in this part of the statement.

In a note to his document No. 4, he informs us, that the official registry of tonnage was corrected in 1818—that up to that period, it contained many vessels that had been lost or sold or had decayed, and that in that year the number of these was ascertained, and the registry corrected accordingly. As he had been at the trouble to inform himself and Congress that the tonnage tables had been corrected, we should naturally have expected, that he would have given himself and that body the

benefit of the correction in the references which he might have occasion to make to these documents. Instead of this, we find him copying on the page, next following that in which we are told that the correction has been made, the *uncorrected table.* Now the employment of one or the other of these tables, is not a matter of indifference to the question at issue. The uncorrected table gives, as we have seen, according to Mr. Cambreleng's method of using it, an actual decrease in the amount of our registered tonnage, and even on a fair and natural construction, a comparatively moderate increase. The corrected table exhibits for the period of eleven years following 1818, which it includes, an increase of 202,531 tons: and supposing the increase to have been the same during the two preceding years, it would give a total increase since the peace of 220,000 tons, or about one third of the whole amount employed at that period.*

Such are the real facts in regard to the, *at best stationary state* of our navigation, as respects the registered or foreign tonnage; and such are the methods, by the employment of which, the Chairman of the Committee of Commerce is enabled to deduce this consolatory conclusion from documents and information in his own possession, which tend in their natural use to one of a directly opposite character. Let us now proceed to examine the situation of the other great branch of our navigation, viz. the coasting trade. We shall find the errors of Mr. Cambreleng on this head, even more extraordinary and inexplicable than they are on the other.

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*The following are the two tables mentioned in the text.

UNCORRECTED TABLE. 1815 to 1828.		CORRECTED TABLE. 1818 to 1828.	
Registered.	Licensed.	Registered.	Licensed.
1815, 700,500	408,430		
16, 877,462	463,657		
17, 780,136	541,030		
18, 755,101	661,831	1818, 606,088	618,480
19, 783,579	679,493	19, 612,930	647,134
20, 801,253	730,153	20, 619,047	660,065
21, 769,084	718,158	21, 619,896	677,137
22, 747,887	720,278	22, 628,150	693,415
23, 806,331	659,015	23, 639,920	671,765
24, 845,758	688,426	24, 669,972	697,580
25, 886,511	645,960	25, 700,788	699,262
26, 910,635	798,815	26, 737,978	762,153
27, 900,199	868,171	27, 766,903	
28, 824,781	881,459	28, 812,619	

The table of enrolled and licensed tonnage, to which we have already alluded, states the amount for 1815, at 408,430
and that for 1828, at 881,459

and gives of course an actual increase during the period since the peace, of 473,029
or considerably more than a hundred per cent. on the amount employed at the close of the war. In the teeth of this official and unanswerable evidence, furnished by himself, of an actual increase of a hundred per cent. in fifteen years, Mr. Cambreleng, after an idle attempt to explain it away, concludes his paragraph on the coasting trade with the astonishing assertion, that this branch of our navigation is at present in a stationary or declining condition. In a note upon one of his documents he goes even farther than this, and affirms, with a qualification to which we shall presently allude, that we have actually less enrolled and licensed tonnage now than we had in 1807, the amount for that year being stated by himself at 360,834 tons, and that for 1828 at 881,459,—the difference or increase in the interval being, of course, 520,625.

The methods by which Mr. Cambreleng endeavors to reconcile his conclusions in regard to the coasting trade, with the facts and documents brought forward by himself, which, as we have seen, contradict them at every turn, are worth attention. In ascertaining the state of the foreign tonnage, he employs, as we have mentioned, the uncorrected table, which gave a less favorable result than the corrected one. As respects the coasting tonnage it so happens, that the result furnished by the uncorrected table is the most favorable. In this case the patriotic Chairman insists on making a correction, and in order to ascertain how large the correction ought to be, employs the following curious process. In 1818, he remarks, the table of registered tonnage was corrected, and a deduction was made on account of the vessels lost, sold or decayed, which had hitherto remained upon the list, of 200,000 tons. Now, the error on this account in the table of the coasting tonnage, must be—says Mr. Cambreleng—(why does not appear, the amount in each being not materially different) at least half as great as the other; and we must, therefore, correct the statement of the coasting tonnage for 1818, by deducting on the account just mentioned, 100,000 tons. This ingenious argument is liable to only two slight objections; one of which is, that the error discov-

ered in the foreign tonnage table in 1818 amounted to 150,000 tons instead of 200,000, so that the conjectural emendation of Mr. Cambreleng should be reduced, on his own shewing, to 75,000, and the other, that this conjectural emendation is directly at variance with the ascertained fact. The coasting tonnage table has been corrected as well as the foreign one, and the error in the former has been found to be immaterial. If it was proper to use the uncorrected rather than the corrected tables, why did not Mr. Cambreleng employ the former in ascertaining the coasting as well as the foreign tonnage? If it was proper to take advantage of the corrections, why not do it in one case as well as in the other? If there was any reason for correcting the coasting tonnage table and not the foreign, why not employ for this purpose the corrected table of coasting tonnage, instead of a conjectural emendation founded on the corrected table of foreign tonnage, of which no account whatever had been taken, as respects the object for which it was intended? It would be difficult, we fear, to give any plausible answer to these questions, excepting that the results obtained from these documents, according to their natural construction, are highly satisfactory, and that it was necessary to the argument of the Chairman of the Committee of Commerce to obtain from them, in one way or another, such as would present the state of our navigation under an unfavorable point of view.

Again; we are told by Mr. Cambreleng, that the sum given in the table as the amount of coasting tonnage for 1828, includes 277,804 tons of foreign tonnage, which is occasionally employed in the coasting trade, but which is included in the foreign tonnage for the same year, and ought not of course to appear in both tables. It is worthy of remark, that this gentleman, in calculating the amount of the foreign tonnage of Great Britain, employs without objection or observation, for the purpose of swelling it, a table, which is known to include the whole coasting tonnage, excepting vessels under fifteen tons. Such are the different sorts of measure which this patriotic American metes out to his own and a rival country. But without dwelling at present on this difference, let us look at the essential validity of the correction. The coasting tonnage, we are told, comprehends 277,804 tons of foreign tonnage, which have only been included since the mode of keeping the coasting tonnage account was changed, and ought to be deducted

from the amount for 1828. On what authority the amount of foreign tonnage included in the coasting trade table is fixed precisely at the above sum, or when the change in the mode of keeping the coasting trade account was made, we are not informed. It is certain, however, from the table, that during the period since the war, the amount of coasting tonnage has risen by a regular and gradual increase, from 408,430 to 881,459—that the abovementioned amount of foreign tonnage cannot of course have been included in it for the first time during that period—that if deducted for any one year, it must of course be deducted for all, and that this correction, as far as it may be well founded, has no bearing whatever on the question of the increase or decline of our navigation since the war.

Thirdly. The last device by which Mr. Cambreleng endeavors to reconcile an actual increase of half a million tons in the coasting trade since the peace, with his theory of *the at best stationary state* of our navigation, is by ascribing it to the augmentation of our territory and the establishment of new branches of industry. 'A just and accurate statement, if it could be made in 1828, of the tonnage in the same commercial circle which existed in 1807, would show an actual decline since the war!' And again: 'the actual augmentation of coasting tonnage since the war in the same States which existed before, as nearly as it can be estimated, is only 26,619 tons'. Without stopping to inquire how far the mode of calculation here proposed by Mr. Cambreleng is in theory just, it is sufficient to remark, that in this, as in other parts of his report, his conclusions are completely at variance with the facts and estimates, from which he deduces them. In document No. 4, he estimates the deduction to be made from the tonnage of 1828, on account of the extension of our commercial circle since the war, at 68,558 tons. Now the actual increase of coasting tonnage since the war, given by the table, is, as stated above, 473,029
deduct from this the 68,558

404,471

and we have still more than 400,000 tons of actual increase, instead of the 26,619 allowed by our liberal and correct political arithmetician.

Fourthly. In a note to the report, Mr. Cambreleng, as we intimated above, affirms, that confining the comparison to the

circle which existed in 1807, we have actually less enrolled and licensed tonnage now, than we had in that year, when it amounted, by the table, to 360,834. Now the difference as given by the tables, between the amount of tonnage for these two years, is, as we have seen, in favor of 1828, 520,625
deduct for the extension of the commercial circle 68,558

and we have still an actual increase of 452,067

But here Mr. Cambreleng introduces a new element into his reasoning, which is not less curious than the rest. In comparing the amount of coasting tonnage for 1828 with that for 1807, we must not only confine our view to the States existing at both periods, but also to the particular branches of trade which were common to both. 'In 1807 the commerce of Maine and Georgia was trifling, and we had little or no cotton to employ our coasting vessels;' therefore, in comparing the tonnage of the two periods, we must not only leave out of view the 68,558 tons, which are allowed for the extension of the commercial circle, but we must make another deduction on account of the increase of the trade of Maine and Georgia, and especially the trade in cotton. Let us see how far this is reasonable. The object of Mr. Cambreleng is to ascertain the effect of the protecting policy upon the coasting trade. Now the object of the coasting trade in cotton is for the most part to supply our domestic manufacturers with that article, and this branch is of course the one most immediately affected by the protecting policy, which encourages these manufactures. In ascertaining the effect of the protecting policy on the coasting trade, we must, therefore, according to Mr. Cambreleng, leave out of view the precise branch of that trade which has been in a manner created by that policy, and which hardly existed at the period preceding its adoption.

So much for the attempts of Mr. Cambreleng to explain away the increase in the amount of coasting tonnage, which appears upon the face of his own table. It results from the above statements, that during the period when our navigation is represented by him as at best stationary, and in fact really declining in both its great branches, it has actually obtained in the foreign trade an accession of more than 200,000 tons, or about 33⅓ per cent., in the coasting trade an increase of more than 450,000 tons, or about 100 per cent., and in the sum total of both, an accession of more than 650,000 tons, or about 50

per cent. upon the amount employed at the close of the war. If there be any truth in his principle, that a decline of navigation would prove the protecting policy to be erroneous, the increase which has taken place would of course very fully substantiate the contrary. In reality, the increase in the foreign tonnage is probably in a great measure a result of other causes wholly independent of this; but the increase in the coasting tonnage is, no doubt, as appears in fact, from the admission of Mr. Cambreleng himself, mainly attributable to the growth of manufactures; and is in every respect, one of the most agreeable and important results of the adoption of the protecting policy. A rapid and constantly accelerated progress in this branch of navigation (unaccompanied by any corresponding diminution in the other) will be the necessary consequence of a perseverance in this system, and will sufficiently demonstrate the erroneous nature of the apprehensions entertained by the commercial and shipping interest, of its effects upon their prosperity.

The supposed decline in our navigation since the adoption of the protecting policy turns out, therefore, to have been an increase of about 50 per cent. Whether the state of the British navigation during the same period, have or have not been as flourishing as Mr. Cambreleng has represented it, is a question of minor importance in this country; but as the errors in the part of the report in which he treats this subject, are, if possible, still more glaring than in the other, we shall proceed with as much conciseness as possible to point out some of the principal. In commencing his remarks on this head, Mr. Cambreleng avows, that he was himself surprised with the result of his researches. 'However injurious we had supposed our policy to be, we were not prepared to expect that the statements would exhibit as they do, a more rapid increase in British than in American tonnage.' On a first view of these results, the reader will probably share in the surprise of Mr. Cambreleng; but after examining the methods by which they are obtained, his surprise may perhaps cease, and he may be rather inclined to think, that by the use of such methods, it would not be difficult to procure from these or any other documents, almost any results that might suit the purpose of the inquirer. However this may be, it is certain that Mr. Cambreleng has exaggerated to an almost incredible extent the amount of British tonnage and its increase during the period

under consideration, both positively and in comparison with the increase of that of the United States, as will amply appear from the following brief statements.

And first, as to the actual amount of British tonnage. The official registers kept in England, include a statement for each year, of the vessels employed, their tonnage, and the number of their crews. For the year 1827 the statement is as follows: 23,199 ships; 2,460,500 tons; 151,515 seamen.

The estimates of Mr. Cambreleng for the same year are as follows:

Amount of tonnage employed in the foreign trade,	2,829,869
coasting,	8,648,868
Total,	11,478,737
Deduct the actual amount as given above,	2,460,500
Over-statement by Mr. Cambreleng	9,018,237

or about 400 per cent.

Our readers, we think, will not now wonder that Mr. Cambreleng was himself surprised at the results of his researches. They were obtained by estimating the amount of tonnage employed, by the returns of clearances instead of the registers. In the former, the same vessel is returned anew every time she clears out, and if she performs more than one voyage, will of course be returned several times in the same year. In the coasting trade, and when the distances are short, as in England, the same vessel would often clear out for different ports ten or fifteen times in the course of a year, and her tonnage would be repeated as often in the return of clearances. 'Many of the British vessels,' says a British writer on the subject, 'come with one tide and return with the next.'

This consideration explains the nature of Mr. Cambreleng's over-statement, which is also owing, in part, to the confusion between the returns, in the British official statements, of clearances in the foreign and coasting trade. Mr. Cambreleng might, perhaps, say in defence of these statements, that he gives them for what they are, and that it is not his fault if the reader mistakes a return of clearances for a permanent register of tonnage. But this answer is unfortunately precluded by the use he makes of them. The object is not so much to exhibit the actual amount and increase of the British tonnage, as its actual amount and increase in comparison with those of the

tonnage of the United States. In speaking of the American tonnage he generally quotes the permanent register, and in speaking of the British, the returns of clearances. The former gives, of course, for the same amount of navigation, much smaller numbers, and the cursory reader, naturally taking them for estimates made upon similar principles, will be led into a very gross error as to the real comparative amount of the navigation of the two countries. In regard to some of his statements, this error is nearly unavoidable. Thus he remarks: 'that the mere increase of the coasting tonnage of England for five years is more than equal to the whole enrolled and licensed tonnage of the United States.' No statement is given by Mr. Cambreleng, in any part of his report, of the enrolled and licensed tonnage of the United States, except the statement in the permanent register, and none of the British except the return of clearances. It is natural, therefore, and indeed almost necessary, that the reader should deduce from a comparison of the two estimates, a conclusion as to the comparative amount of the coasting trade of the two countries. The error in such a conclusion may be seen by the following statement:

Coasting trade of England, for 1827, according to the only statement given by Mr. Cambreleng,	8,648,868 tons.
Coasting trade of the United States for the same year, according to the only statement given by Mr. Cambreleng, (and even this he attempts to explain away, as we have seen, into half its real amount,)	868,171 "
Superiority on the British side,	7,780,697 "

or nearly eight millions of tons. The real state of the case is as follows:

Coasting trade of the United States, for the year 1827,	868,171 tons.
Coasting trade of Great Britain, from estimates made on respectable British authority,	500,000 "
Superiority on the American side,	368,171 "

or more than three hundred and fifty thousand tons. As the tables of the tonnage employed respectively in the foreign and coasting trade, are not kept in the British offices with the same distinctness as in ours, the amount of the British coasting ton-

nage given above, is not an exact statement, but is probably a near approximation to the truth.

Again,—Mr. Cambreleng tells us, that 'while our navigation has remained at best, stationary, that of our rival advanced from 1815 to 1827, 741,840 tons—the mere increase alone in British foreign navigation, amounting nearly to the whole foreign tonnage of the United States.' In the documents referred to in support of this statement, the estimates on both sides are taken from the returns of clearances, but an attempt is made to produce in a different way, an erroneous impression as to the actual comparative amount of British and American navigation. The returns of clearances for foreign countries, as kept in the British offices, comprehend those for every part of the British empire, including Ireland; as kept in the United States, they include of course, only those for the possessions of some other power. No hint is given by Mr. Cambreleng of any such difference in the mode of making up the statements, and the reader would of course conclude, that they give a correct view of the comparative amount of the foreign tonnage of Great Britain and the United States. The extent of the error in such a conclusion, will appear from the following statement:

Foreign tonnage of Great Britain, for the year 1827, according to the statement of Mr. Cambreleng,	2,829,869 tons.
Foreign tonnage of the United States for the same year,	900,199 "
Superiority on the British side,	1,929,670 "

or nearly two millions of tons. The real state of the case is as follows:

British tonnage employed in the trade with the possessions of other powers, according to an estimate made on respectable British authority, for the year 1827,	918,213 tons.
Foreign tonnage of the United States for the same year,	900,199 "
Superiority on the British side,	18,014 "

or less than twenty thousand tons. So far is it, therefore, from being true, that the increase of British foreign tonnage since 1815 is equal to the whole amount of ours, that we find in fact the actual amount on each side just about the same.

Such are the errors of Mr. Cambreleng in his statements of the amount of British navigation, as compared with ours. Let us now look at the reality of the supposed increase, since the close of the last war. The estimates of Mr. Cambreleng on this subject are taken exclusively from the returns of clearances, which in fact exhibit a considerable increase, not of navigation, of which, for the reasons stated above, they give no idea whatever, but of *commerce*. Whether this increase be real, or, as often happens with British official documents, merely apparent, it is unnecessary to our present purpose to inquire. The object is, in regard to both countries, to ascertain the increase of navigation; and this is given in England as well as the United States in a distinct shape in the permanent register of tonnage, to which we have alluded above. Now it so happens, that this register, instead of exhibiting the very great increase of tonnage during the period in question, which Mr. Cambreleng supposes to have taken place, exhibits on the contrary a steady and regular decline, as will appear from the following statement:

Year.	Ships.	Tons.	Seamen.
1816,	25,864,	2,784,940,	178,000,
1827,	23,199,	2,460,500,	151,515,
Decrease,	2,665,	324,440,	26,485,

Here we have an actual decrease of more than three hundred thousand tons in the amount of navigation employed in Great Britain, during the period which Mr. Cambreleng represents as so very flourishing; and it appears upon an inspection of the statements for each year of this period, that this decrease has been steadily and regularly going on through the whole.*

*The following table exhibits the state of British navigation through the whole period:

Year.	Ships.	Tons.	Seamen.
1816,	25,864	2,784,940	178,000
1817,	25,246	2,684,986	171,013
1818.	25,507	2,674,468	173,609
1819,	25,482	2,666,396	174,318
1820,	25,374	2,648,593	174,514
1821,	25,036	2,560,303	169,183
1822,	24,642	2,519,044	166,333
1823,	24,542	2,506,760	165,474
1824,	24,776	2,559,587	168,637
1825,	24,280	2,553,682	166,183
1826,	24,625	2,635,644	167,536
1827,	23,199	2,460,500	151,515

There are other errors, hardly less glaring than those which we have indicated, in other parts of the statements contained in this report; but we have not room to notice them all in detail, and have confined ourselves to those, which directly affect the correctness of the conclusions. We are not disposed to found upon these errors a charge against Mr. Cambreleng of intentional misrepresentation; although such a charge might perhaps be sustained with some degree of plausibility. We have been heretofore accused of *excess of charity*, and at the risk of encountering anew the same imputation, we are willing to attribute the incorrectness of this document to the haste with which it was probably prepared, in the midst of the urgent and distracting occupations incident to the position of a leading member of Congress. But while we cheerfully exonerate Mr. Cambreleng from this imputation, we may venture perhaps to remind him, that a writer who expects—if necessary—to be allowed the benefit of the plea of hasty preparation,—should announce his conclusions with somewhat less assurance. A dogmatical and overbearing tone, which is always ungraceful, when found in union with a series of errors, unparalleled probably in any official paper of the same description, is still more objectionable, and may even be thought to border on the ludicrous.

We now come to the other subject, which we intended to treat in this article—we mean the speeches of Mr. Mc Duffie, on the bill for the prevention of frauds in the collection of the revenue. These speeches contain—as we remarked at the outset—an entirely new theory upon an important question in political economy, the discussion of which, in all its details, would furnish ample matter for a long article, and would occupy much more room than we now have at our disposal. A discussion of this kind is, however, the less necessary on this occasion—not only because the erroneous nature of this theory was very distinctly and satisfactorily pointed out on the floor of Congress, immediately after its promulgation, by several distinguished Representatives from different parts of the Union, and particularly from this State, but especially because it does not appear to have obtained the assent of the political friends and associates of Mr. Mc Duffie himself. Mr. Cambreleng expressed his dissent from it in his place in Congress, and the writer of an article in the Southern Review, on the American System, distinctly disavows it. Under these circumstances, it

can only be regarded as the individual opinion of Mr. Mc Duffie, with perhaps a few of his intimate friends, and however justly entitled it might be, as such, to the most respectful consideration in a treatise on the science, it does not call for so much attention, when the principal object is to examine the views taken of this subject by the great opposing parties that divide the country. We shall, therefore, limit ourselves to a comparatively small number of observations on this particular head, but shall endeavor within the compass allotted to it, to place the subject in as clear a point of view as possible.

The theory, then,—as we understand it,—is, that the planter or producer of our agricultural exports, pays, *as such*, the whole, or if not the whole, a considerable portion of the duties imposed on the British manufactures, which we receive in exchange for them. Now the greater part of these exports are raised by a comparatively small minority of the whole population, who are thus made to bear an undue proportion of the public burdens, and have a right to complain of the system that imposes them as unequal and oppressive. Of the various considerations that may be and have been alleged in opposition to the truth of this theory, we shall mention one or two of those, which appear to us the most peremptory.

1. If the planter pay the duties on the manufactures received in exchange for his products, he must pay them either directly or through the increased price of the imported articles, which he consumes; because there is no other way in which his money can pass from his pocket into the public coffers. It is admitted, that he does not in his quality of producer, pay them directly, and if he pay them at all, he must therefore pay them in the increased price of imported articles. But all that he pays in this way, he of course pays as consumer, and it is therefore impossible, that he can in his quality of producer pay any thing.

In order to avoid this very obvious dilemma, Mr Mc Duffie resorts to the expedient of suppressing entirely, in his view of the economical arrangements of the community, the intervention of the merchant, which regularly takes place between the producer and the consumer. He supposes the merchant to be a mere factor of the producer, who on this supposition pays as such through his factor, the merchant, the whole duty directly into the treasury. Now this mode of stating the case is obviously wholly inadmissible. The merchant is the factor of the

consumer, as well as of the producer, and if his being the factor of the producer prove that the producer pays the duty, his being the factor of the consumer would prove in the same way, that the consumer pays the duty. The argument—if it have any weight—proves that the duty is paid twice over by two different classes of persons, and of course proves nothing. The conclusion, that the producer, as such, does not and cannot pay any part of the duty, remains unaffected by it.

2. But as the strength of the case admits of almost any concession, let us grant, for argument's sake, that the merchant is the factor of the producer only, and that the latter, as such, and through his factor, the merchant, advances the whole duty to the Government. It is not less certain on this supposition than it is on the other, that the whole is refunded to him by the consumer, and that he finally pays no part of it, excepting as we remarked before, as a consumer, in the increased price of the imported articles which he reserves for his own consumption. In this case the value of the imported article is augmented in the American market, to the exact extent of the duty imposed on it. The consumer who buys it, of course pays to the producer a sum equal to the value of the article as it enters the American market, with the addition of the duty. The producer pays over the duty to the Government, and retains the whole produce of his labor free of any charge.

But, says Mr. Mc Duffie, the planter has no means of raising the price of the imported article, in such a way as to throw the duty on the consumer. If he continue to export the same quantity of cotton, he must of course take in exchange the same quantity of foreign produce, and the demand and supply being thus the same, the price will of course remain unaltered, and the duty must be paid out of it by the planter.*

It is no doubt true, that the planter, while his export of cotton remains the same, must of course receive in exchange for it the same quantity of foreign produce ; but it is not true, as is

* It is curious to remark the complete contradiction between the views taken of the operation of protecting duties, by different classes of the persons who oppose them. In this quarter of the country, they are complained of as raising the prices of imported articles. On the other hand, Mr. Mc Duffie—the leading Representative in Congress of the Southern section of the anti-tariff party—founds his whole argument against them on the supposition, that they do not and cannot increase the price of the foreign article.

here supposed, that he must necessarily receive the same quantity in the same articles, or in the products of the same country. When it ceases to be profitable to import certain articles of British manufacture, in consequence of the duties imposed upon them in this country, he will take others. If there are no others of British manufacture suitable to the American market, he will then, as we have already remarked, after purchasing as much of the articles he formerly imported as will sell at an advanced price, receive the rest of the proceeds of his cargo in specie or bills of exchange, which he will send to France to be invested in claret and silks, or to any other country where he can find a product adapted to our consumption. This very obvious answer to the leading point in Mr. Mc Duffie's argument was stated with perfect distinctness by Mr. Gorham and others on the floor of Congress, and was met by no satisfactory reply. It was said, indeed, by Mr. Mc Duffie, that we already import as much French wine, and in general as much of all foreign produce as we have a market for, and that consequently a diminished importation of British products cannot be compensated by an increased importation of those of France, Spain or China. It does not appear to have occurred to him, that the mere fact of our ceasing to consume a certain quantity of British manufactures—all other circumstances remaining the same—furnishes us with the means of purchasing,—or in other words creates a market for an additional quantity of other foreign articles, which may now of course be imported at their former prices. The planter being, therefore, at perfect liberty to bring home in exchange for his cotton any article which may best suit his purpose, will of course take of the taxed article only so much as will sell at the increased price, which throws the duty on the consumer.

There are, therefore, two leading errors in the theory of Mr. Mc Duffie, either of which would be of itself completely fatal to his conclusions. He is wrong in the first place, in stating that the planter, through his agent or factor, the merchant, advances the custom-house duty to the Government. The merchant is the agent, not of the planter, but of all the parties concerned in the importation, and advances the duty for the one that ultimately pays it. To say that he advances it for the planter is, therefore, to assume precisely the point in dispute. Again, if we admit for argument's sake, that the merchant is the factor of the planter only, and that the latter through him

does advance the duty, it is still certain that the whole is refunded to him by the consumer in the increased price of the article, and that he ultimately pays no part of it out of his own pocket.

It may be assumed, in fact, as a general principle, and it is one which is freely admitted, or rather spontaneously affirmed as a fundamental truth in the science, by the writers on political economy, that it is impossible to lay any tax, of which the burden does not ultimately fall alike upon all classes of the community. If the whole revenue of the country were raised in the form of an export duty on cotton or an excise on spirits, neither the cotton planter in the one case, nor the distiller in the other, would pay, in the last result, one cent more than his fair proportion of the public expenses; although one or the other of these modes of raising a revenue might, for special reasons, be more or less advantageous to the country than those now in use.

If we had room to pursue this subject on the present occasion into all its branches, we might enlarge without impropriety upon the extraordinary inconsistency between the premises of Mr. Mc Duffie—supposing them to be even somewhat more plausible than they are—and his conclusions. He complains that his State is oppressed in such a way as to justify a resort to actual resistance, or at least, nullification, and when called on for proof of the assertion, brings forward a theory in political economy never before started, directly opposed to the generally received opinion, and on the face of it, in the highest degree paradoxical and improbable, and rests his case entirely on its correctness. He virtually says to Congress 'if you do not at once adopt and act upon this new doctrine of mine, which nobody ever heard of before, which is at open variance with the common sense of the world, and with the opinions of all the writers, including our great authority Adam Smith, to whom I am most fond of appealing, which is even disavowed by my own most intelligent political friends; if, I say, you do not at once adopt this paradox and make it the basis of all your legislation on economical subjects, South Carolina will revolt against you and secede from the Union.' We have a high personal respect for Mr. Mc Duffie, and feel no wish to represent his course as more unjustifiable than it really is, but we must needs say, that in our observations on practical legislation and administration, we have met

with very few things more extravagant than this. A merely speculative writer on any branch of science, usually thinks it due to the authority of public opinion to bring forward an entirely new and paradoxical theory with some degree of diffidence. But we have here a discoverer in political economy, who broaches his inventions on the floor of Congress, and would force his colleagues to approve and act upon them *instanter* at the point of the nullifying bayonet. A gentleman of the talent and general intelligence of Mr. Mc Duffie, must surely be aware that new theories—however well supported and probable—gain ground, and in the nature of things must and ought to gain ground, very slowly on public opinion; that even individuals of common prudence allow themselves time for examination and reflection, before they stake their reputation or their property upon the value of any supposed discovery. It is much if an improvement in abstract science have obtained, at the end of half a century from its promulgation, a complete victory over the preceding opinion, and until it has obtained such a victory, taken its place among received truths, and become a matter of general acknowledgment with competent judges, it is no safe ground even for private action in affairs of consequence, still less for the regulation of the great and momentous concerns of a mighty empire. A deliberative body, which should at once break up its whole established system in a most important branch of the administration, and rush headlong into a new course of policy, upon the mere suggestion by one of its members, (however able and ingenious) of a supposed discovery in political science, would prove its own fitness for the cells of a lunatic hospital, rather than the halls of a legislative assembly. Yet such is the precise line of proceeding which Mr. Mc Duffie, in the name of the State of South Carolina, enjoins, under penalty of nullification and rebellion, upon the Congress of the United States.

It is not our purpose, however, on the present occasion, to examine the political bearings of this subject, and we return to a consideration of it under a merely economical point of view. In our previous remarks on the report of Mr. Cambreleng, we showed, that instead of the decline of navigation, supposed by that gentleman to have taken place since the adoption of the protecting policy, there had been an actual increase of about 50 per cent., a great part of which might be traced directly to the influence of the growth of manufactures. It would be easy to

show in like manner, that the theory of Mr. Mc Duffie is not only—as we have already seen—entirely unsubstantial, but that it is directly the reverse of the truth, and that the protecting policy, instead of being injurious to the cotton planter, is highly beneficial to him, and is precisely the system of which he ought for his own interest to desire the adoption. Without pretending to exhaust this, or indeed any other branch of the subject, we shall endeavor to illustrate it by a few brief remarks.

The demand for our cotton in the markets of Europe is determined, not by the amount of this or that particular article which we take from them, but by the demand for cotton manufactures in the general market of the world. As the cost of the material is a comparatively unimportant element in the value of the finished article, it is of course for the interest of the European manufacturer to buy the material wherever it can be got cheapest and best, without the least reference to any inferior considerations, which, under other circumstances, might have more or less weight. As long as our cotton maintains its superiority as to quality and cheapness, they will, therefore, take it in preference to any other; and will pay us for it in any merchandise, which may be for the time being best adapted to the state of our market. They have hitherto paid us in manufactures of certain descriptions. If the demand for these, whether by the effect of protecting duties or of any other cause, be diminished, they will send us others, which we in turn, as has been shewn above, by the mere fact of ceasing to consume those which we formerly did, have the means of paying for. The foreign demand for cotton is therefore entirely unaffected by the protecting policy, and will increase, diminish, or remain stationary, exactly as if no such policy had ever been adopted; or if diminished at all, is only diminished in the proportion which the consumption by us of foreign cotton manufactures bore to the general consumption of the world. But if the foreign demand for our cotton be in this way, as it probably would be, a little diminished, the domestic one would be increased in a much greater proportion by another effect of the same cause. When we cease to consume the foreign articles of the same description, in consequence of the operation of protecting duties, we begin to consume the corresponding ones of our own manufacture; and the consumption of the latter is naturally much more extensive than that of the former ever could have been—

first, because they come in the end a great deal cheaper, being relieved from the charge of transportation for an immense distance by land and water, and secondly, because a large part of the population who produce articles which could not be exported, either on account of their bulk and perishable nature or the prohibitions of foreign nations, are enabled to purchase when the manufacture is brought to their doors. The consumption of the domestic article is, therefore, much more extensive than that of the foreign one ever can be, and the demand for the materials employed in making it proportionately increased by the substitution of the former for the latter. Experience has already demonstrated the truth of this remark. The British exports of cottons to this country never exceeded a tenth part of her whole exports of that article; and it is calculated that her home consumption of cottons is about equal in amount to her exports, so that if there had been no increase in our home consumption of cotton goods in consequence of the substitution of the domestic for the foreign fabric, the home demand for raw cotton ought not to be more than a twentieth of the British. But it is calculated that we already consume at home an amount of cotton, equal to one third of the amount consumed in Great Britain. As the cotton manufacture extends into the different parts of the country, the importance of this increase in the home demand will be more and more distinctly perceived; and we venture to predict, that before the present discussions on the subject of the tariff have been brought to a close in any other way, they will have been completely settled, so far as the planters are concerned, by a growing conviction in their minds, that the encouragement by every possible means of domestic manufactures is the very best policy that could be adopted for the promotion of their immediate interest.

And while the protecting policy confers these important benefits on the planters of the South, it is attended—as we remarked at the outset of this article—with advantages of a not less important character to the other great interests of the community. The growth of a domestic manufacturing population, affords to the Middle and Western States a home market for their grain without diminishing the foreign one, which is occasionally open to them in seasons of scarcity. In this way they obtain the means of exchanging their surplus produce, which in ordinary times is excluded from foreign markets, for the various articles of use and luxury, of which they have

hitherto been compelled to forego the enjoyment. The Eastern States, in consequence of their limited extent and comparatively sterile soil, afford but little scope for the extension of agriculture, but possess on the other hand in their numerous, hardy, enterprising and intelligent population, and in their large amount of accumulated capital, great facilities for the establishment of manufactures, of which they will probably become the principal seat. In the transportation of the products of this branch of industry to other parts of the Union and to other countries, the navigators of this section, of whose courage, perseverance, skill and success, we have had at every period of our history, and in every form, so much reason to be proud, will find a compensation for the loss of the carrying trade of the world, which fell into their hands for a time during the troubles of Europe, but which, under ordinary circumstances, they can never expect to possess. In this and every other section of the country, the population, by being furnished with new employments for their labor, and new markets for its produce at home, are prevented from seeking them in the distant and unsettled regions of the interior of the continent; and the tide of emigration, without being wholly dammed up, is in some degree checked. In speaking of this as an advantage, we are not influenced by any feeling of jealousy towards the rising communities of the Western country. We experience on the contrary a glow of pride and pleasure, when we contemplate the before unexampled spectacle of progress and prosperity which they all exhibit. We look upon them as the kindred progeny of that illustrious *mother of men*, New-England, and hail them with affection and interest as our beloved brethren. But we consider it as not less advantageous to them than it is to us, that their resources should be employed, in part at least, in raising the standard of civilisation and increasing the enjoyments of life in the settled parts of the country, rather than devoted exclusively to the breaking up of new tracts in the wilderness. It is said, that the emigration from Ohio and Kentucky is proportionally at least as great, as from Massachusetts and Connecticut. The older Southern States, Virginia and the Carolinas in particular, are drained of their people by the superiority, real or supposed, of the soil in Alabama, Mississippi, and Texas, and as appears from the results of the recent census, have lost more by emigration than any other part of the country. This is the real cause of the decline of some

of these States, and the American System, instead of being, as they erroneously imagine, the cause of this decline, is on the contrary the real and only cure for it. The influence of this policy is not, therefore, as it has sometimes been represented—a bounty granted by the Government for the encouragement of a single branch of industry—but it is a common and equal benefit to all the great interests in all sections of the Union. It is a benefit not merely in an economical, but in a moral and political point of view. It substitutes for a restless and fluctuating condition of society, wholly incompatible with any considerable progress in improvement, the steady pursuit of honorable ends by honorable means, which is the true secret of public prosperity and private wealth and happiness.

We stated, at the commencement of this article, that it is the effect of the protecting policy, and of the growth of domestic manufactures, to reduce the prices which we pay for the necessaries and comforts of life; and such, by the united testimony of experience and theory, is the result of this system. It is sometimes alleged, however, as an objection to this part of the argument, that, in consequence of the crowded state of population, and the amount of accumulated capital existing in Europe, the wages of labor are naturally much lower there than they are with us, and that this single circumstance will always enable the European manufacturer to furnish as good an article at a cheaper rate. This objection involves an error, which we have not yet seen distinctly pointed out, and which, as it goes to the root of the argument, it may be proper to notice in a very few words.

The theory of the wages of labor, upon which the modern school of British political economists have thrown so much obscurity by their extravagant and wholly baseless imaginations, is extremely simple. The wages of labor are its products. Whatever the laborer is able to produce in a given period, excepting so far as the Government may interfere, and take away a part of it, is the amount of his wages for that period; and the average amount of the produce of the labor of individuals for a given period constitutes the average rate of wages for that time. Hence the rate of wages varies in different countries according to the intelligence, activity, and moral habits of their respective inhabitants. If the citizens of the United States, by the effect of greater industry, intelligence, enterprise, perseverance, and other good moral qualities, will

do on an average twice as much work in a day as those of the old countries of Europe, the rate of wages will be twice as high in this country as in Europe; and such is in fact very nearly the real state of the case. But it does not follow from this, that a given article, or a given amount of the same article, when made by a citizen of the United States, will be dearer there than it is when made in Europe. The value of a particular article is determined by the amount of labor employed in producing it; the wages of labor are determined by the amount of products, which the laborer can furnish in a given time. An industrious and active tailor will make twice as many coats in a year as a lazy one; and the wages of his labor, that is, the amount of his products for a given time, will of course be double. The price of a coat made by each will be the same. The difference between the average rate of wages in different countries, is determined exclusively by the state of civilization; that is, the political, intellectual, and moral condition of the people, and has no effect whatever on the cost of a particular quantity of the articles produced by each. Hence the United States, though the wages of labor should continue to be, as they now are, and we trust always will be, twice as high as they are in any other part of the world, will be able to produce at home—all other circumstances being equal—cotton cloths, hard-ware, or any other article, just as cheap as it can be furnished in France, England, or China. And this being the case, the domestic article, which is not burdened with the charge of transportation, will of course be cheaper than the foreign one. The truth of this principle is amply and unanswerably demonstrated by the history of our navigation. The labor employed in building and sailing our ships is paid, on an average, like every other branch of labor, twice as high as it is in Europe. Notwithstanding this, we have notoriously driven out of the common market of the world the products of the labor of every other people in this department, whenever we could come into competition with them. Even England, the other great commercial and navigating power, permits us to carry on nine-tenths of all the trade between the two countries. On the modern theories of the wages of labor, and their effect on the value of its products, this result would be an inexplicable mystery; but when we look at the matter by the light of plain common sense, the reason of it is perfectly obvious. A ship built by our shipwrights, commanded by our shipmasters, and manned by our

seamen, will make twice as many voyages, always with twice as good a chance of success and profit, in a given time, as one that is fitted out in Sweden, Holland, or even Great Britain. This being the case, it is obvious, that all the parties interested in one of these ships or voyages can afford to allow the shipwrights, shipmasters and seamen, twice as much in proportion to the time employed, without raising in the least the market price of their own products, or deducting any thing from their profits. On the other hand, if a low rate of wages had any effect in reducing prices, it would be clearly impossible for Great Britain or the United States to enter into competition with the Hindoos in the manufacture of cotton cloth; and yet we find the latter not only excluded from our markets, but actually driven out of their own by the superior intellectual and moral qualities of the inhabitants of the western world. These considerations, which, however simple and obvious, have not, as far as we are aware, been adverted to before, will be found, we trust, to furnish a satisfactory answer to the objection mentioned above.

The results of our experience, as far as we have carried it, concur with those of all just reasoning on the subject, in demonstrating the great advantages of the protecting policy. Since its adoption, our navigation—as we have seen above—has increased more than fifty per cent.; and as this increase has chiefly taken place in the coasting trade, it must be traced directly to this cause. The results of the enumeration now in progress, and the flourishing towns and villages, that have grown up under the influence of manufacturing establishments, sufficiently evince the advantages derived from them by the inland population of the Eastern and Middle States. In these beautiful and admirable creations, the poetical fables of Orpheus and Amphion, moving rocks and building cities by the influence of their charming music, have been more than realised. We envy not the moral constitution of the man who can view without emotion these abodes of art, industry, and happiness, springing up, as if by enchantment, from the bosom of the earth, at Lowell, Springfield, Dover, Patterson, Pittsburg, and various other parts of our vast territory—still less of him, who like the sentimental laureate of England, can see nothing cheerful in a manufacturing village, because the buildings composing it, have not the hoary moss-grown appearance of an old stone cottage—as if the freshness and brilliancy of

youth were not as pleasant things to contemplate as the symptoms—however graceful and interesting—of decay and ruin. The satisfaction afforded by the view of these rising settlements, is wholly unmingled with alloy. There is no element of evil about them, to divert the mind from the agreeable contemplations, which they naturally excite. They augment the wealth of the community, by augmenting at the same time the wealth, knowledge, virtue and happiness of its members. They restrain emigration, and preserve unbroken the family circles—cherish and invigorate the natural affections—furnish increased opportunities for the acquisition of knowledge, and for social enjoyment—in one word, impart a new richness and beauty to the moral, as well as to the economical aspect of the country. The unambitious citizen, who by his enterprise, intelligence, and indefatigable perseverance, gave the first effectual impulse to this branch of industry, and who has given his name to the largest manufacturing town in this State, will be numbered hereafter with the great public benefactors of the nation; when many individuals, who filled at the time when he lived a much larger space in the view of the world, will be lost in oblivion.

Such are the advantages resulting respectively to the Northern, Middle, and Western sections of the country, from the adoption of the protecting policy. In the Southern States, which will not probably for the present become the seats of manufactures, the benefit is realised in a different way, in the increased demand for the great agricultural staples, which constitute their principal produce. The extent and importance of this demand have already been noticed. The price of cotton has no doubt fallen within a few years, partly because it was a great deal too high before, and partly from the effect of a temporary fluctuation in the state of the market; but the profits on capital invested in the cultivation of it are still, as is justly remarked by Mr. Clay in a late eloquent and able address at Cincinnati, higher than they are in most other employments, and consequently at least as high as they could reasonably be expected to be, in the ordinary course of trade.

The comparative decline of some of the planting States—as far as it is real—has been owing—as we remarked above—to the superior attractions of other climates. This difficulty is to a certain extent irremediable, but the remedy for it, as far as any can be found applicable to the case, would be furnished

by the introduction of new employments, to the successful prosecution of which the qualities of soil and climate are of less importance; and such is the nature of almost all manufactures. This remedy has accordingly been resorted to, and with such success, as—by the admission of Mr. Mc Duffie himself—to have changed entirely the feeling of large districts upon this whole subject.

It is time, however, to bring this long, and to our readers, we fear, fatiguing article, to a close. Convinced as we are of the importance to the welfare of the nation, of a steady perseverance in the protecting policy, we should regret to see it connected in any way with passing controversies on subjects of a temporary character; and we venture to hope, that in the midst of the fluctuations of parties, and the changes in the persons of the public functionaries, the Government will never lose sight of this great and vital concern; but will, on the contrary, seek to promote it by every expedient measure within their power. The improvement of the means of communication between the different parts of the country, by roads, canals and rivers, is one of the most important subsidiary parts of this great system, and this too will, we hope, receive the attention of all branches of the Government in their respective spheres of lawful action. We regretted to find the President refusing on a late occasion to sanction an appropriation for an important purpose of this description, and may perhaps be tempted, in a future article, to make some remarks upon the spirit and substance of the message conveying this refusal. In the mean time, however, we may express the satisfaction we feel, at seeing that the President, while he declined, for reasons which we cannot but deem insufficient, to exercise in this instance the power of taking part in measures intended for the internal improvement of the country, concurred in the opinion that this power belongs to the General Government, and declared anew his intention of giving a temperate, but steady support to the protecting policy. Attempts will doubtless be made in Congress and elsewhere, for some time to come, to undermine, in this respect, the established system of the country, and procure its change; but we have reason to hope, and if the friends of the system are as active and persevering as its enemies, to believe, that these attempts will be, as they have hitherto been, ineffectual. The efforts making in South Carolina to frighten the Government into the adoption of other measures, by threats of nullification and forcible resistance to the law, are not, in our

opinion, the most dangerous attacks to which this system is exposed. The effect of these absurd pretensions, and empty menaces, is to excite disgust rather than alarm, and by a natural reaction, to defeat the purposes of their authors. A much more plausible and politic mode of attack upon the tariff, is the one which was pursued with partial success at the last session of Congress, and will doubtless be followed up at future ones, founded in the old Machiavelian principle, *divide and conquer*. By addressing successively their sectional interests, it is hoped, that portions of the friends of the protecting policy may be induced to combine with its enemies for the repeal of particular articles of the law, until the whole shall be finally destroyed in detail. The nature of this plan of attack and the motives which have led to its adoption, are very fairly avowed in the speeches and writings of those who propose to act upon it, so that there can be no pretence of mistake on the subject. If the friends of the American System have not the firmness to resist the allurements of the bait thus held out to them, they will at least have the satisfaction of going into the trap with their eyes open, and a full knowledge of the consequences. We take for granted, however, that the majority of an American Congress will not be very readily duped by so simple a stratagem—that they will see and feel that their only safety is in union, and will rally with unbroken unanimity, without regard to any temptation of apparent personal or sectional advantage, round the standard of the principles and interests common to them all. Should this be the case, we can venture to assure them beforehand of a decided victory.

ART. VII.—*The History of the Rise and Progress of the United States of North America till the British Revolution in* 1688. By JAMES GRAHAME, Esq. In two Volumes. London. 1827.

In this country, and more particularly in this section of it, we are fond of celebrating the virtues of our forefathers. We delight to honor their memory by festive anniversaries and eloquent panegyric. Yet it is much to be feared, that this is not the right way to come at that real history, and those cool and rational conclusions, which can alone be supposed likely to confer permanent benefit. Orators are necessarily obliged to

excite their hearers. Mere reasoning will not suffice. They must mingle spices in their dish. Yet when a people become accustomed to such rich substances, there is danger that they may reject more natural food. The taste must be totally unvitiated, to relish much of the graver historical sketches of our early times; for it may candidly be admitted, now that the case is altered, that heretofore dulness has shed her sleepy influence upon pages calculated to convey a lesson of real utility to our country and mankind.

The public, as a body, feels and talks, long before it takes the trouble to think. A process of reasoning, let it be ever so good, is an intellectual effort which few will be at the pains of appreciating, when the same result can be sooner arrived at through the medium of the passions. If this were not true, we should be puzzled to account for the fact, that, with all the apparent enthusiasm upon the subject, a book like Mr. Grahame's should have been published three years, and its merits still remain to be understood in America. The only attempt within our knowledge in a member of the old country to examine thoroughly and consider candidly the phenomena of our early history, has been neglected in a manner which might fairly authorize the inference, that, with all our noise, we really care little about the merits of the matter. Not that we admit the soundness of such an inference. The causes of this state of things must be found elsewhere.

The work at the head of these remarks has (so far as we are informed) met with little notice in the parent country; and this is probably one of the reasons why it has been overlooked here. It is yet too much the case with our reading world, that we are apt to form our opinions of the merit of books from the notice they receive in the leading English periodical publications. A newspaper advertisement always contains extracts from the reviews, inserted by re-publishers of works here, as a kind of certificate of value, to help the sales. Independence in matters of literature seems little aimed at or encouraged; and, however different the views of things should be when seen through an American medium, they are, in fact, generally in accordance with the positive assertions, roundly and familiarly dealt to us from across the water. Few subjects of a political or historical nature exist, upon which our system of government and civil institutions would not naturally lead us into a train of sentiment somewhat different from that en-

tertained upon the same subjects in England. Every day loosens more and more any ties, which may once have closely connected us. In any attempt, therefore, to follow in the path they mark out, we necessarily must wander widely from that which we should properly pursue. If we err in submitting to such an influence upon subjects of ordinary interest common to us both, how much more must we do so, when acting upon such as belong more intimately to us. If we draw our notions of the value of our history, or indeed of any thing belonging to us, from the manner in which such matters are commonly treated in England, those notions will certainly be false and injurious to ourselves. The fact is, that the whole subject of North America carries with it an uncommonly disagreeable association of ideas to British minds. Whenever this particular topic suggests itself, it seems to be the signal for the decline of liberality, the rise of prejudice, and sometimes, though not so much latterly, even of ignorance.

Under all these circumstances, we cannot feel surprised, that a book like this has been neglected. In England the subject is not now, nor was it ever, popular. The matter contains testimony the more valuable to us, as it is so rare, to the character of a class of persons never properly esteemed there. Besides, it corrects much of the erroneous and unjust matter which has heretofore issued from the British press. With an apparent desire to be above prejudice, with industry equal to a thorough investigation of facts, and with a spirit able to appreciate the value of his subject, Mr. Grahame has published what we conceive to be the best book that has any where appeared, upon the early history of the United States. He has corrected, with a proper boldness, the mistakes, whether of ignorance or malignity, which his predecessors in the same labors had committed.

Of these, Dr. Robertson is here entitled to particular notice. The popularity of his style, and *apparent* candor of his mind, render all his works extremely interesting to the mass of readers, who seek for amusement and instruction without fatigue. The ninth and tenth books of the History of America, the only ones which refer to these States, were not published during his life, and have since appeared only as a carefully composed fragment. At the time when he was writing them, the disturbances between the mother country and her colonies had brought matters to a crisis; the countries had plunged into the war which terminated

in their separation, and with this event, the Doctor seems to have lost his taste for the employment, and the disposition to perfect it. In other words, the subject was no longer popular in England. In a letter to Strahan, written about that time, he declares that he thinks it lucky his History was not finished before these events occurred, because the result would have been destructive to many plausible theories, he should have felt entitled to form.* That these theories proceeded from feelings somewhat involved in the success of his own country, seems likely, from the tone of a subsequent letter to the same individual. If so, it is not at all probable, that an examination of our early records would have tended much to sooth his irritation. But whether so or not, we cannot regret that he never finished his undertaking. We do not believe that Dr. Robertson was qualified for the task. The same character and cherished opinions which led him to justify Mary of Scotland, led him to undervalue the whole class of her opponents, the Puritans. He was, moreover, studious of the popular taste, and not over thorough in his researches after facts. We often meet with superficial observations and unwarranted conclusions, though these defects are so nicely shaded by the general philanthropy and elegant smoothness of his pages, as to elude ordinary observation. The modern fashion of what is called philosophical history is attended with one great disadvantage, in the ease with which it admits of the perversion of facts, to suit the prejudices of each particular writer. From such prejudices, Dr. Robertson was by no means free. They made him slow to appreciate the virtues, and quick to detect the foibles of our fathers, and occasionally to overlook altogether many circumstances, very important to an accurate conception of their character.

To illustrate this, we might turn to almost any page of the tenth book. But not to multiply citations, we shall select, for its importance, that in which he treats of the motives of the founders of Plymouth, in leaving Holland to come to these Western shores—motives, a correct idea of which, as all readers must admit, lies at the very bottom of a just opinion of the men, and gives its tone to all their subsequent history.

'There,' (in Holland,) 'these Puritans resided for several years unmolested and obscure. But many of their aged members dying,

* Dugald Stewart's Life of Dr. Robertson, prefixed to the History of Scotland.

and some of the younger marrying into Dutch families, while their church received no increase, either by recruits from England or by proselytes gained in this country, *they began to be afraid that all their high attainments in spiritual knowledge would be lost,* and that perfect fabric of policy which they had erected, would be dissolved and consigned to oblivion, if they remained longer in a strange land.

'*Deeply affected with the prospect of an event, which to them appeared fatal to the interests of truth,* they thought themselves called, in order to prevent it, to remove to some other place, where they might profess and propagate their opinions with greater success.' *Hist. of Amer.* vol. iv. p. 262.

Now it seems to us not a little strange, that, from a list of five good reasons assigned for their removal, Dr. Robertson has selected but one; and that, the one least likely to excite the sympathy of the reader, and has given to his version the additional point of a sneer. Of the others, not a syllable is said. They are all plainly but touchingly given in their own church records.* The singularity of a statement like the preceding induced us to examine the authority, which is as follows.

'In 1617, they began to think of removing to America. *They laid great stress upon their peculiar tenets, but this did not lessen their regard to morality. The manners of the Dutch were too licentious for them.* Their children left them, some became soldiers, and others sailors, in the Dutch service. In a few years, *their posterity would have been Dutch,* and their church extinct. They were at a loss whether to remove to Guiana or to Virginia; but the majority were in favor of the latter. The Dutch labored to persuade them to go to Hudson's river, and settle under their West India Company; but *they had not lost their affection for the English,* and chose to be under their government and protection.' *Hutchinson's Hist. of Mass.* vol. i. p. 11.

Mr. Grahame has explained the matter still better; but the facts appear clearly enough without further quotation. It seems, then, that attachment to their religious belief, regard for the moral condition of their children, and an affection still warm for the good institutions of their native country, combined to lead these Pilgrims to New England; motives, than which, in the whole circle of human feelings, none could be selected more reasonable, none more honorable to themselves. We may learn from specimens like these, that a historian cannot

* Hazard's State Papers, vol. i. p. 357; Morton's Mem. p. 19.

be too much alive to the importance of giving, not the truth only, but the *whole* truth; not the truth with a veil, but the plain, naked truth.

But, however negligent or prejudiced Dr. Robertson may have been, we do not mean to charge him with wilful, malignant misinterpretation. He seems to have had no particular end in view. We fear that so much cannot be said for Mr. George Chalmers, who published his Annals of the Colonies somewhat earlier. This gentleman, driven from Maryland by the storm of the revolution, returned to his own country full of the feelings, which the cause of his departure might naturally be supposed to occasion, and which were far from likely to ensure for the labors he undertook, that impartiality by which such works should always be distinguished. The result did not disappoint the probability. His book is a labored and yet a lame apology for the royal cause, with a due proportion of abuse and illiberality towards America. On the other hand, it must be admitted, that his sources of original information were extensive, and that he used them industriously; so that his work is valuable to us, if considered with reference to the facts, and apart from his fallacious commentary. But *he* merits no mercy at the hands of Americans. We may smile when he tells us, 'that, among other deplorable ills, the American climate seems always to have begotten a propensity to disobedience;'* we may laugh at the enthusiasm, which should so far blind a man, that in the book which tells of the sufferings of the Pilgrims in exile for conscience' sake, he should introduce 'clemency as the *peculiar* characteristic of kings;'* but we can feel nothing less than the sternest indignation, when we reflect that he used the most authentic materials of our colonial history to serve the interests of a day. Such an act, if luckily it did not partially carry its own antidote, would be ruinous to every thing like justice. It is perverting the first principles of eternal truth to accomplish the purposes of party.

We have seized this occasion to notice these authors, because we consider most of the injurious impressions respecting our early history to be owing to them. The popular style of the former has brought his work into the hands of all readers, as the authentic materials supplied by the other have introduced him to all the writers in the community. Most of the subsequent authors appear to have implicitly followed their track.

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* Chalmers' Pol. Ann. p. 18. 191.

Mr. Grahame, however, has judiciously adopted a different course, and, by searching for himself, has probed the weak places of all preceding writers. We do not mean to say, that he has invariably avoided error; but that he has coped very successfully with the disadvantages of his situation. His mistakes occur, in allusions to habits and customs which he cannot know. They are such as might be expected from every stranger not acquainted with us by personal observation, who, the moment he leaves his books, loses his only undeviating guides. But this defect is trifling, when compared with the happy discrimination which he has manifested in the selection of the leading principles that led to the colonization of the several States, and with the able exposition of the results that followed. On the whole, we strongly recommend this work to every American, to be read, reflected on, and compared with others. We perceive by the Preface, that the author promises two more works which are to comprehend the rest of our history, and sincerely hope that they may prove equally good, and thus furnish us with what is much needed, a connected and philosophical sketch, which shall be at once entertaining, instructive, and correct.

It is of course impossible for us to notice particularly, on the present occasion, all the subjects that are treated in the work before us. The Catholic settlement of Maryland, the history of William Penn, and the experiment of government on the philosophical principles of Locke in Carolina, deserve the deepest attention from the student of History, as well on account of the striking peculiarities belonging to each, as of the contrast they present to one another. North America seems to have been the stage for experiments in all kinds of popular government, and if that which we now enjoy have any eminent advantages, it is fair and rational to conclude, that it is the result of reflection and various experience, of wisdom refined by time and trial. We must, however, reserve what we have to say upon these subjects to some opportunity which our author may hereafter present, and proceed now to treat of a single portion, which, as well for the large share it has in the volumes before us as for the superior interest it creates *here*, appears to merit a more particular consideration. Besides, the lapse of the second century since the settlement of Massachusetts, seems to present a seasonable opportunity to look back calmly, and weigh the causes which gave rise to it, the principles

which afterwards sustained it, and the influence it is exerting at the present day. From reflections which views of this kind may create, great practical good may come. They will lead us more fully to appreciate the qualities, which carried our ancestors through seasons of infinite suffering. They will teach us, that we owe to them every thing we now regard as best worth possessing; and by impressing this fact more stedfastly upon our minds, they may induce us to adhere firmly to those principles, which, as they sustained them, will also sustain us, under every trial, and throughout all time. Lastly, they may conduct us to the knowledge of the only true sources of all national prosperity, which it is essential to understand, or our system must certainly fall.

We have seen how unceremoniously Dr. Robertson despatches the motives, which brought the first Colony to Plymouth; and we then took the liberty to suggest the importance of a true notion of them to an understanding of all our subsequent history. Without it, we are blind to the chain of moral effects which has since been so fully carried out. In a brief sketch, it is impossible to dwell minutely upon the circumstances in which this may be fully traced. We must confine ourselves to leading suggestions, and where description would be likely to fail in giving a clear idea, resort must be had to the power of contrast. Thus, by comparing the infancy of the contemporary Colony of Virginia with that of Massachusetts and New-England, we may get more fully to realize the very remarkable points peculiar to the latter. We attempt this with no invidious design towards Virginia. That Colony is selected only because it arose about the same time, and will stand as a fair example of all establishments formed upon similar principles.

Virginia was colonized under the patronage of a King—by a company in London—for purposes of *gain*. James played the part of legislator, and the first effort of his protecting care deprived all the settlers of their natural rights as Englishmen, by subjecting them to power, without any voice in its regulation. Under such auspices the Colony arose. As the intention of the company was to profit by trade and not to colonize, the persons sent looked more for the means of growing suddenly rich and returning, than for a permanent domicile on the western side of the ocean. With them came a few volunteers, the romantic adventurers common in that age, who sought, in the new country made famous by the Spaniards for adventure, a

field for short and wild enterprise, rather than the slow but certain result of patient worldly management. This stock was occasionally supplied by numbers, whose value may be easily estimated when we say, that they were gentlemen, refiners, goldsmiths and jewellers, attracted thither in quest of dross, which they were ever eagerly seeking, when they should have been thinking of the means of subsistence. The spirit which grew out of this was of course essentially selfish, and as the individuals of this society had come, united by no common ties, and immediately scattered without government, the natural consequences, anarchy and confusion, ensued. At a most critical moment, the existence of the Colony was preserved by the wisdom and energy of a single individual, whose natural ascendency over his companions supplied the bonds requisite to keep them together. Captain Smith is a hero of romance, but with more common sense than these personages are usually gifted with. He is fairly entitled to the name of the Founder of Virginia. An accident forced him to return to England, where the company manifested their sense of his services by total neglect; and thus held out very fitting encouragement for laudable exertion. The truth is, that they did not intend to colonize; they wanted agents to trade; and, provided this was managed to advantage, they were little solicitous of the prosperity of the people. No sooner had Smith departed than the settlement declined. Its destruction by the hands of the Indians was avoided only by resorting to the rigor of martial law. Severity saved what unrestrained liberty was fast destroying. Then came the military government of Dale, the violent death of the London Corporation, the grinding tyranny of Hussey, their royal Governor. They had no season of repose or prosperity until the paternal government of Sir William Berkeley came to their relief—a man who, by his personal popularity, secured a higher degree of favor from the planters to his master, than the tenor of his administration would have otherwise deserved. The people had few rights, their spirit was loyalist, and their character may be understood when their best Governor is found, like a true Cavalier, 'to thank God, there are no schools nor printing.' Whether a spirit of rational liberty prompted the movement of Bacon in his rebellion, or more selfish motives, he died too early for us to decide unequivocally; the probability inclines, however, to the latter opinion. On the whole, it seems tolerably clear, that the knowledge of true freedom came late,

and grew slowly. It found its nourishment among the planters, from tyranny and oppression, which checked their prosperity and insulted their patience. How this knowledge, gathered in bitterness and long suffering, finally burst forth in a blaze, enlightening every hill and valley of the continent, we all know; but we find in the earlier days little cause to ascribe its rise to any principle existing in the primary formation of the State.

New-England, on the other hand, was planted by a colony composed of the middling classes in the mother country, opposed to the power of the crown—for the sake of *religious principle*, though the love of rational freedom was always combined with it. The very first act of the settlers of Plymouth was a written agreement, signed by every person, to form a civil society—a close approximation to the theory of the social compact. The transfer of the Charter to Massachusetts, virtually the same thing on their part, we shall speak of hereafter. Both measures manifest most clearly the sense which the members had of the obligations imposed upon them. They also show the principles of independence which they held from the first, and upon which their subsequent government was framed. Let it be recollected, then, that the duties were *self-imposed*, and, so far as we can judge, obeyed, without the agency of any extraordinary individual influence. In a desert, every man is entitled to a share of credit for wisely submitting himself to government where temptations always exist to swerve. We shall see that the first Church made it one of their fundamental points to obey the rulers set over them, so as to encourage them in the performance of their duty; a valuable though rather unusual branch of Church discipline. On such a foundation was the superstructure laid, and so happily did it rise, that its beautiful proportions were gradually developed without confusion, and with little adversity to record. The principle of government was popular, in its widest reasonable extent. The settlers belonged to a class of Christians, to whom the world stands indebted for the preservation of all the principles of liberty, which are now so flourishing. According to the testimony of a historian, never too favorable to their habits or character, theirs is the credit of preserving the freedom of the British Constitution. That freedom might have been crushed beyond revival by the power of the Stuarts, had not the love of it been combined in the hearts of these men with a still more exalted feeling, an attachment to religion, which led them to endure and to contemn every ill

that was of this world. Driven to resistance, the Puritans discovered their power, and used it with effect. The old system fell before them. The experiment of a simple government was made, but too many obstacles existed to authorize the least hope of success. The angry passions had rioted too long. But the fixed habits of the nation, the distinct orders, keeping up great inequalities in society and wealth, the active party of the exiled royal family, and above all, the ambition of their own leaders corrupted by good fortune, were the principal obstacles to a fair trial. The plan failed—a reaction ensued, which brought back in triumph Charles and his House. The age of licentiousness succeeded, but the spirit which had once come to the knowledge of its own strength, could not be subdued—though foiled, perhaps forever, in its original purpose, it yet lived to form what is at this day the main support and glory of the British people—the Constitution of 1688.

Far different were the circumstances of that portion of the sect, who brought the same principles with them to America—and far different with them was the issue. They were free from the shackles, which tied down their brethren at home; they had no time-hallowed institutions to contend with; the ground was not encumbered with ruins dangerous to build upon, yet difficult to remove; they had it free and open before them to mark it to their taste. They did mark it with an eye of practical wisdom, which was not exhibited by a philosopher of far higher pretensions, John Locke, in a similar undertaking. His plan vanished at the rude touch of common life like a dream; theirs stands the test of centuries, for the institutions they founded are well known as that system, under which, with little variation, their posterity have ever since existed.

We have thus endeavored to illustrate the peculiarity, which governed the settlement of New-England, by contrasting it with that of a Colony founded for mere commercial purposes; but we cannot here resist the temptation to leave the thread of our subject, in order to remark upon a feature of the Puritan character, which has been to their enemies and those of New-England, a favorite and fertile source of reproach. We have been told of the intolerance of the early settlers—and forthwith has issued a series of sweeping reflections from such as seek in the common-places of morals for a cover to malignity or a display of depth. We are not disposed at this time, or ever, to be the advocates of intolerance. We grant that it

is generally a mistake, as well as a crime. We will go so far as to admit, that our fathers were over-inclined to it—but if we see undue advantage taken of general admissions like these, to point a malicious moral, or to affix a stigma where none is deserved,—if we see our own writers copy without qualification, a charge so ungenerously made,—we feel disposed to retract our frankness, and be wise enough to leave to the attacking party the whole burden of proof, while we hold ourselves ready to put in a denial, or a justification. In truth, we apprehend that this charge has been much misunderstood, and in order to set it upon its true foundation, we propose briefly to review the leading facts.

The settlers had withdrawn from a land of plenty to a wilderness; and had certainly earned by their suffering, whatever rights they intended to secure by their flight. That, which was most prized, consisted in the liberty to form such a system of government for themselves as they approved. They were a weak minority, and therefore still liable to restraint from the mother country. They began this government with a view to obtain a home for their principles, where such as held them might hope for permanent shelter and security. Aware of danger, they labored to secure themselves, by taking every precaution to repel it. It was their anxious desire to live alone. A single and a chosen sect, in a spot which they had sacrificed every thing to reach, and where they molested none, they desired also to be free from molestation. They sought for none of different sentiments—why should such come among them? They had taken infinite pains to build up a system valuable to them, as well from the hardships they had undergone to attain it, as from their conviction of its intrinsic excellence. Can we in conscience call it either unnatural or unreasonable, that they should wish to uphold it, or feel jealousy of any act, having the least tendency to affect its stability?

The government they did establish, was a curious union of Church and State. It was framed avowedly upon the Scriptures, and instead of the more common arrangement, the civil was made in a degree subordinate to the ecclesiastical law. Mr. Cotton, in his letter to Lord Say and Seal, strongly justifies this course, which he thus explains: 'It is better that the Commonwealth be fashioned to the setting forth God's house, which is his Church, than to accommodate the Church-frame to the civil state.' Such doctrine has passed away from among us.

Experience has proved the beneficial effects of a total separation. But in 1636, when this letter was dated, it had not. Where were our fathers to learn the practicability of a separation, even had they wished to adopt it? Were they to look for an example to the mother country, the one best known to them, and from which they had felt obliged to fly? Certainly not. Yet thence has come most of the reproach on this subject, although even at this advanced period, it wears in that quarter a particularly ill grace.

We maintain that the settlers, interfering with no one, and coming here for the purpose, had a clear *right* to establish such a government as they wished; and that having established it, they were fully justified in taking all lawful means to make it durable. It is no great matter whether the principles they worked upon were all abstractly right or not. It is sufficient, if they were fully understood and practically used to a good purpose. For instance, we have already stated, that the maxims of civil and church law were so interwoven in the frame, and so equally necessary to the support of the system, that in that early hour, all attacks upon the latter were in effect attacks upon all the civil institutions, and endangered the permanency of the whole fabric. Now this union may in the outset have been abstractly wrong; yet when once established, the only course was to preserve it against violence; for the risk of injury from change at that moment, would have been greater than the probable amount of good to be gained from recognising the true principle. Moreover, it must ever be remembered, that the system was particularly exposed to attack from within as well as from without. The age was turbulent. The foundations of the old systems of society had been every where shaken by the reformation; among these settlers in a new country they had been entirely destroyed. Religious enthusiasts themselves, they were exposed to the extravagance of all, who losing sight of common sense, sought in the visions of their own heated imaginations for schemes, which might dazzle for a time, but would certainly end in general ruin. It is wonderful how closely our ancestors noted this. Their design was to build up—and aware how little it would take at first to put every thing into irretrievable confusion, they held a strong curb over the unruly members of their society. This was clearly the dictate of prudence and common sense; and to this care they doubtless owed their preservation. This striking and justifiable motive may be seen in all the acts most frequently cited against them.

The first step, taken by the settlers under the Massachusetts Charter, was to form a Church. It seems a circumstance worthy of remark, and not unfavorable to our reasoning, that among so large a number, many of whom had never before seen each other, and notwithstanding the differences in speculative points, which certainly did exist among the Dissenters, the system adopted should have met with the assent of all but two persons; a fact which can only be accounted for, by supposing a willing compromise of minor matters to secure the great end, their general safety. But the two who disagreed were members of the Council, and leading men. Not content with mere difference of opinion, they set up a separate society, which began to draw off some, and they openly encouraged a division, likely at that moment to have been fatal to the Colony. In reading the account of these Browns, in noticing the unfriendly character of all their operations, one can scarce avoid the idea, that they came as wolves in sheep's clothing, that their end was not what it seemed,—at all events, the worst enemies of the settlements would not have proceeded more effectually—but their operations were quickly checked. They were called before the Governor, and it being proved that their conduct '*tended** to *sedition*,' they were quietly sent back to England. No measures were taken against their followers, who remained wholly unmolested. This mild proceeding would seem to need little justification, yet it is the first great case of intolerance.

We almost fear to approach the character of Roger Williams, so warmly have his admirers urged his claims to excellence; yet, we hardly presume that any one, upon reflection, could be found to approve his course at Salem. His religious opinions were wild, beyond even the tone of the age, and he supported them in a manner so violent, that it could scarcely fail of being offensive to the community. His seems to have been a character, not very uncommon in the world; jealous of authority, and irritated by opposition. He became violent and restless, acting with a spirit likely to produce nothing but discord and violence. It was in vain, that Cotton and Hooker, the mildest of the clergy, were sent to expostulate with him, and explain the consequences of his course; their reasoning only furnished fuel to his opposition. In this state of things, the Government,

* Hutchinson, vol. i. p. 19.

deeming his conduct dangerous to the best interests of the State, felt compelled to order him to leave it. Peace soon returned, and two communities flourished where one might have lingered in helpless confusion. Age mellowed the feelings of Williams, and no inducement to violence existed at Providence. He lived in amity with Massachusetts, from which he afterwards had himself occasion for aid; and he established in his own settlement the admirable maxim of toleration, which will preserve his memory long after his extravagance shall be forgotten. Such is the second instance of intolerance, in which we can see nothing but the dictate of a wise and even of a mild policy.

The most violent dissension which took place in Massachusetts was occasioned by a woman, who succeeded in splitting the colony into parties. The history of Mrs. Hutchinson most strongly exhibits the peculiar dangers to which the settlement was at that day exposed. Some, though perhaps not her immediate partisans, entertained opinions injurious both to morality and good government, and these were disseminated among the people with greater ease under the cover of her peculiar doctrines. The struggle, not confined to argument, assumed a more serious shape. Every nerve was exerted to operate upon the political body. An election manifested the good sense of the majority, in the choice of Winthrop; and, as Hutchinson correctly observes, 'prevented and turned the ruin from the country upon Mrs. Hutchinson and many of her family and friends. These were decided to have pursued a course tending* to disturb the civil peace, and were accordingly banished. Many of them, learning moderation in exile, desired to return, were received without difficulty, and subsequently became valuable members of the society, whose safety they had once endangered. This forms the third and the most noted instance.

Hitherto nothing appears to us to have occurred calculated to affect the character of the Puritans; unless one would quarrel with them for preserving, what they had a manifest right to preserve, the safety and success of their particular design in establishing the colony. We have tried to show that in all these cases, they had in their situation strong causes of justification, which may not apply to firmly established communities. After all, then, the persecution of the Quakers is the only thing which

* Hutchinson's Hist. p. 57, vol. i. Vol. ii. Appendix, No. 2. The Address of Winthrop to Mrs. H.

can be considered as authorizing any severity of remark. Even here, much may be said in their defence. In addition to the general reasoning already urged, there were causes for it growing out of the characters of those people. Persons at the present day, when reading of Quakers, and thinking of the very respectable and unoffending sect who now bear the name, feel a strong and natural indignation at what would seem unmerited suffering. They do not reflect that the persons who infested the colony in those days were of a very different character. They were ranters; extremely ignorant, fanatical, and incessant disturbers of the public peace. Much of what is told by the elder historians, would even at this period draw them under the cognizance of a magistrate. The church rites of our strict ancestors were rudely broken in upon, their moral sense grossly shocked, and their civil authority openly contemned. Under all these provocations their patience at last gave way, and finding banishment and stripes totally unavailing, they, in a fit of exasperation, made the offence capital. The measure was not, however, in accordance with the unanimous feeling of the Colony. The law enforcing the penalty, after having been once rejected, subsequently passed by a majority of a single vote, and the public sympathy excited for the sufferers became so great, that it was continued only for the year.

We say nothing of the law retaining all civil rights in the hands of church members, because this principle appeared too clearly to result from the necessity of self-defence, to require argument, and because any thing we might have wished to say has been anticipated by the clear and convincing manner in which Mr. Quincy has lately treated that part of the subject.

But it may be said, that, admitting the Puritans to have been actuated by this attention to their own preservation, their course manifested only an unreasonable fear of danger, and a deficiency in judgment—that the true policy is, to leave errors to consume themselves, and not to furnish them with fuel by immediate opposition or restraint—that these are the natural humors of every political body, which must have their way, or a sudden check may throw them in upon its vital parts. We freely allow this to be excellent reasoning in ordinary cases, but the situation of the Puritans was not an ordinary one. They came here a minority still exposed to the attack of the majority on the other side of the water. The power of the British Government was always leaning against them, the agents of Episcopacy were

among them, besides the members of milder sects, who were constantly operating to lead their people astray. We are aware that the examples of Roger Williams, William Penn, and Lord Baltimore, will be urged against us; but we think that these instances serve only to prove our position. It is very certain, that they adopted the correct doctrine to its fullest extent; but so unprepared for it was the age, that Williams was compelled to call upon Massachusetts to apprehend Gorton, after flogging and banishing him to no purpose; that George Keith was tried, found guilty, and fined in Pennsylvania for 'creating a schism;' and, most of all, that the Catholics were actually deprived of their religious liberty by the very individuals, to whom they in the days of their power had accorded indulgence. In other words, the very thing actually happened in Maryland, which the Puritans seem to some so unreasonably to have apprehended in Massachusetts.

Thus much has been said upon this most objectionable feature in the Puritan character, which is, however, somewhat less so than it has been commonly considered. In conclusion, we will only repeat our own conviction, that their great fault consisted in engrafting the civil upon the ecclesiastical power, and thus making the latter a necessary basis of the State; but the idea of the close union between them was a prevailing error, not of theirs, but of the age. Having once assumed this ground, they did not incur blame by using all proper means to defend it from attack; and, finally, they were not unreasonable in their apprehension of danger. Thus far, and no farther, do we admit the faults of the founders of New-England. Their enemies may make the most of it. Perhaps they were not faultless, but theirs was a lucky fate. The evil of their day died with them, the good will remain forever. Singularly happy that community, in which a difficulty of this kind has, without any violent revolution, cured itself so effectually as to leave no trace behind! General moral reflections may answer very well for such observers as praise or condemn by the mass, but he who looks closely into the nature of man, will find much to attribute to human imperfection, without carrying every doubtful case to the account of his worst passions.

We now leave this topic for the purpose of resuming the examination of the principles, which sustained the settlement, and the influence it has exerted upon the present time. It will thus be seen at a glance, that the unity in design was pre-

served in the execution, and remains now in its results, the beautiful fabric of our existing institutions. Our limits warn us to be brief.

The legislation of the early Colony tended chiefly to three distinct objects.

1°. The first was the cultivation of piety and good morals. The settlers had hardly arrived in Massachusetts, before they set about the frame of their Church. After solemn deliberation, they entered into a formal covenant, 'that they would live in the fear of God, and walk in His ways, that they would cultivate watchfulness and tenderness in their mutual intercourse; in all cases of offence, bear and forbear, give and forgive; in their intercourse with mankind, study a conversation remote from the very appearance of evil; by obeying dutifully all who should be set over them, encourage them to perform their duty; and, by shunning idleness, approve themselves in their particular callings, the servants of God.' Such, it should be ever remembered, was the tenor of the voluntary bond of a people!

The laws which were framed, bore accordingly more the impress of a system of moral duties, than of the mere negative rules of ordinary civil societies; and though this has subjected them to many sneers, we cannot help respecting the exalted nature of the feelings, which prompted the course, however impracticable it may be in its application to men. These laws, not content with punishing grosser offences, were directed against many vices usually considered beyond the reach of the civil arm. Dancing in ordinaries, dressing beyond the degree of one's fortune, intemperance, idleness, lying and swearing, were all punishable offences. The penalties were graduated by the enormity of the *moral* crime. This may be illustrated by the law of Plymouth, punishing adultery and blasphemy by death, while forgery incurred only a fine; and by the general rule established in Massachusetts, that 'when the customs of the Commonwealth were found defective, the crime shall be decided by the word of God.'

Experience has proved, that it is not possible to extend civil authority over offences purely against good morals; it must be restricted to injuries done to society. Man is too fallible to admit a rule more rigid. But we cannot condemn, or rather, we ought to admire the noble spirit of those individuals, which induced the attempt to raise the character of their

people to a standard of such extraordinary purity. Even the aim was not without its practical benefit. In all human exertion, nothing is lost by raising the standard to be arrived at. The higher that of moral excellence is in a community, the higher will be its general tone of language and feeling, though the whole end may not be attained. Moreover, the influence of this attempt has been good in another view. Though the law ceased to be executed, yet most of the offences continued to retain the stigma affixed to them, in the minds of the people. No doubt they were, are, and will be committed to some extent, here as every where else; but a great deal is gained to morality, if the prevailing sentiment be such as to make indulgence in such vices a never failing cause of degradation in the public esteem, if it be such as to hold out encouragement to the practice of the opposite virtues, such as to throw the whole mass of coarser faults into the most degraded and outcast class of beings, where vice has no splendor to gild its deformity, nor cloak to cover its nakedness.

2°. The second object was the dissemination of knowledge. One of the early laws enjoined upon all parents, to instruct and catechise their children and servants; and the Selectmen of each town were directed to remove the latter from their authority, and commit the charge of them to fitter hands, if they were found deficient. This is a rule in itself excellent, but, from the nature of things, difficult to be enforced. We find the neglect of it repeatedly noticed in the early times, as a lamentable thing, likely to bring down the judgment of heaven. Soon after the Colony arrived,* and at a time when they might still be supposed to entertain no ideas but those of immediate preservation, this portion of a sect of Christians, who have collectively been charged with hostility to all learning, voted, in full meeting, a sum of four hundred pounds, to establish a school at Newtown. This foundation having been enlarged two years afterwards, by a devise of eight hundred

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*Mr. Grahame has fallen into an error here, by copying Mather's Magnalia, which assigns 1630, the very year of their arrival, as the date of this proceeding; and Mr. Neale has fallen into the same mistake. The latter goes so far as to name the day in that year, the sixth of September. But besides the obvious improbability of so early a period, and the authority of Hubbard, any doubt upon it has been put at rest by the research of Mr. Savage, the indefatigable Editor of Winthrop's Journal, Vol. ii. p. 87. Note. The true date is 1636.

pounds from a private individual, grew into a College, perpetuating its benefactor's reputation by assuming the name of Harvard. The establishment continued to experience the protection of the Government, and, in 1642 and 1650, was remodelled, with increased privileges. Indeed, throughout the early annals, striking facts occur, to show that this institution was a great favorite with the people.

But a single College, however patronized, would have done little to spread among the mass of the common population the principles of knowledge. It is instruction in simple and elementary matters, carried to the home of each individual, which alone can make a whole nation advance in intelligence. The plan best adapted to bring about this end, is entitled to much more attention than all the high sounding theories ever started. It would be hazarding little to say, that the system established by our fathers does very completely answer the purpose. That system was instituted by the law, obliging every town with fifty householders, to provide a school-master qualified to teach reading and writing. If it had one hundred, it was then bound to maintain a grammar school. The practical success of this regulation may be seen in the fact, that there are few natives of New-England, who have not received the rudiments of education; none who have not enjoyed the opportunity. It is a singular, but not unapt reflection of Mr. Webster, in his valuable Plymouth Address, that in the efforts for the dissemination of the means of instruction, made by Mr. Brougham in England, and by which he has gained so much reputation, we see no principles with which we are not familiar from early life, and which have not been established ever since the infancy of this people.

3°. The third and last great object was the security of individual liberty. This may be seen in the first act of the settlers; it may be traced with unerring certainty in all their subsequent proceedings. They would not come at all, unless the Charter which governed them came also; a decision which has shocked the feelings of British historians most grievously, but upon which the young American cannot ponder too deeply; for it is the corner stone of our liberty. Mr. Chalmers tells the truth, because he thinks it a matter of reproach, but we hope it will be long before any one here will be ashamed of it. Having established themselves on the most secure footing they could gain in America, they formed a

Government of a very primitive kind—every freeman having a voice in public affairs. When the number had increased and extended so widely over the country as no longer to admit of this arrangement, the principle of representation arose like a regular consequence of a digested scheme. The first meeting of Delegates pursued the same course, by laying down the fundamental rules, that no law should be passed, no tax imposed, and no officer appointed or removed in the Colony, without their consent. These were accompanied by others, exhibiting a jealousy of encroachment upon their rights, by the Governor and Council, which shows how clearly they understood them. The system was further improved, a few years afterwards, by the division of the legislative power into two branches, the one composed of the Governor and Assistants, the other the popular branch; and finally, by that confederacy between Massachusetts, New-Haven, Connecticut and Plymouth, in whose regulations may clearly be seen the germ of our present national system. Yet, with all these improvements, the primitive habits were still closely adhered to in the towns; and the people have invariably manifested aversion to change. All matters of interest are thus submitted to the popular will in town meeting, and abide by the decision of the majority. Such was the system established in former days, and such it is now;—a system which gives to each member of society his proper importance, and secures a hardy independence of character in the yeomanry, very different from the sickly servility, and fawning adulation, paid to the upper classes by the peasantry of older countries.

We have thus very imperfectly attempted to explain the great principles of the Puritans by their measures. We omit an examination of less essential points, not because they want interest, but from the nature of our plan, which excluded secondary matters. Yet the simple course of public justice would alone afford a subject for curious and instructive reflection. No professional man can help being struck with the difference between our system and that of England, whenever he examines a book of British law. Our practice with regard to real actions, conveyancing, and pleading, is the light of day, compared with the obscurity existing in the mother country,—not to speak of the organization of our Courts, and the whole criminal code. But to general readers, this is a matter of inferior interest.

It has been our endeavor to explain the motives which brought the Pilgrims here, and the principles which built up their society. We have seen unity in design, and unity in execution. The motives which brought them have been shown to be,—1. Attachment to religious belief; 2. Regard for the character of their children; 3. Love of the good institutions of their native country. The principles acted upon have been shown to be the clear consequences of these. 1. The cultivation of piety and good morals; 2. The dissemination of knowledge; 3. The security of individual liberty. And now, we boldly challenge the world, to produce any instance where these ideas have been more perfectly conceived, and fully executed. It may be true, that more was attempted than could be performed. This is surely not a fault, as some superficial persons have believed;—if a defect, it lies at the root of all the failures of man, his nature—which will not carry him beyond a certain point. What was actually effected, may be seen in the present privileges of the people, in their moral, industrious and frugal habits, in the degree of their intelligence, and above all, in their sturdy, but not overbearing independence. This is the influence which the character of the Puritan settlers has exerted upon the present generation; these are the benefits which their posterity derive from them.

But if we wish them to be permanent, it is not enough to look to the past; we must consider the future, and apply the lesson we have thus been taught. We should all recollect the old and excellent motto, that 'it is not with us as with other men, whom *small things* can discourage.'* It is incumbent upon each person to consider, that he exerts a direct influence upon the State; and that it is only by acting on the principles which lie at the bottom of the system, adhering to piety and good morals, extending the desire for instruction, and maintaining personal independence, which can grow only out of individual industry, temperance and frugality, that he can hope to see it endure. By pondering upon these things, and turning them to account in his daily practice, he will benefit himself, and through himself the whole country.

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*Hazard's St. P. Vol. I. p. 363.

ART. VIII.—*Mémoires Inédits de Madame la Comtesse de Genlis sur le dixhuitième siècle et la Révolution Françoise, depuis* 1756, *jusqu' à nos jours.* 10 vols. 8vo. Paris. 1825.

Before proceeding to examine this work, we wish to say a few words upon the department of literature to which it belongs; and in which the French language is far richer than that of any other nation. It is pleasant enough to step occasionally behind the curtain, and to see the operation of the moving forces, by which the great enginery of the world is kept in action; and we are enabled to do this, in a considerable degree, by the record of their own lives and characters, which men of political and literary eminence have sometimes bequeathed to us. In this way, the dark passages of history are illustrated, and valuable materials provided for those whose vocation it may be to write it hereafter; the state of society and manners at particular periods is more clearly revealed to us; and, what though less important, is certainly not less interesting, portraits of the wise and eminent are drawn, not as history paints them, in their robes of state, but in the careless and familiar garb of ordinary life. It is almost superfluous to say, how much more exact and satisfactory would be our knowledge of the state of society and manners in former times, if the business of writing memoirs had been fashionable at an early period; or how much light would have been shed upon various portions of English history, if the actors in its eventful scenes had less frequently left to others the task of recording their most remarkable achievements. We are aware, that many of the great Generals of England have been thought to resemble Cæsar more in a military, than in a literary point of view; but the real cause of this deficiency, is probably to be traced more directly to the fact, that this species of literature does not seem to be in all respects adapted to English taste. The French, on the contrary, have excelled in it, in consequence of some peculiar traits of character. Their memoirs are written with all the ease and freedom of conversation; while in England, not only no man speaks of himself, but can hardly be brought to speak of another, without resorting to all the grave dignity of historical narration. This propensity is particularly obvious in English biography, which is too often

deficient in what should constitute its principal attraction, familiar details of a personal and private nature. The life of Pitt, for example, is a solemn history of the age; and there are many other works, to which a similar objection may be made, but to which we need not here refer. It is not improbable, that some have been prevented from writing their own memoirs, by an apprehension of being liable to the charge of vanity. This was the ground, upon which the really interesting and valuable memoirs of Burnet were assailed by the merciless ridicule of Swift; nor was the accusation in that instance, wholly unfounded; but the example of Dr. Franklin may serve to show, that it is very possible for a man to write his own memoirs, without being considered unreasonably vain. A few years since, one of the distinguished officers of our revolution, in writing an account of his own adventures, thought it expedient to avoid too frequent a use of the first personal pronoun, and spoke of himself under the style of 'our General;' a descriptive phrase, which though better on the whole than that of 'our hero,' is far less eligible than the mode adopted by Cæsar and Napoleon. In the French writers, we find no such excessive delicacy. They remind us rather of one of their countrymen, who never spoke of himself, without taking off his hat. They are firmly persuaded, that whatever relates to themselves must be interesting, and seldom fail to render it so; and their literature has in consequence been enriched with a series of memoirs, many of which are interesting, and some of permanent and real value. It may be proper, however, to remark, that some deduction must not unfrequently be made from the credit accorded to most of them, owing to the prejudices of their writers, who have been sometimes tempted, if not wholly to pervert the truth, at least to invest it with a doubtful coloring.

The Memoirs of Madame de Genlis form no exception to the remarks, which we have just offered in regard to this class of works in general. Several of the first volumes are extremely interesting; but we are bound in candor to acknowledge, that some of the last present as melancholy specimens of prosing, as the imagination can easily conceive. The ninth consists principally of a collection of anecdotes, which seem to be inserted in it simply to refresh the memory, as very many of them are taken without the alteration of a word or letter, from the preceding volumes; while the tenth and last has been reserved as a receptacle for all the fragments, with which the

world had not been previously favored. Although Madame de Genlis does not belong precisely to the first class of writers, she, nevertheless, filled for a long time a considerable space in the public eye; and her recent death, at a very advanced age, affords a fit occasion for a cursory notice of some of the leading incidents of her life, to which we shall add a few extracts from the volumes before us.

Madame de Genlis was born, January 21, 1746, at Champcéri, a small village of Burgundy; and on the very same day, the opening flower had nearly been unkindly crushed. The *Bailli* of the place called to offer his congratulations to her father upon the joyful occasion, and was proceeding to install his portly person in the chair, on which her infant ladyship was laid. Nothing but the sudden and vigorous interposition of the nurse could have averted the impending danger, and preserved more than a hundred volumes from being irretrievably blotted from the circle of French literature. If any doubt existed in regard to the early developement of her talent and beauty, her own emphatic testimony upon the subject has set the question at rest. At the age of seven, she was placed under the care of a governess of sixteen, who was at all events to instruct her in music, and in the next place to improve her mind by giving her lessons in Father Buffier's history; but the narrative of the learned father was soon laid aside, by joint agreement, for the more edifying instruction of Scuderi's romances, and the dramas of Mademoiselle Barbier. Before she was taught to write, she began to extemporise romantic stories; which, owing to her deficiency in that important requisite, are lost to the world. About the same time her mother composed a comic opera, in which the young lady was called upon to play the part of *Cupid*, and personated the character with so much success, and so entirely to her own satisfaction, that, notwithstanding the lapse of seventy years, she has given us a description of her dress in it, with all the professional accuracy of the *Petit Courier des Dames*. For some time she wore this dress habitually, but at last exchanged it for that which custom has appropriated to the other sex; to the use of which she attributes the perfection of her gait, and the ease and freedom of her manner. During a whole year, at a period of life somewhat later, she spent regularly seven hours in each day, very often eight or nine, and occasionally from ten to twelve, in playing upon the harp; her favorite instrument, and one, upon which she appears to have performed with unusual grace and skill.

We have given these details, not with the design of casting ridicule or censure on Madame de Genlis, but in order to present some idea of what female education must have been among the higher classes in France for some years prior to the revolution. It appears to have been conducted according to the principle dogmatically asserted by one of Shakspeare's clowns, that beauty is the work of art, and that reading and writing come by nature. In fact, the condition and character of the nobility of France, when the storm at length swept over them, were not wholly unlike those of the ancient world, when it was overwhelmed by the deluge. The want of morality and virtue was poorly supplied by a gorgeous veil of exterior decorum; which, though it may have weakened in some respects the force of pernicious example, consecrated, instead of removing the evil of vice, by investing it with unnatural attractions. There was much of that dignified loyalty, that generous and lofty courtesy, that proud and chivalrous sense of honor, so splendidly portrayed by the inspired eloquence of Burke; but there was also a sad alloy of baser qualities, of open frivolity and ill-concealed vice, which checks the sympathy we naturally feel, when the exalted are brought down to the dust. Still so powerful was the influence of this society upon the imagination and the heart, that we see Madame de Genlis, amidst all her high, and doubtless sincere professions of religious zeal, stating, apparently without the least perception of their impropriety, circumstances to which a person of real delicacy would scarcely incline to allude; and we find her, also, at the period of her subsequent misfortunes, looking back to it with the same feeling, with which the exiled Hebrew remembered the Holy City, as he wandered in a strange land. It should be recollected, however, to her honor, that she had sufficient force of character to withstand and overcome that influence to such a degree, as to acquire and preserve a taste for literary pursuits, and an active industry, to which she owes all her reputation.

The beauty and talent of Madame de Genlis, together with her taste for music, which was developed in her earliest infancy, had procured for her a welcome reception in the most brilliant circles of Paris; and to these titles to success in society, was added that of a connexion with the family of Orleans. She was the niece of Madame de Montesson, who became the wife of the Duke of Orleans, by a marriage, which was denominated *secret*, because, though known to all the world, it was not

acknowledged at court. The intercourse between the aunt and niece does not appear to have been remarkably cordial. Both had literary pretensions. Those of the former were not supported by much taste or talent; but she made ample amends for this deficiency by the strength of her passions, which were exhibited in the most consistent and relentless hatred of her younger rival; who was on her side not slow to requite the obligation by an exposition, more triumphant than charitable, of the system of tactics by which her aunt induced the Duke of Orleans to espouse her, in opposition to his judgment and inclinations. Indeed, this litigious propensity appears to have taken deep root in the family of our author. A bitter controversy was carried on for a long time between her mother and grandmother, which was terminated only by the death of the latter.

When Madame de Genlis was about fifteen, she received the offer of the heart and rent-roll of the Baron D'Andlau, a veteran spark of sixty, whose suit was supported by the interest of her mother; but as she testified some reluctance in accepting the proposal, her mother, in order to set in a strong light the folly of her conduct, married him herself. About this time one of her letters fell accidentally into the possession of the Count de Genlis; whose admiration of the talent displayed in it, was soon transferred to its fair writer, and who espoused her for her style, as the learned ladies in Moliere embraced the pedant of the play for the love of Greek. He was an officer of reputation, and of a noble family. The immediate effect of her marriage was to extend her circle of amusements among the relatives of her husband; and she has given a lively account of one, to which, so far as we are informed, the married ladies of this country are not much addicted. One evening at ten, she went with her brother into a little village adjoining Genlis, where they amused themselves with beating against the windows of the ale-houses, and calling for spirit; taking due care to effect a retreat before the publican could reply in person to his vexatious customers. This charming jest was several times repeated in the course of the evening, and always with complete success. 'Happy age,' she remarks, 'in which pleasure is so cheaply purchased, when nothing exalts the imagination, or disturbs the heart.' A more refined satisfaction, however, was at this time afforded her, by the opportunity which she enjoyed of becoming familiarly acquainted with distinguished literary

men; but it may be proper here to remark, that her judgments in regard to most of them, are strongly affected by her prejudices. Like another French personage of some note, whenever she differs in opinion from others, or maintains a quarrel, she is invariably in the right. Her hostility to the philosophers was uniform and unrelenting; and though some have thought fit to ascribe it to the treatment which her works received from them, we see no reason why it should not be attributed, in part at least, to her natural aversion to their principles. Whatever may have been its cause, it was at all events too indiscriminate, and carried to an unreasonable extent. She had previously seen and disliked d'Alembert; and her prejudice was now ripened into utter aversion. She describes him as mean in his person, and disagreeable in manner; and by way of illustrating his kindness of heart, declares, that, with all the foreboding apprehensions of affection, he composed a funeral eulogy upon his intimate friend Madame Geoffrin, during her last illness, in order to have it in a state of preparation for the press at the very instant of her death. His attachment to Madame de Genlis, such as it was, was considerably impaired by an occurrence, which we think might reasonably justify the wrath of a philosopher. M. de Sauvigny, it seems, had regularly sent to her all the academic eulogies of d'Alembert. One day he presented her with one to which the name of the author was not attached, but with which she was so much gratified, that she despatched a note to d'Alembert, expressing her satisfaction in animated terms, and informing him, that she considered it by far the best of all his discourses. Unluckily the eulogy was the production of Condorcet; and d'Alembert, as may be supposed, was rather offended than otherwise by her compliment.

The following extract describes her interview with another distinguished personage. She had been apprised by one of her friends, of the intention of her husband to present to her the actor Preville, in the character of Rousseau; and shortly afterwards the philosopher himself was announced.

'Expecting, of course,' says Madame de Genlis, 'to see Preville only, it was with some difficulty that I promised to do my best to entertain J. J. Rousseau. I waited impatiently for his entrance, believing that nothing could be more truly comic than Crispin in the guise of a philosopher. My spirits were so extravagant, that M. de Genlis, knowing my natural timidity, was lost in astonishment. It was impossible for him to imagine how the expectation

of receiving so grave a personage, should produce so strange an effect; and he thought me wholly beside myself, when he saw me laugh as Rousseau entered the room. Nothing could be more agreeable than his appearance, though, to me, it was a mere masquerade. His coat, his claret-colored stockings, his little round periwig, in short, his whole costume and manner, gave me the idea of a remarkably well-acted comic scene. With great effort, I preserved a sober countenance, and, after stammering a few complimentary phrases, sat down. Fortunately for me, the conversation took a lively turn. I said nothing, but laughed occasionally with so much heartiness, that Rousseau himself appeared disposed to share my mirth. He said many pleasant things upon the subject of youth in general. I thought Preville very intelligent, but it appeared to me, that Rousseau in his place, would have been offended with me. He then addressed himself to me; and being perfectly free from embarrassment, I uttered every thing that came uppermost in my mind. He thought me very original, while I, on the other hand, considered him the best actor I had ever seen. I was never pleased with caricatures; and what gratified me in this instance, was the nature and simplicity of the comedian, who appeared to me to be far greater than I had ever thought him on the stage; though he certainly made Rousseau by far too gay and good-humored. I played on the harp for him, and sung some of the airs of the *Devin du Village;* while Rousseau listened with the air of satisfaction, which the simplicity of childhood usually inspires. On taking leave, he promised to return and dine with us the next day. Nothing could have given me greater pleasure, and I accompanied him to the door, with all the pretty compliments imaginable. When he was fairly gone, I laid aside all restraint, and laughed outright; M. de Genlis all the while regarding me with a grave and uneasy expression, which by no means tended to diminish my mirth. "Now you are angry," said I, "because you did not succeed in deceiving me; but how could you think me simple enough to mistake Preville for Rousseau?" "Preville!" "Oh deny it, if you will; I am very easily convinced." "Are you insane?" "Preville, I acknowledge, is charming, and nobody could act better; but he played the part of a very agreeable old gentleman, and not of Rousseau, who would have been provoked by my reception of him." At these words, M. de Sauvigny and M. de Genlis laughed so immoderately, that I began to be surprised in my turn; and my confusion may be imagined when I ascertained, that it was Rousseau himself whom I had been entertaining in this agreeable way.'

The acquaintance, thus commenced, was soon interrupted. M. de Genlis offered Rousseau some Sillery wine, of which he

consented to receive two bottles. M. de Genlis had the hardihood to send him two dozen; and the affront was so flagrant, that Rousseau never entirely forgave it. His friendship for Madame de Genlis, which lasted a few days longer, was at length broken off by an occurrence of about equal importance. One evening he agreed to accompany her to the theatre, on condition that the party should occupy a private box. When they had taken their places, Rousseau insisted on raising the blind to accommodate her, while she was equally desirous of closing it to gratify him. In the mean time, the attention of the audience was attracted towards him, and he accused her forthwith of making a spectacle of him, like a wild beast at a fair; while she on the other hand insisted, that he thrust his head forward repeatedly with the express purpose of being seen, and was offended because the recognition was not followed by applause. At any rate, he took his leave in transports of wrath; and Madame de Genlis, with no great reason, piques herself upon the steadiness with which she afterwards resisted his efforts to effect a reconciliation. Her whole account of this singular personage reminds the reader very strongly of that given by St. Pierre.

Shortly after her marriage, Madame de Genlis, at the desire of the family of Orleans, took up her residence at the *Palais Royal*. To this step, which she ever afterwards regarded as a fatal error, she often alludes as the cause of all her subsequent misfortunes. It was ambition, doubtless, which induced her to sacrifice the domestic tranquillity to which she imagined herself so strongly attached; though the prospect of a brilliant provision for her husband and children was not wholly without its influence. Her beauty and talent had made her known in the highest circles; and she could not readily consent to relinquish the hope of a more complete triumph in the midst of a dazzling and luxurious court. Experience had not yet taught her, that the bright sunshine has little power to calm the agitated waves; that human nature, in every situation, is still the same; and she appears to have been surprised to discover, that any dark and relentless passions could find entrance into such a paradise as this. She complains that cold and malicious looks were fixed upon her; that her actions were ridiculed and misconstrued. The truth undoubtedly was, that she set a high estimate upon her own pretensions, and soon found, that the claims of others interfered with hers. The descent was very di-

rect and easy from jealousy to envy and all uncharitableness; and it is very obvious, that while Madame de Genlis was repining at the illiberality of the ladies by whom she was surrounded, she was herself possessed, perhaps unconsciously, by the same unfortunate spirit. The gentlemen vied with each other in offering her their homage; but all this availed her nothing, so long as she was the object of female aversion. Her spirits were broken, and her health impaired. During one of the journeys, which her physician directed her to take, she paid a visit to Voltaire at Ferney. We give a portion of her account of her dining at his residence.

'We took our seats at the table, but M. de Voltaire was far from being agreeable. He appeared to be in a constant passion with his servants; crying out to them with a tone of voice so loud and shrill, that I several times involuntarily started from my chair. I had been previously apprised of this habit, which is not very common elsewhere in the presence of strangers; but it was easy to perceive that it was a habit with him, as his servants gave no indications of surprise or alarm. After dinner, M. de Voltaire, knowing my fondness for music, called upon Madame Denis to play upon the harpsichord. Her style of performance reminded me of the age of Louis XIV; but it could not be numbered among the most agreeable associations with that delightful period. She had just completed a piece of Rameau, when a pretty little girl of seven or eight entered the room, and ran to embrace M. de Voltaire, calling him Papa. He returned her caresses with infinite grace; and seeing that I contemplated the scene with pleasure, told me, that the little girl was a great grand daughter of the great Corneille, on whose mother he had bestowed a marriage portion. How would this have affected me, if I had not called to mind those commentaries, in which injustice and envy are so awkwardly betrayed! In fact, I was every moment wounded by strange contrasts, and my admiration was constantly checked, and even destroyed, by odious recollections and revolting extravagance.

'After M. de Voltaire had received several visiters from Geneva, he proposed to us a drive in his carriage. The horses were brought, and he, his niece, Madame de St. Julien, and myself, took our seats in the *berline*. He carried us into the village, for the purpose of showing us the houses he had erected, and some benevolent institutions which he had founded. Here he appears far greater than in his writings; for the effects of an intelligent liberality are every where visible, and one finds it difficult to believe that the same hand which has recorded so much impiety, wickedness and falsehood, has done so much that is noble, judicious

and useful. It was his custom to show this village to strangers, and to speak of it plainly, but without the slightest affectation—to explain every thing which he had accomplished, without any appearance of vanity. There is scarcely any other person of whom the same remark could be made. When we returned, the conversation upon what we had seen became very animated. At evening, I took my leave. M. de Voltaire urged me to remain to dine the next day; but I was anxious to return to Geneva.

'All the portraits and busts of Voltaire resemble him strongly; but no artist has done full justice to his eyes. I expected to find them brilliant and full of fire; and they were in fact the finest I had ever seen; but they had at the same time a softness of expression, which it is impossible to describe; the soul of *Zaïre* shone through them. This charming expression was entirely destroyed by his very malicious laugh and smile. He was quite infirm, and his gothic movements made him appear older than he really was; his voice was sepulchral, and the more strange in its tone, as, though by no means deaf, he had a habit of raising it to a very high pitch. When his conversation did not turn upon religion, or his personal enemies, it was simple and unpretending, and his talent did not fail to render it delightful. It appeared to me, however, that he could not endure to hear another express an opinion different from his own; the slightest contradiction made the tone of his voice very angry and piercing.'

We come now to a period in the life of Madame de Genlis, in which she presents herself in a more interesting point of view; in which she conducted herself with a disinterestedness and assiduity, which indicated a high sense of duty, and a devoted zeal in the discharge of it; and to which some recent events have imparted an interest, which it did not previously possess. At about the age of thirty, she yielded to the earnest request of the Duke of Chartres, better known afterwards as the Duke of Orleans, and during the revolution, by the name of *Egalité*, that she should retire from the world, and employ herself in the education of his children. His three sons, as well as a daughter, were confided to her care; and she assumed, in consequence, the rather unusual title of *gouverneur*. The eldest of her pupils, Louis Philip, was then Duke of Valois. At the death of his grandfather, which occurred shortly afterwards, he became Duke of Chartres, and after the execution of his father, Duke of Orleans; a title which he has very lately exchanged for that of King of the French. The second was the Duke of Montpensier, and the third, the Count of Beaujolais. The youngest bore the name of Mademoiselle

d' Orleans, which she still retains. Madame de Genlis, as we have already remarked, devoted herself to the task of educating these children with untiring industry and zeal; and probably contributed, in no small degree, to form the character of the present King. It may be agreeable to our readers, to know the opinion which she appears to have entertained of him at an early age.

'This morning I received a touching letter from the Duke of Chartres, which I shall preserve as a precious memorial of him. The following passage is faithfully copied from it: "I will resign all amusements until I shall have completed my education, that is, until April, 1790, in order to devote my money to benevolent purposes. On the first day of every month, we will agree upon the objects, to which it may most advantageously be applied. I beg you to accept my most sacred honor as a pledge for this. I should prefer that my plan may be known to ourselves only; but you well know, that I do not now, nor ever shall, keep any thing secret from you."

'The character of the Duke of Chartres is greatly improved, particularly within the past year. He was naturally well disposed; and he has become intelligent and virtuous. He has nothing of the frivolity usually found in children of the same age; and he despises the airs, the dress, the jewels and ornaments, of which the young are commonly so fond. He has no attachment to money, is very disinterested, despises luxury, and his disposition is very noble; in short, like his brothers and sister, he has an excellent heart, which, with the aid of reflection, will become the source of every other valuable quality.'

The sole superintendence of the education of her pupils, together with the invention of gymnastic exercises, and new methods of instruction, gave hardly sufficient employment to the active industry of Madame de Genlis. In addition to this, she prepared for their amusement and benefit her *Théâtre d'Education*, *Adèle et Théodore*, and *Veillées du Château*, the last of which is familiarly known in this country by the name of Tales of the Castle. These were the first productions, by which she acquired reputation as an author. But the work which excited by far the most general interest, was one which she published at this time upon the subject of religion, considered as the basis of happiness and true philosophy. The sensation created by its appearance was very great. It was a subject of no small surprise to see 'any good' coming out of the *Palais Royal;* but when the first sentiment of astonish-

ment was over, this ill-fated work appeared destined to animate all Paris to a general battle. It was denounced by the stern theologians as deficient in orthodoxy; the fashionable world, not usually the most competent judges in matters of this sort, agreed unanimously, that Madame de Genlis had mistaken her vocation; some went so far as to accuse her of an unpardonable violation of the principles of her own book, in having pillaged all that was valuable in it from another writer; and the philosophers, whom she regarded from this time forth as her bitter enemies, assailed her with a pitiless torrent of ridicule and slander. Some of her sex would have been a little startled by this commotion among the elements; but Madame de Genlis was not so easily daunted. To the fashionable world, and the theologians, she discreetly refrained from making any reply; but she henceforth made war upon the philosophers with a degree of vigor, which would have been praiseworthy in proportion to its fierceness, if she had not assigned charity rather too low a rank in the scale of her religious graces.

The revolution at length came on; and Madame de Genlis has been sometimes accused of having exulted in its progress; a charge against which she has labored very zealously to defend herself. Whether the accusation was well founded or otherwise, is a question of very little moment; but it is hardly credible that it could have been true to any considerable extent. Like many others, whose insight into political mysteries was far deeper than hers, she may have regarded its beginning as the dawning of a golden age, destined to realize the dreams of which sages had predicted and poets sung; and never thought of looking in the calm and clear sky for the ominous signs of that tremendous hurricane, which swept over the land with a fury and desolation unparalleled before in the history of man. Her delusion, if it existed, was but of short duration. It could hardly have continued, when her husband had perished upon the scaffold, and she was herself wandering in poverty and exile. Alarmed by the threatening aspect of the times, she went with the youngest of her pupils to England, which she had visited the year before, and where she had an opportunity of renewing her acquaintance with many illustrious persons, of whom it is sufficient to name Fox and Burke, to show, that her reputation had gone before her. But the Duke of Orleans, who had already attached himself to the Jacobin party, soon

sent orders for the return of his daughter. They returned only to enter upon a new scene of peril. The horrible massacres of September, 1792, had just taken place. The daughter of the Duke of Orleans, by a recent decree, was included in the class of *emigrés*, not having returned at the time prescribed in the decree; and Madame de Genlis, to secure the safety of both, accompanied her to Tournay, in Belgium, at that time a neutral country. This city was occupied by the army of Dumouriez; but the approach of the Austrians induced the exiles to retire into Switzerland, where the influence of General Montesquieu at length procured them an asylum in the Convent of St. Claire; and Madame de Genlis was separated from her pupil, who left her in order to take refuge with her aunt, the Princess of Conti. For many years from this time, the history of the House of Orleans has all the interest of romance. That of the present King is too well known to require repetition; but we will for a moment advert to the fortunes and fate of his two brothers, with which it was, most honorably to himself, connected. They were imprisoned for a considerable time at Marseilles, and occasionally treated with great severity, as appears from a narrative of their sufferings since published by the Duke of Montpensier, the elder of the two. It was afterwards proposed by the Directory to release them, on condition that they, with their elder brother, should depart from Europe. The proposition was instantly accepted; and the Duke of Orleans took passage for Philadelphia, where he was soon afterwards joined by his brothers. They lived together for some time in this country, in a state of comparative obscurity; but learning subsequently that their mother was in Spain, they made several efforts to rejoin her there, without success. They then went to England, where the Duke of Montpensier died, in 1807, after a lingering illness, at the age of thirty-two. The health of the Count de Beaujolais was also declining, and he was carried by his brother to the milder climate of Malta, in the hope of obtaining relief; but the progress of his disease was so rapid, that he died a few days after his arrival. Their sister, in the mean time, had not been without her portion of misfortune. After many vicissitudes, she returned to France in 1815, where her character is said to fulfil all the promise of her infancy. Soon after their separation, Madame de Genlis quitted Switzerland, and went to Altona, where she remained several months. The King of

Prussia, deeming her political principles much too liberal for his dominions, courteously drove her away from Berlin; while the Directory considered them by far too monarchical for the meridian of Paris. She then went to Hamburgh, where she remained until the accession of a less benighted monarch permitted her to fix her residence again at Berlin. It is certainly very honorable to her, that during the greater part of the period of her exile, she was enabled to rely for subsistence almost wholly on the productions of her inexhaustible pen. Her account of this portion of her life, although upon the whole somewhat tedious, is not destitute of interesting details. While residing at Hamburgh, she received a visit from Klopstock, of which she gives the following account.

'There are certain persons, who are entirely insupportable, when you first encounter them. Their object is not to become acquainted with you, but to give you an exalted impression of their own knowledge and abilities. I shall not soon forget my first interview with the famous author of the Messiah, which took place while I was residing at Hamburgh, in the house of a clergyman, M. Volters. He had requested permission to visit me, and came while I was sitting with my niece. Seeing a little, hump-backed, ugly old man hobbling into the room, I rose and conducted him to an arm-chair, in which he seated himself without saying a word; he then crossed his legs, fixed himself comfortably in his chair, and assumed the air of one, who intends to maintain his post for a considerable time. At last, in a very shrill tone, he proposed this singular question; "Which, in your opinion, Madame, is the best prose-writer, Voltaire or Buffon?" This commencement of a thesis, rather than a conversation, almost petrified me; but Klopstock, who was much more anxious to explain his own opinion, than to ascertain mine, did not wait for a reply. "For my part," he resumed, "I give the preference to Voltaire, for several reasons; in the first place, because....." He then stated at least a dozen reasons, in a pretty long harangue; and proceeded to speak of his residence at Dresden, and in Denmark, of the attentions which had been paid to him, and of the translation which some emigrant had made of his Messiah. During his whole visit, which lasted about three hours, I did not utter six syllables; but he went away very well satisfied with my *conversation*, and remarked the same evening to a friend, that he found me very agreeable. My reputation was surely purchased at a very cheap rate.'

We feel tempted, also, to give an extract of a letter written

by Talleyrand at Philadelphia, to Madame de Genlis. It is plain to us, that Mr. Moore must have borrowed his

'Oh! had we some bright little isle of our own,'

from the first part of it; while the latter part appears to illustrate the talent, which that single-hearted personage is reputed to possess in high perfection, of using the gift of speech to conceal his thoughts.

'Separated as I am from all those in whom my heart is interested, I am now engrossed by the idea of that which may enable me to return to them again, without reason to dread any future separation; which may enable me to live with them apart from the rest of the world, where, with a few friends, we may create a little world of our own, free from all the folly and evil that now besets our unhappy Europe. My disposition is unchanged; I am no more fond of violence or hatred, than in former times. My thoughts no longer dwell upon my enemies; I am laboring to repair my fortune, with all the assiduity which the purpose to which I intend to apply it can inspire; and in this occupation, my imagination finds a sentiment of pleasure as well as hope. If my efforts should be rewarded by success, I shall consider the years thus spent as the most useful of my life; I shall count myself among the small number of the fortunate.

'This is a country where honest men may prosper, but by no means so well as rogues, who have naturally many advantages. It was once my intention to write you upon the subject of America; but I soon discovered, that the attempt would be an absurd one. I reserve my observations for the conversations which I hope to have with you in long evenings to come. America is very like all other countries; there are some leading facts, the knowledge of which will enable you to understand it, as well as the cabinet of Copenhagen can do. You know what its form of government is; you know that it has vast tracts of land, where a freehold may be purchased at an infinitely lower price than in Europe. You know that the country is new, and destitute of capital, but abounding in enterprise; without manufactures, because the price of labor is, and will be for a long time very high. Combine these facts, and you have a better idea of America than most travellers; better even than M. de L., who sits by me making notes, asking for papers, and who is a thousand times more curious than the inquisitive traveller of Sterne.'

It has already been remarked, that the political conduct and sentiments of Madame de Genlis during the revolution, were severely criticised; and she found, or at least deemed it

necessary to enter into a formal justification of them. Whatever they may have been, she did not hesitate to avail herself of the permission given her to return to France, after the tottering despotism of the Directory had been overthrown by Bonaparte. It was the ambition of that remarkable person, to withdraw the eyes of men from the iron rigor of his military power, by fixing them upon the dazzling brilliancy of a new Augustan age. He labored, therefore, to collect around him all those who had the discretion to devote themselves to scientific or literary pursuits, without entering the forbidden field of politics. There was, perhaps, some reason for excepting Madame de Staël from his act of general amnesty; for, as he correctly observed, her literature and her conversation were both political; and even her flattery wounded him, because it pointed to a moral greatness, to which he never permitted himself to aspire. She appears to have been honored by his cordial hatred, not unmingled with a sort of apprehension, which was exhibited in rather a singular way. We are assured, upon high authority, that the conqueror of Austerlitz and Jena, the arbiter of the fate of nations, published a most bitter *critique* in the *Moniteur*, upon Madame de Staël's *Corinne*. In Madame de Genlis, there was little of that perilous force of mind and character, which despotic authority has no small cause to fear. She had, moreover, the advantage of being in some degree connected with the old *régime;* the style and manners of which Bonaparte attempted to reproduce, as the old gilded coach of the Lord Mayor is paraded to adorn a city pageant. She was not unwilling to burn a little politic incense before him; and his gratitude furnished her with the substantial recompense of a lodging at the arsenal and a pension. It was his custom to require those about him to communicate to him, at stated periods, their opinions upon various subjects. The advantages of such a requisition are very obvious; as they provided him with the means of receiving information, which, if not always valuable, was probably sometimes of a description, which a less restricted press would have communicated in a more disagreeable way. It became the duty of Madame de Genlis to write every fifteen days upon the subjects of politics, finance, literature, morals, or such others, as she might select for herself. With laudable discretion, she avoided the subject of politics altogether; and confined her attention to that of literature and morals, particularly the last, with a zeal, which, if not always strictly according to knowledge, was at

least so earnest, that, as she herself observes, if the Emperor failed to become devout, it was no fault of hers. We are inclined to fear, however, from a specimen of this correspondence which she has given us, that the information which she gave the Emperor was not always of a perfectly authentic character. She assured him, among other things, that the multiplication of sects in England had produced universal skepticism among the Protestants; and that the clergy of that faith in Holland and Germany were all of them Deists. But she had the unimpeachable testimony of Talleyrand for believing, that the Emperor found her letters very charming. Being thus placed entirely at her ease in a political point of view, Madame de Genlis had abundant leisure for a controversy, in which she became involved with the projectors of a work, entitled Universal Biography, to which she was invited to become a contributor. She consented on condition that the contributions of certain individuals, whom she regarded as infidels, should be excluded; but her demand was not complied with, and she published the articles which she had already written, in a separate volume. A fierce war of pamphlets followed; until Madame de Genlis, fatigued with a contest in which there was less honor in victory than disgrace in defeat, was fain to forsake the field.

Madame de Genlis appears to have exulted in the return of the Bourbons, without much reason, so far as her own interests were concerned; as she went only once to Court after their restoration, and as far as we are informed, was not regarded by them with unusual favor. It is said, however, that the family of Orleans were not unmindful of their early obligations. From this period, she lived in a state of comparative obscurity; but her passion for writing was hardly mitigated by the growing infirmities of age; and the memoirs before us are in some degree remarkable as the production of her eightieth year. We do not propose to enter upon a critical examination of this or any of her other works; few of which have ever acquired much popularity in this country, or will be extensively read hereafter. They belong in general to a class, the interest of which is apt to be fleeting, and which seldom attain to a high and permanent rank in the literature of any nation. Her talent as a writer was not very early developed; but the zeal with which she prosecuted the work made ample amends for any uncommon delay in its commencement. In the course of

thirty years, she published not less than a hundred volumes. If they are deficient in some of the most essential requisites of romantic narrative, in profound knowledge of the heart, in skill to paint its stormy passions, and in fertility and power of invention, they are universally admitted to possess the rare merit of a rich and beautiful style. It is an involuntary tribute to her real desert, that her critics are not agreed in determining which of her various productions is the best. Some of them have selected the *Théâtre d'Education*, as the one by which she will continue to be known; while others are surprised, that any person should hesitate to prefer *Mademoiselle de Clermont* and *Madame de la Vallière*.

It is amusing, and not uninstructive, to observe in the personal character of Madame de Genlis, the manner in which the most contradictory qualities may be mingled in strong and almost ludicrous contrast. She intermits her usual philippics against Voltaire, to praise him for his exemplary modesty in speaking of himself. This is precisely the compliment which the conscience of the philosopher, however accommodating, would have found it most difficult to bestow on her in return; for it must be admitted, that what plain-spoken men would call vanity, stands but too conspicuously in the van of her many accomplishments. She entertained a deep, and doubtless a sincere aversion for the impious and profane; yet she dwelt with complacency on the delicate ingenuity of a few miserable verses, in which she was herself compared to the Creator of the Universe, beholding the work of his hands, and pronouncing it good. She inveighed against superstition with edifying seriousness; while she attributed all the misfortunes of her life to the neglect of a celestial vision, imparted to her during a severe illness. These inconsistencies, and others of a similar kind, may probably be found in greater or less degree, in the character and conduct of all; but they are not often acknowledged so freely, without the slightest apparent consciousness of their existence. It is but just, however, to confess, that the relinquishment of *rouge* at thirty, was an act of self-denial, which must have tasked, to the uttermost, the energies of a fashionable lady; particularly of one so sensitive as Madame de Genlis, upon the subject of personal beauty.

We are inclined to doubt, whether the critical talent of Madame de Genlis could have been of a very exalted order. Of the romances of Scott, she takes occasion to declare, that

they are wholly destitute of imagination, real interest, and fine writing, and are on the whole, very tedious. Her sentence upon the works of Lord Byron is hardly less severe. With respect to her contemporaries in general, she appears to have acted on the principle of one of Sheridan's characters, that it would be a pity to spoil a quarrel, which was a very pretty one as it was, by any sort of explanation. We regret to see her, besides depreciating the excellence of Joseph Chenier's literary works, accuse him of having suffered his unfortunate brother to perish upon the scaffold, when, by employing his personal credit during the reign of terror, he might have rescued him from destruction. We believe, on the contrary, that so far from having it in his power to avert his brother's fate, it was with difficulty that he preserved his own life, during the multiplied perils of that dreadful period. She tells us, on the authority of Chastellux, that it was the custom of Madame Necker, by way of preparation for dinner, to make copious notes beforehand of the conversation which she proposed to carry on with her guests—a practice not unlike that of the Abbé Raynal, who is said to have carried constantly with him a huge volume of anecdotes, for the purpose of discharging an apposite one *impromptu*, at the first convenient opportunity. This lady, she remarks, was a *philosopher*, or in other words an unbeliever, without being conscious of the fact. All this is not very flattering; but her daughter Madame de Staël, does not escape so easily. Her productions are criticised with a severity not altogether sanctioned by candor and justice; and the review is concluded with the solemn decision, that they are deficient in that superiority of style, which alone could render them immortal. Not less severe is her estimate of the merits of the interesting Madame de Cottin, who is accused of having pillaged her best things from the works of her accuser. In fact, Madame de Genlis appears to have regarded most of her contemporary writers as a lawless horde, whom she was bound, to the extent of her abilities, to denounce and exterminate.

We have had occasion to advert, with some degree of freedom, to the faults as well as foibles of the author of the Memoirs before us; but it should not be forgotten, that we are indebted to her own candor, in a great degree, for the knowledge of them; and we are bound in justice to remark, that she exhibited at the same time, some high qualities of mind, and estimable traits of character. She was for many years, very

popular as a writer, in a community not wholly without fastidiousness in the selection of its favorites; and if the form of romantic narrative, in which she excelled, has given place to others of a more exalted nature, it is some praise to have succeeded in a department of literature, in which none but the highest abilities could have attempted a reform. In her disposition, there was much of disinterestedness and magnanimity, and a readiness to make large sacrifices for the welfare of others, or to a sense of duty, which are certainly the indication of no ignoble spirit; and there was combined with these qualities, an earnestness in the cause of religion, which, if sometimes misguided by the prejudices arising from her education and position in society, was yet inspired by correct and honorable principle. The closing period of her life appears to have been as tranquil, as its meridian was disastrous. She died at the moment, when a new and most momentous chapter was about to be added to her country's eventful history; at the very opening of a great drama, in which her early and favorite pupil has been destined to play a most conspicuous part; and when, as she might have felt without affectation, her own character and principles were to be vindicated by the excellence of his.

ART. IX.—*A Manual of Political Economy, with particular reference to the Institutions, Resources and Condition of the United States.* By WILLARD PHILLIPS. 8vo. pp. 278. Boston. 1828.

We owe an apology to our readers, for not having taken an earlier notice of this work, which is one of the most valuable that have yet appeared in the United States upon the important subject of which it treats. Mr. Phillips, who was already advantageously known to the public by his work on Insurance, and several other literary essays of great merit, has condensed into this volume the results of an extensive course of reading, matured and digested by patient reflection. Without perhaps proposing any entirely new ideas, he has subjected the whole compass of the science to a new examination; presented many questions under new points of view; discriminated, in general with great correctness, between the sound and unsound portions of the current theories; and developed some important truths in

a fuller and more satisfactory manner than any preceding writer. The reasoning is accompanied, throughout, with copious historical and statistical illustrations, evincing a very accurate knowledge in the author of the economical resources of the different parts of the world, and conveying,—particularly in reference to this country,—a great deal of useful information, which it would be difficult to come at so easily in any other quarter. We shall mention, in the course of our remarks, a few points on which we differ from Mr. Phillips; but we have no hesitation in saying, that in our opinion his work may be read and consulted as a manual, particularly by the citizens of this country, with more profit than any recent publication on the subject with which we are acquainted in the English language. The literary execution of the work is highly creditable to the author. The style is correct, perspicuous, and, as far as the nature of the subject admits, elegant. We shall first offer a few remarks upon the present state of the science, and then notice particularly some of the more interesting portions of the work before us.

The great work of Adam Smith, which created the science of Political Economy, is still the foundation and text-book of this branch of learning, and is in fact almost the only truly original and valuable treatise, which we have upon it. It is one of those standard productions, in which a master-mind, capable of grasping the whole domain of science and letters, has directed its great powers and resources with indefatigable perseverance to the illustration of a single subject. It is not less agreeable in form, than it is valuable in substance; and, instead of being—as is supposed by some who have not read it—dry and repulsive, is undoubtedly, to every reader of mature taste and liberal accomplishments, one of the most interesting as well as instructive books which he can take up. The writers on the continent of Europe, and particularly Say, have done little more than translate and arrange Smith, whose work will, of course, be studied with far more advantage in the original. The inquirer will there find the great and simple principles which constitute the basis of the science, distinctly stated in the most elegant language, proved and illustrated by curious and instructive details of facts, and followed out into the most important, and generally most correct practical conclusions. The theories of Smith received a tinge from the philosophical character and tendency of the age in which he lived, and are

in some parts, better adapted to the practical use of a country where individual liberty is struggling for existence under a load of ancient abuses, than for one in which the battle is won, and where the principal object of the patriotic and judicious is to give efficiency to the opposite element of law. But if we even admit, that the work of Smith contains some errors of considerable importance, resulting from the cause to which we have alluded, it must still be regarded, and will probably remain for a long time, the standard treatise on the science of Political Economy.

After the appearance of the Wealth of Nations, no important innovation was attempted in the science, until the publication of the Essay on Population by Mr. Malthus. The object of this work was originally purely political, and this circumstance probably contributed very much to procure for it a temporary popularity; but it was afterwards found that the leading principle, if admitted, would effect a very important change in the whole aspect of the science of Political Economy. This principle, divested of the technical and somewhat pedantic form under which it was presented by Mr. Malthus, is, that there is a natural disproportion between the demand for, and the supply of the means of subsistence—that this disproportion is the real source of all the moral and physical evil under which we suffer—and that, although its operation may be to a certain extent counteracted, the mischief is on the whole irremediable. The economical results of this principle are sufficiently apparent. Thus, on a natural view of the subject, the wages of labor are the whole of its produce, or something of equivalent value. No man, who can produce in a given time an article of a certain value, will accept, as the wages of his labor for that time, any other article of less value than the one which he can make himself. But if we admit that the supply of the means of subsistence is regularly and necessarily insufficient to satisfy the demand, that is, the wants of the community, it follows, that the market for labor is always overstocked, and that labor will be always at a minimum price, which will be equal to the value of the least quantity of the means of subsistence, that will barely support the laborer and his family. Such is accordingly the theory of Mr. Malthus and his disciples on the subject of wages. Without following out in detail the application of the principle to the several subjects of rent, profits, taxation, and the other

leading titles in the science, it is sufficient for our present purpose to remark, that it leads in all of them to new conclusions, entirely at variance with those which result from the principles previously adopted and maintained in the Wealth of Nations. These new conclusions have been set forth by the contemporary British writers, Malthus, Ricardo, Mc Culloch, and others, and constitute the basis and substance of the science of Political Economy, as it is now taught in the schools of England. On the continent of Europe, these conclusions have been but partially adopted, and the science remains more nearly in the form in which it was left by Adam Smith.

The character of a treatise on Political Economy, written at the present day, is therefore determined in a great measure by the view which the author takes of the principle of Malthus. If he adopt this principle, he must acquiesce in the conclusions of the contemporary British writers, and can only hope to improve the state of the science by illustrating these, or adding others deduced in a similar way from the same premises. If, on the contrary, he reject this principle, he must reject with it the whole body of Political Economy as now taught in England, and, going back about half a century, take up the science at the point where it was left by its great founder. In conducting a systematic inquiry into this subject, the first object would therefore be to examine the theory of Malthus, ascertain the precise arguments for and against it, and decide whether it is, or is not to be received as the basis of the science.

The plan of Mr. Phillips has led him to take a popular, rather than a systematic view of the field of Political Economy, and, although he rejects the theory of Malthus, and with it most of the conclusions of the contemporary British writers, he has not undertaken a formal refutation of the principle. He is rather disposed to consider it as a mere unsubstantial paradox, unworthy of any very serious examination, which has already had its day, and is not likely in future to engage much of the public attention. This view of the subject is, in our opinion, the correct one; but we think, that Mr. Phillips would have rendered his work more complete and satisfactory, by devoting a chapter, or perhaps a preliminary essay, to this particular point. The high estimation in which the theory in question is still held in England, entitles it to respectful notice; and this was the more necessary, inasmuch as the labor of refuting it has by no means been wholly superseded by the writers whom

he cites as authorities for a different opinion.* But this deficiency—if it be one—in the work before us, will be less perceived hereafter than it is now. In general, the permanent value of a scientific treatise is greater in proportion as it is less occupied by a refutation of the erroneous opinions of contemporary writers. The chapter on Innate Ideas, in Locke's Essay on the Human Understanding, which was probably at the time the most popular and interesting one in the work, is now looked upon as nearly superfluous.

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* We have before us a late work, in two thick octavo volumes, on the subject, by Mr. Sadler, a distinguished member of the British House of Commons, which is noticed in the last number of the Edinburgh Review, in the contemptuous and insulting tone so often employed by that, in many respects, valuable journal. The work is written throughout in an excellent spirit, and with a very correct moral feeling, although not uniformly the best taste in point of style. The argument consists of two parts; a refutation of the theory of Malthus, and an attempt to establish a new one. In some passages of the former part, the reasoning of Mr. Sadler is powerful and conclusive. We think, however, that he fails in attempting to account for the rapid increase of population in this country almost wholly by the effect of emigration from Europe. Some other writers have perhaps attributed too little influence to this cause during the earlier periods of our history, but the continuance of the same general rate of increase through the last fifty years, when the proportion of the number of emigrants from Europe (taken at the very highest estimate) to the whole population is comparatively trifling, proves that this is, after all, not the principal agent in producing the effect. The precise theoretical objections to the system of Malthus are not distinctly stated in the work of Mr. Sadler. The new principle which he attempts to establish is, that population regularly increases in an inverse ratio to its density; that is, that it increases less rapidly in proportion as it becomes more dense; and this by the effect of a mysterious adaptation of the number of births resulting from a marriage at a given time and place, to the state of population then and there existing. Some of the objections made by the Edinburgh Review to this principle are evidently captious; but the principle is, we think, improbable in itself, and not proved by Mr. Sadler. There are some facts which apparently tend to show, that population increases less rapidly as it becomes more dense; but these are easily accounted for in other ways, and, generally speaking, the current of examples is in favor of the directly opposite principle. Compare, for instance, the movement of population among the Indian tribes on this continent and among the citizens of the United States. We regret that Mr. Sadler, who is evidently a person of very considerable talent, and who appears to have employed a good deal of time and labor in collecting the materials for his work, did not allow himself a little more leisure for reflecting upon them, and preparing them for publication. He promises another volume, and we shall perhaps avail ourselves of the occasion afforded by its appearance, to notice the whole work in greater detail.

By rejecting the theory of Malthus with its consequences, and taking up the science where it was left by Adam Smith, Mr. Phillips has at once cleared his subject of a cloud of popular errors, and given a value to his work, which does not belong to any of the recent English productions. But while he discards the innovations posterior to the time of the author of the Wealth of Nations, he is far from following, with a blind and implicit confidence, in the track of that writer. He reasons on the contrary, with perfect independence, on every branch of the science, differs very frequently from Adam Smith, and has taken, we think, on the whole, too low rather than too high an estimate of his merits. On some of the points on which they are at variance, we cordially approve Mr. Phillips's doctrine; on others, we consider his attempts at improvement as less fortunate.

We regret, for example, that our author has not adhered more closely to the master of the science in regard to the great and simple truths which form the basis of it, and which it was his chief glory to have been the first to perceive and distinctly enunciate. These are, that labor is the only source of wealth, and as a necessary consequence, the only measure of value; and that the division of labor is the principal means of rendering it more productive. On these points, Mr. Phillips either departs from the principles of Smith, or regards them as of little importance, and has thus, we think, thrown some confusion around the general plan of his work.

As respects the first of these principles, Mr. Phillips holds, that in estimating the wealth of a nation, we are to consider not merely the accumulated produce of labor which it may possess, but the natural advantages of soil and climate that belong to it, and even its political condition, and intellectual and moral character; every thing, in short, which influences production. Such we take to be the import of the following passage.

'Political economy embraces the consideration of all the agents of production, and all the causes affecting the productiveness of national industry, and the distribution and consumption of its products.

'We are not limited in these inquiries to things that are bought, sold, and exchanged, and are subjects of property, since these are not the only things by which the national production is influenced. The people, excepting slaves, are not subjects of property, and yet they are the most important agents in produc-

tion. A salubrious atmosphere, by promoting the health of the people, very materially contributes to the productive capacity of a country, yet the air is not made a subject of ownership. Where water cannot be procured without great labor, and is, on this account, so scarce as to be sold, the productive capacity of the community is thereby diminished; Lord Lauderdale says, that individuals are thereby made richer, and the community poorer. And this is true, if we understand the wealth of a nation to be its productive capacity, since if one in a hundred is employed in raising water for the others from a deep well, the productive industry of that community for other purposes, is but ninety-nine hundredths of what it would be, if the water were supplied without labor. But if the water were procured without labor, though made a subject of sale on account of its scarceness, the owners of the springs would be more wealthy by the amount of revenue derived from this source, as is the case with the Arab chiefs who derive revenue from the watering places in the desert of Zaarah, but the productive capacity of the whole community is not for this cause necessarily lessened. This effect follows only in case the proprietor of the well is rendered a less useful subject to the community in consequence of receiving this revenue. He may be either more or less useful on this account; whether he is one or the other, will depend on the wealth and condition of the community, and the character and pursuits of the richer inhabitants.

'This distinction may be illustrated more clearly, perhaps, by the instances of a canal and navigable river, for if navigation can be done on a river, without tolls, as cheap as it could be done on a canal of the same length paying tolls, the river gives all the facility and advantage to industry, that could be derived from the canal; yet the canal is of great value to the proprietors as a navigable channel, and the river of no value at all.

'We perceive, from these instances, that the capacity and facilities for production are not tested and measured by the mere subjects of property, or things bought and sold in a community. It would be unnecessary to notice this distinction, had not the industrial means and faculties of a nation been denominated *national wealth*, and we must therefore guard ourselves against accepting the word *wealth* in its ordinary meaning when it is so applied.' pp. 12—14.

Now, although the physical, moral and political characteristics of a community, are among the most important elements to be taken into view in estimating its general condition, we apprehend, that they are not those, which we habitually look to, when we mean to ascertain its *wealth*. The wealthiest

nation is not the one which possesses the purest air—the clearest sky—the richest soil—the most abundant supply of water—the best political constitution—or the highest intellectual or moral qualities; but the one which possesses the greatest amount of the accumulated products of labor; that is—cultivated fields and gardens—houses and workshops—ships, carriages, furniture, machinery of all descriptions, and finally, money, which is the representative for the purpose of exchange of all other articles. It may happen, that the community which possesses the greatest natural advantages also possesses the greatest amount of the accumulated products of labor, and is therefore the wealthiest; but the reverse is often, perhaps more frequently the case. Holland, for example, which has been for two or three centuries past, and still is regarded as the wealthiest nation in the world, is perhaps the one of all others which was originally the most sparingly endowed with the good gifts of nature. It is no doubt true, that a given amount of labor will produce a greater or less amount of wealth, in proportion to the natural advantages under which it is applied; but it is also certain, that the greatest natural advantages will not afford the smallest portion of wealth without the intervention of labor, by which is meant the application of our physical and intellectual powers. This being the case, it follows of course that labor is the source of all the wealth of nations, or in other words, is the only source of wealth.

As the whole labor of a community is the source of all its wealth, so the amount of labor employed in the production of any particular portion of this wealth, determines the extent to which it forms a part of the general mass, or in other words fixes, and of course *measures its value*. This is the second of the great leading principles of Smith, and this too is controverted by our author. He denies that value is determined by the cost of production, and denies that labor is the natural measure of value.

On the first of these points, the difference between him and Smith is perhaps rather verbal than real. He affirms that 'supposing the first cost and market price, or exchangeable value of things always to coincide, still it would not be the less true, that any article would be more valuable than another, not merely because more labor and capital had been invested in its production, but because a greater quantity of others could be obtained in exchange for it.' Now it is quite true in the theory

of Smith, as well as that of Mr. Phillips, that the value of a thing depends upon the quantity of others for which it can be exchanged, and it is so defined in the Wealth of Nations. But the question here is, what determines the extent to which a given article will command others in exchange? Why is it, that a yard of superfine French broadcloth may be exchanged for ten dollars, and a yard of cheap cotton cloth for only ten cents? The answer undoubtedly is, that a proportionally greater amount of labor has been employed in the production of the broadcloth. The nominal or market price of the article does not always,—as Mr. Phillips justly remarks,—coincide with its real value, as determined by the cost of production; but this does not prove, that the cost of production is not the circumstance which fixes the real value. The nominal price is constantly disturbed by accidental causes; but has a constant tendency to return from all its aberrations to the point at which it coincides with the real value: and is therefore said with propriety,—as a general proposition,—to coincide with it; just as the magnetic needle is said to point to the North Pole, although it is almost always oscillating under the influence of some little temporary disturbance. In this as in a thousand other cases, the general principle is the mean of an infinite number of minute variations in opposite directions.

The value of objects being determined by the amount of labor employed in their production, it follows as a matter of course, that their value is *measured* by this amount, and that labor is the standard of value. If the capacity of one article to exchange for another be fixed by the quantities of labor respectively employed upon them, it is obvious, that by ascertaining the quantities of labor respectively employed upon any two objects, we may at once learn their comparative value, or the rates at which they may be exchanged. If I wish to know the money value of broadcloth, I have only to ascertain the quantities of labor respectively employed in producing a given quantity of each—a yard of cloth, for example, and a silver dollar—and their comparative value is seen at once. In practice, the real value of the precious metals which serve as the common medium of exchange, is supposed to be known; and the operation reduces itself to an inquiry into the labor bestowed upon the article which we wish to compare with them.

This is the theory of Smith, and it seems to be almost self-evident, but has yet been a good deal questioned by subsequent writers, and is rejected, as we have remarked, by Mr. Phillips.

The rate of wages, it is said, is constantly fluctuating; and this fact proves that labor, instead of being a measure of the value of other things, is as variable in its value as any thing else.

But it is quite obvious, that fluctuations in the rate of wages have no tendency to prove that labor is not the measure of value. They only prove, that labor is less productive, in some particular article, at one time and place, than it is at another. A day's labor, we will suppose, would formerly produce only a yard of cotton cloth, and will now produce ten. The wages of a day's labor estimated in cotton cloth, are now ten yards instead of one. What does this prove? Not that labor is worth more than it was, but that cotton cloth is worth less. And so of the other variations in the rate of wages at different times and places.

But how—says Mr. Phillips—is the amount of labor employed upon a given article to be ascertained? A native of New-England will do twice as much work in a day as a Hindoo, and will apply his labor with ten times the intelligence and skill. The produce of a day's labor in New-England will therefore be a very different thing from the produce of a day's labor in India. It is not certain, then, that because two articles have both been produced in the same number of days, they are the produce of equal quantities of labor; and this being the case, how are we to know, when they are the produce of such equal quantities? To this we answer, that there would doubtless be in practice a good deal of difficulty in bringing to an exact comparison the quantities of actual labor respectively employed upon different articles; and that labor would consequently be a very inconvenient measure of value for the purpose of selling at retail, or for the transaction of the other ordinary business of life. If a person were to go into a milliner's shop, and inquire for the produce of an hour's labor in muslin or shoe-ribbon, it would take more time to ascertain the quantity he wanted, than it did to produce it. But the fact, that labor is an inconvenient measure of value for ordinary purposes, has no tendency to prove that it is not the real and original standard to which every other practical measure, and particularly money, must be brought back. The case is the same as that of the practical measures of length, weight, and capacity. In France, for example, it would be very difficult, if not impossible, in selling silk and wine at retail, to adjust the quantities wanted, by comparing them with the length of a degree and its divisions; but we know that this is in fact the

standard of the measures now in use, and the only invariable one that could have been employed for this purpose.

The beneficial influence of the division of labor in rendering it more productive,—which is the third of the leading principles of Smith,—is admitted by Mr. Phillips; but is apparently not considered by him as of much importance. He adverts to it incidentally in a single passage; and does not appear to regard it as one of the fundamental truths of the science. With those who consider it as such,—and we profess to be of the number,—the manner in which he speaks of it will be viewed as a defect in his work.

On the first great division of the subject, which respects the principles that regulate the *creation* of wealth, the theory of Mr. Phillips is on the whole somewhat less satisfactory than might be wished. On the other, which treats of the *distribution* of wealth, and includes the several titles of Wages, Rent, Profits, and Interest, his views are luminous, and in our judgment, generally correct. It is on this branch of the subject more particularly, that the modern English writers have been led by their adherence to the theory of Malthus into great errors; and the work of Mr. Phillips will be read with much advantage as a corrective of their systems. We need not follow our author in detail through the exposition of the principles set forth in this portion of the work, which are substantially the same with those of Adam Smith. We may also remark, that here and elsewhere, the object of the author is not so much to lay down theoretical truths in a formal way, as to explain their practical applications, and illustrate them by a mass of instructive and often very curious details. In this respect, his manner is the same with that of the author of the Wealth of Nations, and it is undoubtedly the one best fitted to render the work interesting and useful to the common reader. We extract the following passage as a specimen of the character of these details.

'The proportional amount of the different kinds of capital or investments varies in different countries: According to the Massachusetts valuation of 1821, the personal estate in the town of Boston, is about twice the value of the real estate, including buildings; in the town of Salem, the income from each is nearly equal. In Northampton, the income from real estate is valued at about double that from personal. Taking an average of three small inland agricultural towns, the estimated income from real

estate, including buildings, is eight times that for personal estate, and the estimated income from lands, is to that from buildings and personal estate, about as seven to four, or 7-11 of the income is from lands and 4-11 from buildings and personal estate. But some kinds of personal estate were not included in this valuation, such as furniture, apparel, farming utensils, young cattle, and swine. And the real estate was doubtless returned more accurately and valued higher than the personal.

'Taking the whole country together, we may estimate, I think, that the capital consisting of buildings and personal estate, is equal, at least, to the value of the lands. We may then consider the value of the lands to be partially the result of labor in subduing, fencing, draining, and making roads. We will allot one third of their value to this cause; and the result will be that two thirds of the whole capital of the community is the direct result of human labor, and one third is the bounty of nature.

'The value of all capital is estimated by the income derived from it, and this income cannot be gained without labor, and it is a matter of interest to discover the share which industry has in the whole production, and how great a portion of the whole income is credited to industry, or in other words, at what value the people rate themselves in comparison with personal and real estate. Recurring then to the same valuation, it appears, that there were in Massachusetts in 1821, about 122,600 rateable polls of males over the age of sixteen years, being about one quarter of the population. A greater part of these people are industriously employed; we will suppose the whole of them to be so. And in estimating the income from labor, we will not deduct the laborer's food, since we might as well deduct his clothing and lodging. The whole production of the community is intended for the use and consumption of the people, including the income from rents and profits as well as labor, and men will eat, and must be clad, whether they are idle or at work, so that the value of his labor is not the net wages over and above the expenses of living, but the gross wages without any such deduction. Estimating wages then at seventy-five cents per day, as the medium between the highest and lowest, including all trades and professions, and probably too low, and allowing fifty-two Sundays, and thirty-three days more for holidays and sickness, and idle hands, and the result will be an income of $25,740,000. The females are no less numerous, and most of them industriously employed in house-keeping or otherwise, and we will estimate their wages at half the rate of that of the men, making $12,870,000, which added to the former sum gives $38,610,000 for the income from wages. In the valuation above mentioned the whole income from real and personal estate is put down at about $9,000,000; but we will suppose it

to be too low, and set it at 12,000,000. The result is, that three fourths of the whole income of the community is derived from wages, and only one fourth goes to pay rents and profits.

'To pursue the inquiry a little farther, let us suppose the income of 12,000,000 is derived from property yielding rents and profits at the rate of six per cent. per annum on its value, which in this case will be $200,000,000; and we perceive that the income from rents, profits, and wages, for four years, exceeds the whole value of property, real and personal. If the community saves nothing, but consumes its whole income, it will in three years and four months consume and reproduce the whole value of its real estates and capital of all descriptions. If the people are idle one month, they consume one forty-eighth part of their whole possessions; if by industry and economy they save the income of one month, they add a forty-eighth part. Whatever measures and enterprises keep the population usefully employed, make the country prosperous and rich, even though a part of them are making silks and raising corn, as some writers suppose the English population to do, at a greater expense of labor than it would cost others to do it for them. It has been the policy of England to keep its population employed, and this is the secret of its growth in wealth and productiveness. The nation has not quietly reposed itself in the theory of those economists, who say that a certain amount of capital will, *proprio vigore*, put in motion a certain amount of industry, and no more can be done; a theory which is confuted by the experience of all communities every year, if not every month.'

The following passage from another part of the work, gives some further very interesting details of the same description.

'In most communities the agricultural interest is the most important, whether we consider the income derived from it, the kind of products it supplies, or the number of persons employed. The rental of all France, as stated by Mr. Lowe, was in 1792, 24 millions sterling, and in 1822, 36 millions, and equal to its whole commerce; that is, the annual income of the lands was equal to the whole amount of exports. If we suppose the profits of commerce to have been 7 1-2 per cent., the agricultural income is over thirteen times that of commerce. If the lands are assumed to yield five per cent. on their value, the landed capital is twenty times the amount of the annual exports. The rental of Great Britain is estimated at 217 millions sterling, or six times the amount of that of France, reckoned in money. Notwithstanding the difference in the value of money in the two countries, this difference in the rental seems to be too great to be accurate.

'It appears by the returns for the direct tax of 1798, that the value of lands and houses in the United States at that time was about 620 millions of dollars, the number of acres valued being about 164 millions, and estimated, including all the houses, as well those in the towns as in the country, at 3 77-100 dollars, per acre. The value of the lands with their improvements and dwelling houses in the same States, as estimated under the land taxes of 1813, 1814, and 1815, was about 1560 millions, and the value per acre, including the buildings in the towns and in the country, 9 50-100 dollars, assuming the number of acres valued to have been the same as returned under the tax of 1798. In the mean time Louisiana had been acquired, and the State of Ohio formed; the value of lands, and houses, and improvements in which latter State, was under these last taxes, estimated at 61 millions. In the returns under the tax of 1798, the value of houses is put at about one third of that of lands. Deducting then one quarter from the value of both lands and houses in 1815, we make the value of the lands to be 1215 millions, without including Louisiana, Alabama, Florida, Mississippi, Missouri, Illinois, Indiana, and Michigan. Since 1815 the lands must have greatly increased in value, but the increase in the money price has not been so great in proportion.

'As to the number of persons employed in agriculture, they are estimated in Great Britain to be about one third part of the whole population. In the time of Elizabeth, they are supposed to have been six-tenths; and under George I. four-tenths. In this country their proportion to the whole population is quite as great as it was in England in the time of Elizabeth. Some tables state it at 83 per cent., but probably too high.

'It is not surprising then, that agriculture has been considered under almost every government to be of the very first importance. The Chinese annual festival of opening the ground in the spring, in which the Emperor, and all the Viceroys and Grandees take a part, shows the high estimation in which the art of cultivation is held in that empire, and the honors there paid to this species of industry have doubtless contributed very essentially to the high state of its cultivation and its great productiveness. The annual cattle-shows and fairs of this country, have a similar object, and they are supposed to have had a great effect already in introducing improved implements and processes, and better species of animals, and plants, and in increasing the productiveness of agricultural labor.'

The chapter on Commerce will probably be read at the present moment with more interest than any other, from its connexion with the political controversies, which now agitate

the country. In this chapter, Mr. Phillips examines at considerable length the question, whether it be the duty and policy of a country to protect and encourage by law the growth of its own domestic industry, and decides it in the affirmative. His argument on the subject is powerful, lucid, and we think, conclusive. Considering the unanimity and success with which the protecting policy has been acted upon in all ages, by all the governments of the old and new worlds, it is rather singular, that the expediency of it should have been made a subject of dispute; but such has been the influence of the authority of Adam Smith, that while the practice is wholly in favor of protection, the theories of the modern speculative writers are generally on the other side. We are therefore glad to find what we deem the correct opinion, stated in a scientific form with so much talent as it is in the work before us; and we particularly recommend this portion of it to such of our readers as are really desirous of obtaining clear and just ideas upon this important subject.

It will be apparent from the tenor of our preceding remarks, that few persons are less disposed than ourselves to depreciate the merits, or undervalue the authority of Adam Smith; but we are not prepared to follow blindly in the footsteps of any writer. It is clear to us, as well from the particular passages in which this subject is treated, as from the spirit which pervades his whole work, that the author of the Wealth of Nations was in some degree influenced by the prevailing temper of the age in which he lived. At that period, the direction of public opinion throughout Europe was towards a reform of existing abuses. The effort of the powerful men, who, from their superior talents and activity, stood forward as the organs and representatives of this opinion, was to extend the sphere of individual liberty, and remove as far as possible all the restraints, political, civil and religious, which had been imposed upon it. The impulse given to the mass of society by these efforts, had a tendency, like every other vigorous movement, to go too far; and we must expect to meet in the writings and proceedings of the leading men of this period the errors and excesses, as well as the power, originality and brilliancy, which naturally accompany a strong developement of the principle of individual liberty. We find, accordingly, that all the master-spirits to whom we have alluded, paid their tribute to the still mightier spirit of the times. Montesquieu, Voltaire and Rousseau,

with a crowd of other writers of inferior note, are all obnoxious in greater or less degree, and in different ways, to the objection of having, in their zeal for reform and liberty, depreciated the importance and utility of the opposite principles of order, prescription, and law. The illustrious author of the Wealth of Nations belongs, in this respect, to the same category. We know, as well from the history of his life, as from the internal evidence afforded by the style and substance of his work, that he was a perfectly sincere and single-hearted man; but it is evident to any one who reads him without prejudice, and with the light that has been thrown upon his theories by the course of subsequent events, that in his zeal to remove abuses and secure individual liberty, he was hurried into the adoption of some theories, which, if practised upon, would relax the bands of wholesome authority, and reduce society to a state of complete dissolution. With him, government, instead of being, as it is, one of the two great constituent elements of social order,—a principle as high and holy in its origin, and as beneficial in its influence, when kept within its proper sphere, as liberty,—is a positive evil, which is only to be tolerated to a certain extent as a means of counteracting individual excess. The tone of the work corresponds, in this respect, with the substance. Instead of approaching the subject of religion and government with the deep feeling of respect, which a sense of their importance naturally creates in the minds of all reflecting men, he generally handles them with the air of levity and sarcasm which distinguished the contemporary French school. When he has occasion to mention the lawgivers and political representatives of nations, he tells us of the 'crafty animal, vulgarly called a statesman.' There have no doubt been, and still are, many statesmen to whom this description might be applied with great justice; as there are among the clergy many of 'the round, fat, oily men of God,' described by Thomson; at the bar many lawyers, who realize the *leguleius quidam—auceps causarum—cantor formularum* of Cicero; and we may add, many closet philosophers, who are no better than ingenious sophists. But is this the way in which the personal representatives of the principles of order and law are to be spoken of in a serious work, which pretends to compare and estimate the influence that belongs to the different elements that enter into the composition of the great fabric of society? The clergy are treated in the same sneering and contemptuous tone. All the

evil that we suffer, results from the action of governments, corporations, universities, classes of men; and all the good that we enjoy is the effect of the spontaneous, unbiassed, undirected action of individuals. It would be easy to show,—if we had room to treat the subject here at large,—that this proposition, taken in general, is completely false. While it is certain, that the good of all is best promoted by allowing the largest scope to individual action, which is consistent with the attainment of other really valuable objects, it is equally certain, that the influence of the social principle, when kept in like manner under proper regulation, is, to say the least, not less beneficial than that of the selfish one. It would be strange indeed if the conduct of men were always virtuous and judicious, when they are acting each separately for himself, and always vicious and unwise, when they are acting together for the common good. While we make due allowance for the natural influence of a strong current of contemporary opinion upon the mind of a writer, whose natural dispositions were evidently of the purest and most amiable cast;—while we rather regret than blame the false and unfortunate tone of thinking and feeling to which we have alluded; we ought to be particularly careful not to be carried away by it ourselves, and to distinguish, in studying the Wealth of Nations, between the great truths which render it a work of permanent value, and the accidental errors which are a mere reflection of the popular opinions of the time at which it was written.

In applying his general principle to the subject particularly before us, it is affirmed by Adam Smith that every individual, if left to himself, will give his labor the direction most beneficial to himself, and of course to the general good. Let him alone, and he will take better care of himself than any body else can take of him. Every branch of industry which it is really desirable for any particular community to possess, will naturally grow up there, and if it do not naturally grow up, the fact proves that it is not desirable that it should be established. Whatever is, is right. Now all this, when interpreted by the aid of the circumstances of the times when Adam Smith wrote, means nothing more in his mouth, than that individual industry was at that time incumbered in England, and generally in all Europe, with a multitude of useless and harassing restrictions, which it was very desirable to remove. To conclude, from this state of things, that all legislative regulation of indi-

vidual industry is injurious, was natural enough according to the common mode of reasoning; but is, after all, nothing more than the ordinary sophism of arguing from the abuse of a thing against its utility. The principle that an individual, if left to himself, will always give his labor the direction most likely to promote his own interest, will not bear the slightest examination. It is infinitely more important to the interest of an individual, not to give his labor the direction of forging bank notes, or robbing on the highway, than it is, that he should pursue this or that particular one among the reputable professions; and yet many individuals do give their labor this direction, notwithstanding the evident impolicy of so doing, and all civilized governments think it necessary to divert them from it by all the terrors of the penal code. The arguments which are habitually urged against legislative protection of domestic industry, apply with precisely the same force against a legislative protection of our property and persons from the arm of the pickpocket and the assassin. It is the law of our nature to live in society; and, instead of having it in our power, if left to ourselves, to give our labor the direction in every respect the most favorable to our own interest, it would be impossible for an individual, under such circumstances, to labor at all or even to exist. And so far is it from being true that economical matters are, as such, a particularly unsuitable subject for legislation, that they are, in fact, in all countries, the principal and ordinary one. Property itself is a mere creation of society, and the regulation of the tenure and transfer of it, is the great business of legislative bodies and courts of law. All this, on the theory of Smith, should be left to the individual, who will arrange his own economical concerns, and take care of his property infinitely better than governments and courts of law can do it for him. In short, the principle in question, when pursued into its consequences, strikes at the root of society, and brings us back to the chimerical doctrine of an original state of nature anterior to the existence of any social union, which was the leading heresy of the political sophists of the last century. And yet it is simply on the basis of this wholly untenable theoretical proposition, that Adam Smith and his followers rest their doctrine of the impolicy of affording a legislative protection to domestic industry.

Indeed, this doctrine, as stated by those who hold it, is generally accompanied with admissions, which would in a great degree prevent its application to practice, and reduce it to a

mere abstract theory. Even in the Wealth of Nations it is clogged with important exceptions; and in this country its intelligent advocates generally allow, that a legislative protection may be resorted to with propriety, for the purpose of securing from the danger of foreign competition the infant period of such manufacturing establishments as are suited to the state of the country, but require at the same time a large outlay of capital, and a good deal of experience, before they can be brought to perfection. Now, the persons who make this admission, concede the whole question in dispute. It is not contended by any one, that protection should be given to manufactures, which are not suited to the state of the country, and all manufactures require protection in their infancy. This is the precise ground upon which the principle of protection is sustained. And to admit its application thus far, is to allow it in practice to the full extent, to which it has ever been claimed in theory.

We would gladly copy,—did our limits permit,—the whole of Mr. Phillips's remarks upon this subject. They are of permanent value, and are particularly interesting at the present moment, when a violent effort is making, in several quarters, to unsettle the economical system to which we are indebted for our present, and on which we must depend for our future prosperity.

In revising the work for another edition, which will doubtless be called for at no distant period, we would respectfully recommend to Mr. Phillips a reconsideration of some of his principles, to which we have particularly alluded above, and a rather more methodical disposition of his materials. The imperfections which we have noticed are, however, of minor importance, and we conclude, as we began, by recommending the work to our readers as one of the most valuable of the recent treatises on the subject, with which we are acquainted. It should be purchased and perused with attention by every student of political economy, and by every gentleman of liberal accomplishments, who wishes to understand,—even if he do not take an active part in,—the conduct of the public affairs of the country.

ART. X.—*The History of the Jews, from the Earliest Period to the Present Time.* By Rev. H. H. MILMAN. 3 vols. 18mo. New-York. 1830.

To notice this work as a sacred history, is the province of other journals; we shall therefore speak of it as we should of any other record of ancient or modern times. And we know of no subject of more curious or deeper interest, than a narrative of the fortunes of this singular race, which may be traced from the earliest time to the Christian era, like the course of some mighty river. Even then, when their national existence is broken up, they are not lost among the nations; but still are like the stream, which keeps the color of its waters far out upon the open sea. We are glad to see that Mr. Milman, while he approaches the subject with proper respect, has treated it as a philosophical history, so far as the popular character of his work admitted. The friends of religion have done injury to the Scriptures, by the sternness with which they have kept this history apart from all others. They have given the impression that it would not bear examination; nor is it singular that acute minds, finding it defended with the same sort of earnestness with which one upholds a doubtful character, should have entertained suspicions of its truth. But now, they begin to apply the advice of Gamaliel to this subject as well as to all other pretensions; and without surrendering its sacred claims, treat it as a matter open to fair discussion, knowing that it cannot lose its interest, so long as any one desires to explore the mysteries of human nature. The eye of such an observer must be arrested by these floating remnants of a once distinguished race, clinging to fragments of a vessel which went down thousands of years ago, and looking for relief, though so long delayed, with a courage that never falters. He will consider it well; for there is nothing like it in all the history of man.

The effect of this disposition on the part of theologians, to take larger views of this subject than have been common in former years, has had the happiest effect on the credit of the Hebrew Scriptures. Since discussion has been invited, various difficulties have disappeared. Voltaire could not again shake the faith of nations in the story of the Deluge, by saying that the shells found on a mountain were carelessly thrown there by pilgrims; but impartial science, without fear, favor or affection, declares, that the account of the Flood is as legibly

written on the face of the world, as in the Sacred writings. History explains the doubtful narratives; philology clears up the obscure language; monuments of antiquity, dug out from their Egyptian graves, give the testimony of ages past to their truth; taste delights in the grandeur of their inspirations;—there never has been a time when intellectual men relied more upon the authority, or more highly estimated the value of this authentic record of the childhood and youth of the world.

Objections of this kind being removed, the early history of Israel is invaluable as a record of life and manners. In this respect it comes before the poems of Homer, which however fabulous in point of fact, are undoubtedly true to nature. Nothing can be more interesting than to trace the simple story of these nomadic tribes, and observe how the manners of a people, usually so variable, have in those regions remained the same for thousands of years, as if for the purpose of affording convincing evidence of the truth of the history to the latest generations. We find the same liberal hospitality, dashed with occasional traits of wildness; the same truth sternly observed in some respects, and sorely violated in others, which even at this day distinguish the wandering Oriental chieftain. Those who cannot bear to have it suggested that Abraham was deficient in strict veracity, or that Jacob procured the birthright, which made him the head of the clan, by an unworthy artifice, should remember that the divine Ulysses is praised by Homer, for his talent in fabricating some new romance, to be given as his own personal history to every host that entertained him. This shows plainly enough, that such artifices were then thought rather worthy of admiration for their ingenuity, than of censure for their defect of morality. We have no reason to expect to find the patriarchs much beyond their own times in these respects; certainly not, if in those times these things were not regarded as wrong. We find in them a lofty sense of honor, a warm attachment to their clan, a ready generosity to strangers, and that high devotion to their household gods, which supplies the place of local attachment in those, whose habits of life compel them to wander;—above all, a veneration for the ashes of their fathers, which implies the existence of much good feeling in every people where it is found. To expect to find them shining examples of Christian morality, besides that it is against nature, is an injury to their name. It leads many who read their history, to withhold the credit due to them for their

virtues, and to condemn them for their violation of moral rules which they never knew. Many have thus been surprised and troubled by these faults of the patriarchs, who would have seen that they deserved the respect which the Hebrews paid them, had they been taught to judge of their characters by the standard of their own times. In this as in many other respects, has the Sacred history been injured by the misguided zeal of its friends.

The most striking peculiarity about this history is the air of truth that surrounds it. There is nothing of that mythology, which brings confusion into all other histories, and which can be distinguished from the truth by internal evidence alone. The ungracious process of separating the false from the true, when it is done by a stern hand like that of Niebuhr, affects us with a feeling similar to that with which the Scotch covenanters regarded the winnowing machine, believing that it was a contrivance by which men took the work of Providence into their own hands. We have no confidence in that which depends on the judgment of a historian, however wise or learned he may be. Fortunately there is no such perplexity attending the Hebrew history; it can be as distinctly traced, as the river of their country from its source in Libanus, till it loses itself in the waters of the Dead Sea. The characters are precisely such, as suit our imaginations of the times. Abraham, the adventurer, is the brave, calm, and dignified old chieftain; Isaac, the cultivator, is easy and unambitious, but asserts with hereditary spirit, the purity and honor of his clan; Jacob is gentle and intriguing, and we must remember, that in such a state of manners, cunning is regarded as a virtue; Esau, the hunter, is rough and manly, easy to be imposed upon, and though naturally incensed at first with the brother who has defrauded him of the chieftainship of his tribe, ready to meet him with an affectionate welcome in after years. Here is a case, in which it is necessary to remember, that among uncultivated nations a successful stratagem, like theft among the Spartans, brings honor, not disgrace. Esau was to blame for his rashness in parting with a high distinction, which according to their ideas, he should have died sooner than surrendered; but Jacob, though he exulted in his success, never felt as if he had done right towards his brother. Compare his jealous and timid conduct with that of Esau at their next meeting, and you see all the consciousness of transgression. His own household read

and treasured the lesson he had given;—and he cannot condemn them when their jealousies and quarrels fill the residue of his life with woe. All is truth and nature, from Hagar turning away from her child in the desert that she might not see him die, to Joseph, bursting into tears when he can no longer disguise himself from his brethren. No inspiration, divine or human, ever drew a more perfect picture of life and manners than this.

At a later period of this history the treatment of the Canaanitish nations appears, in the opinion of many, as a defacing stain; and it is true, that there are few grosser acts of inhumanity on record. But why does this surprise or disappoint us? Why do we expect to find them towering above the manners of the times, especially when we know that such deeds were not then regarded as dishonorable or guilty? The hero of ancient war, Achilles, would be a monster of hardness and cruelty in our times; but we do not wrong him by such a comparison, and we are bound to give the same measure of justice to the Jews. And as for their excesses bringing dishonor on their faith, we may as well charge the outrages committed by the crusaders, upon the Christian religion. Unless it appears that there is something in the religion that sanctions such excesses, they must be charged upon those passions, which under every form of religion, prevail in the hearts of men, and display themselves with greater or less fury, according to the amount of moral sentiment which governs the nations in those ages when such deeds were done.

Perhaps, however, this impression could not have existed so long, without a complete misapprehension of the Hebrew law. With due submission to Christian divines, we think they have indulged themselves in too strong contrasts between the Hebrew and Christian institutions. Our Saviour, in his sermon on the mount, is contrasting his own precepts, not with those of Moses, but with those of the Scribes and Pharisees. The Hebrew Lawgiver did not command his people to hate their enemies;—and the maxim 'an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth,' was not a direction for private revenge, but for legal penalty. It is true that there is nothing in his law so broad and comprehensive as Christian benevolence, which is limited neither by valleys nor mountains, rivers nor oceans, but goes every where, where evil can be prevented or good can be done. Still there is nothing of the savage fierceness, which many have supposed

that it enjoined, and then, by an easy error, regarded as the cause of the cruelty of the Jews in their bloody campaigns. On the contrary, many of its precepts require the most delicate humanity. It threatens him who abuses the deaf or misleads the blind; it forbids the creditor's going into the house of the debtor to take his pledge;—whoever sees his neighbor's cattle wandering, is directed to drive them home; and the comfort even of beasts and birds is provided for in this remarkable law. It is true, that there were cities of refuge provided for those who had shed blood; but this, instead of being a bounty offered to revenge, was a provision for securing the quiet operation of the law, which would otherwise have been anticipated by the avenger of blood. Doubtless there were offences which Moses did not forbid; it was because the moral sentiment of the people would not have sustained him; still when he could not secure the whole, he was contented with a partial good, and he would not endanger all his commands, by insisting too strongly on an impracticable one. The truth is, then, that the institutions of Moses were not calculated to encourage, but rather to restrain the strong passions of the Jews. There were cases in which he enjoined severity as a duty upon the soldiers, but this is explained, if we remember that he was a statesman rather than a teacher of religion. A statesman in the present day, however sincere in his profession of Christianity, must, in case of war, govern himself by the usages of war, however much he may detest them. The duty of Moses was to take such measures as seemed necessary to the security of the people, whose interests were confided to his hands. He had no right to indulge his own feeling, whatever it may have been; and it is easy to be seen, that in such a state of the world, mildness and forbearance would have been little better than weakness and folly. As to the original question of invasion, no one can doubt, that the Hebrews *believed* that they had a perfect right to dispossess the inhabitants of the land; and where should they have gone to learn that their pretension was unfounded? It is not probable that one of the barbarians who were driven out, would have complained of the injustice of the war, however he might have lamented its results; and certainly it is not for us, in this distant time, to try these deeds by a standard of morality which was then unknown. We could cast the stone at former ages with a better grace, if the hands of our own age were unstained with blood unrighteously shed,

and if we had never joined in the acclamations that follow the march of destroyers. It strikes us as quite too hard, in an age that has cheered with all its heart the invader of the world, to pretend to be severe upon the invader of a solitary province thousands of years ago. Our own nation will do well to hold its peace, whenever the extermination of the heathen is the subject of discussion; for we have reason to think that the Hebrew, who is upbraided with this blot upon his history, can find a parallel in our own annals, and that in no distant years, in an age too, when ignorance can no longer be pleaded in defence of the unjust.

The moral character of David is another of these circumstances, which have perplexed many readers of the history of Israel; but we apprehend that it is owing to their not reflecting on the position in which he stood. He led a life of constant warfare; he was hunted like a wild beast in the desert, and was more than once struggling for life in the power of an adversary, whose mind, naturally generous, was made almost insane by jealousy and despair. The condition of the country was any thing but peaceful; in the days of the Judges, the highways were deserted on account of the unsettled state of the nation; the wild natives were not driven out; David himself dispossessed them of their last foot-hold in Jerusalem. Under these circumstances, we expect to find the restorer of the fortunes of his country, a brave and successful soldier, artful in resorting to stratagem where force was unavailing, distrustful of the characters and designs of others, and perhaps deficient in that regard for domestic peace and duty, which is not apt to be found in men who spend their lives in partisan warfare. The virtues to be expected from him, are such as are valued in such times. And in these he does not appear to have been wanting; witness the lofty generosity with which he cast away the water, which some of his chiefs had procured at the hazard of their lives; denying himself this indulgence in his burning thirst, that he might not encourage such desperate adventure; witness, too, the manliness, with which, when Saul was in his power, he disdained, like the son of Morni, to stab a sleeping foe, and thus called a gush of tenderness from the rock of the veteran's heart. Sufficient evidence of this trait of character may be found in the elegy, unrivalled for its plaintive beauty,

> 'Antelope of Israel! slain on thy heights,
> How the brave are fallen!'

Those who condemn this monarch for not displaying an example of moral excellence beyond his age, should ask themselves what reason they have for expecting to find him a Christian. Morality is something sure and unalterable, and the crime of David admits of no defence; but moral excellence is a comparative thing, and cannot be determined without an estimate of means and advantages for improvement; neither can the moral demands of the age be left out of view. Perhaps some future historian, in describing the domestic history of his Most Christian Majesty, or of the Defender of the Faith, may point out their infidelity in the domestic relations, as a reproach upon the Christian religion; the answer applicable in all such cases would be, that their faith was not the cause of their excesses, and that flattering names, assumed or given, were no index of moral or religious character.

It was in the reign of David that the Hebrew nation rose to its greatest height of power and glory; and this is the period of all their history, which the Hebrews dwell upon with most delight. The object of Moses had been, to make them, not a military, but a religious people; or, more properly, to make their religion the groundwork of their civil institutions. With this view, he made agriculture their principal occupation; and to prevent any landholder from acquiring injurious influence, he provided that every estate sold should revert to its original possessor or his representatives every fiftieth year. His plan might have succeeded, had the Hebrews taken peaceable or even sudden possession of Canaan; but when they first came near its borders, it appeared that their quiet residence in Egypt had unfitted them for the hardships of war. He was obliged to take them back into the desert, and there to prepare them, by long discipline of suffering, for the severe campaigns that were to succeed. The new generation that came up, acted their part bravely in the war, but meantime became incapable of resting under the simple republican government prescribed; republican it certainly was, so far as republicanism consists in respect to the power and wishes of the people.

Through the whole term in which they were governed by Judges, all improvement, and even happiness, was prevented by their turbulent dispositions. At times they turned their arms against each other; but foreign foes took courage from their disunion, and armies came down upon them in succession, whose inroads they found it hard to repel. At one time a

Mesopotamian extended his conquests to the Jordan; then a coalition under Eglon was formed against them; this was followed by an effort of the Canaanites to recover their country; and hardly were they driven back, before the wild hordes of the desert came in like a flood. For a long time they suffered under the yoke of the Philistines, the most formidable of their enemies, who, though not Canaanites, sympathised with the former possessors of the land. All this confusion, arising from foreign and domestic war, made it impossible for them to improve in the arts of peace, or even to maintain their equal institutions. Samuel appeared in the character of a reformer; but the result was that it became necessary to appoint a king. It is not the least surprising thing in the history of Moses, that he had foreseen this unfortunate result, and provided for it in his law. When Saul, like the kings of the Iliad, assumed the pontifical in addition to the royal power, it was thought proper to select one less ungovernable in his passions, and thus the shepherd David came to the throne.

What personal exertions were made by David for the improvement of his people, does not now appear; but it is not more certain that Alfred exalted the private happiness and public character of his nation, than that the same benefit was conferred on Israel by the most illustrious of its kings. Miserable as his own dwelling was, the heart of his country was glad; the sun was shining out after all the changes of the storm; the regal authority was established, not indeed beyond the reach of resistance, but where it was not shaken by every blast. The Divine presence was to be secured by raising a temple lasting as human hands could make it; and all the indications of Heaven seemed to promise ages of rest and glory. It is true, he was aided by circumstances. The Hebrews were just passing from the troubles of war to more than the ordinary luxuries of peace, and they were then on the turning point; their military virtues were not lost, but softened by that prosperity, which melted away the bands of their union, and the foundations of their greatness, in the reign of his successor. But this favorable state of the national affairs was owing to his firmness in government, and enterprise in war; his power was felt from Egypt to the Euphrates; he had bound the tribes and provinces into a kingdom, which might have been happy and glorious, could it always have been ruled by a mind as vigorous as that which created it.

We must gather the state of improvement at this time from circumstances. We cannot tell precisely how high it rose, nor how far it extended; but we have evidence enough that the arts were prosperous, and that the mind was not neglected. Moses had not extended much patronage to the arts, intending probably that his people should depend upon other countries for mechanical skill, while they drew their subsistence from the soil. They did depend upon them, at least for instruction; but no institutions could repress their taste for experiment and adventure. From the song of Deborah, we learn, that, when the other tribes went to battle, Asher dwelt in his sea-shore havens, and Dan lingered among his ships. But they had not many wants which they could not themselves supply; they had the arts of weaving, dyeing, and embroidery; of building, which was regulated by law; of working in the metals and clay; and when their own resources failed, Tyre and Sidon were ready to supply them. Except some slight and doubtful references to astronomy, we know little of their progress in science; there were few demands for it in that age. Solomon afterwards wrote on the subject of natural history, and all their writings show that they were accurate observers of the grand and beautiful in nature. We know that the credit of Solomon's observations has been lately thought to be shaken in an important point, by the researches of Huber, who has shown that ants, instead of preparing their food for the winter, are torpid throughout that season; but we have strong reasons for doubting, whether the observations of that naturalist extended to the Holy Land.

The intellectual cultivation of the reigns of David and his son, appears most brilliantly in the Sacred Poetry, the remains of which still light up the hearts of Christians, and afford them eloquence in their praise of God. There are splendid specimens, scattered here and there in the history; and Moses himself was distinguished for this, as well as other intellectual powers, long before the time of which we speak; but that David should find heart to cultivate this talent in the breathing intervals of war, or the gloom of a palace, which disunion and sorrow had made almost as dreary as the grave;—that he should tower in a walk of imagination and praise, so little lower than that which the angels tread, and draw sounds from his harp which should echo thousands of years downward upon the stormy waves of time;—we regard as almost a miracle of power. If not the inventor of this noble art, he reduced it to a system;

he divided the four thousand Levites into choirs, who were to sing these magnificent inspirations, in which

> 'Devotion borrowed Music's tone,
> And Music took Devotion's wing.'

No better proof of the superiority of this age of Israel is needed, than these poems of David. One such orb is enough to make the whole heaven light. He excels in every variety of expression, from the warlike shout of the silver trumpet to the low wailing of the harp's most delicate string; and even now, his are the anthems with which the walls of our churches resound; they are heard in the retreat of penitence and prayer; they are the accents in which the last breath of the dying expires; when civilization breaks the silence of the desert, they are the first sound it hears; they have risen upon the air, where God alone could hear them, in the lonely African wastes and the midnight of the Northern seas; and in many a coming generation, though the human mind may put forth new powers, such as no prophet's tongue can tell, we believe they will still be the language in which the heart shall pour itself out to Heaven.

It is very interesting to observe how exactly the great founder of the nation had anticipated all these things. He had apprehended, that the Israelites, weary of internal disorders, and misled by the example of the nations round them, would require a king. This was ominous to his institutions, because their aim was to secure the welfare of all, and not the ambition of one. Still, if the king could be induced to act with a tolerable regard to the spirit of the law,—to encourage the arts of peace,—to hold out no direct encouragement to commerce, which might bring in luxury, but to leave the wants of the people to open communications with other countries as fast as they were required,—to refrain also from numbering the people for purposes of conscription, which might engender a taste for offensive war, it might be hoped that the system would endure till its purposes were answered. But it is plain, that Moses looked with a painful foreboding upon their future fate; he saw the hollowness of kingly glory; he knew that such distinction, like the wealth of the temple, would invite oppression from other nations, while it destroyed the energy which was needed to resist it; besides, he knew that it was impossible to set bounds to the ambition of princes, and that tyranny was the natural growth of authority residing in the hands of

one; thus, when he had provided every safeguard in his power, his last words expressed a dark and awful foreboding of their doom. It was darkly and sadly fulfilled. Solomon, the favorite of Heaven, became the most fatal violator of his law. He opened the avenues of commerce, and wealth poured in its golden flood; he entered into a forbidden alliance with the Egyptian king; he gave an example of luxury, which his people were not slow to follow, and the decorations of his empire, which made it the envy and wonder of the world, became the weight that ground it to the dust.

Every reader of the prophets knows how the nations of Israel and Judah kept on their downward way to ruin, sometimes in jealous alliance, at others with furious enmity. The storm gathered and hung on all the surrounding mountains. The voices of the prophets, like the trumpets of Sinai, rose louder and louder, and the last beams of divine mercy were dying away. Israel perished first. Judah and Benjamin were one, and all the Jews had a common interest in their prosperity and fame; but ten different tribes, different in habit and feeling, and unused to submission of any kind, could not be held together. Their existence depended upon their union, but when they were once divided, national attachment could no more re-unite them, than the attraction of nature can bind up the fragments of the broken rock. No thoughtful mind can help admiring the wisdom of Moses, and his prophetic knowledge of what constitutes a state. The world, even in this age of light, hardly knows that the greatness of a nation does not consist in the sweep of its boundaries, nor the splendor of its victories, nor even in the grandeur of its monuments of stone. His object was to establish a system, that should protect the rights and happiness of all: he considered those monuments which could not be raised without oppression, monuments of dishonor, not of glory, and would have his people influence others, not by the terror of their arms, but the persuasion of their example.

The fate of the ten tribes after they were carried to Assyria is unknown. The sacred history informs us, that they were placed in Helah and Habor, by the river Gozan, names that are wholly unknown. If with some writers who are easily satisfied, we could assume that Gozan meant the Ganges, a hypothesis founded principally upon the striking resemblance of the two words, we should be at no loss; for the dispersion

of Israel has been going on, ever since the nation began to decline; and before the Christian era, they were found in every known region of the world. It would be easy to pronounce any of the race children of the captivity, and the great question would be at once decided; but till this is put beyond a doubt, the imagination must be at liberty to trace them any where in the heart of Asia, or to find their descendants in the Indians of our country,—a theory which seems to have been recommended by its extreme improbability to various ardent writers. It is true, that the public attention was fixed upon this subject by a great authority, Sir William Jones. He remarks upon a Persian fragment, which traces the descent of the Afghans from Berkia, the son of Saul, that it may lead to interesting disclosures. The Afghans are said by the Persian historians, to be descended from the Jews, and their language resembles the Hebrew. Mr. Elphinstone remarks, that they have the history of the Jews to the captivity, though altered by some wild fables. Sir John Malcolm acknowledges that they differ from the nations round them, but doubts the tradition of their descent. Some of the Missionaries, however, confirm what is said of the resemblance of their language to the Hebrew, and are persuaded of their descent from the Hebrew race.

It has been said of late years, that since the Russian embassies into Asia, Jews have been found in Bucharia, who are supposed to be the descendants of the ten tribes. They are also found in Bombay and Cannamore, but so resembling the natives, as not to be distinguished from them but by inquiry and attentive observation. In dialect and manners they betray their affinity to the Hebrew race.

Supposing all these facts to be precisely as here stated, we have still no evidence that these are descendants of the lost tribes; but rather the contrary, for it appears that many call themselves *Jehudi* or Jews. Now, though we are not careful to distinguish between Israel and Judah, it is evident that a strong line of separation was drawn by themselves, both from habit and hatred; and a descendant from one of the lost tribes would have called himself by any other name in preference to that of Jew. There can be no doubt that Hebrews are found in these regions as described, but the probability is, that they came there by gradual emigration, when the nation began to outgrow its bounds, after the captivity, or that the destruction of Jerusalem and the troubles that followed, drove them into

the heart of Asia for a shelter. Had they been placed there at the time when Samaria was destroyed, the revolutions of those countries would have removed their peculiarities more decidedly; but supposing their emigration to date from a later period, they are in the state in which we might expect to find them, slowly and sullenly conforming to the habits of the world. Mr. Milman has found strong reasons for believing, in opposition to the common opinion, that a great proportion of the tribes returned and became Samaritans; if so, there is no need of accounting for them, for as many Israelites were left, as usually survive the overthrow and dispersion of any people. The Jews, however, were dispersed under different circumstances, and were bound together by a stronger national tie. Though every where cast out, they have secured a place in every nation; though every where put down, they have every where succeeded at last in their attempt to rise. More than a thousand years ago, Khozar, on the western shore of the Caspian, was a Jewish kingdom. They gained admission even into China, and contrived to secure the respect, even of that jealous people; so that it is not necessary to resort to the earlier captivity, to account for the appearance of Jews in any part of the world, beside that the credit of history is shaken by theories, in which imagination bears so distinguished a part.

The question is often asked, why, if the Jews were in possession of great advantages, were they kept studiously apart from the rest of the world? Why were not other nations permitted to borrow their moral light and Sacred inspiration? It can easily be made to appear, that while it was the object of their statesmen to keep them apart from others, they were in successive ages thrown into direct association with other nations by circumstances, over which they had no control. Even before their political existence began,—while they were still in bondage,—they were in the midst of the most enlightened of nations. Egypt was the fountain of civilization. Greece acknowledged her obligations to Egypt as her intellectual parent; and though darkness has been over all that land for ages, there is no doubt that it was once superior to the rest of the world. Moses also, while he endeavored to secure his people from the Egyptian superstitions, was deeply indebted to their learning. What bearing the residence of the Israelites there had upon the destinies of either nation, it is not now easy to tell. The years passed there were not all lost in suffering and bondage;

even the slavish employments to which a new line of kings condemned them, aided their improvement in mechanical skill, and their masters had the opportunity of drawing from the treasury of the Jews whatever moral or religious instruction it contained. But darkness rests upon this period; even the duration of their residence in Egypt cannot be determined. No one believes the statements of Josephus, except where he describes what passed before his eyes. Much has been expected from the discoveries of Champollion, but the naked and distant facts at present ascertained, are as far from a satisfactory history as a skeleton is from a living form. If a conjecture of Whiston, lately revived, which makes Sethos or Sesostris, the same with one of the Pharaohs of the Old Testament, be true;—especially, if he be the same with Egyptus, who compelled his brother Danaus to take refuge in Greece, we shall no longer be at a loss to account for the strong, occasional resemblance to the Jewish traditions, which is found in the mythology of Greece; but nothing now ascertained in this way, is so important as the tomb discovered by Belzoni, which contained the ashes of Necho, whose victories are recorded in the Bible, and bore on its walls colored representations of the different nations which he subdued.

This, however, was when they were poor in improvement, and needed to borrow from others; in the reigns of David and Solomon they were rich, and were able to pay their debts to all the nations. They had a friendly intercourse with the cities of the Phenician confederacy, which must have spread their name through all the shores of the Mediterranean; in the opposite direction it was carried by their own fleets on the Red Sea. They also kept up an inland trade with Egypt and Arabia, bringing from the latter gold, precious stones, incense, sandal-wood and spices. The stream of trade too from Assyria to Tyre, passed through their country, and brought fertility wherever it flowed. They drew supplies from Tarshish and Ophir, of which, if they were in fact names of particular places, which is more than doubtful, we know nothing but that one lay toward the east, the other toward the west; and their voyages in both these directions were more extensive than can be conceived by one, who knows that the ships of the Evangelists were fishing boats, and their sea a small lake. It seems impossible to believe the statement of Herodotus, that the Tyrians sailed round the continent of Africa; but it is

certain that they ventured beyond the outlets, both of the eastern and western seas.

Meantime the great Assyrian empire was throwing a broad shadow from the rising sun, over Palestine to the borders of the Nile. With this power they held close communion, whether of peace or war. When Nebuchadnezzar had built up his kingdom of Babylon out of its mighty fragments, and made himself for a time the greatest monarch of the world, the character of the Hebrews passed in review before him and his people, and both had cause to admire their attachment to their religion. During their heart-breaking captivity, the Jews evidently secured the respect of their masters by their self-denial in temptation, their constancy in suffering, and by the 'not unmanly tears' with which they mourned for their country. Their high poetical talent also was admired, for when they were required to take down their harps from the willows, the request was made, not in mockery, but respect; their minstrelsy fascinated a luxurious people, who had nothing that would compare with the inspirations of the Jews.

No sooner had the decline of Babylon commenced, than a new empire rose, created by the genius of Cyrus, who trained the Persians to hardship, till they became powerful arms in the hands of his ambition. And again we find the Jews, by the changes of affairs, thrown into the midst of the Persians, in such a way as to secure the highest respect for them and their Sacred writings. Though in bondage, they were a people that could not be despised. Cyrus, when he issued an order restoring them to their country, and recognizing the existence of their God, must have been acquainted with their history and literature, and his subjects must have taken some pains to know why such favor was extended to such a people. So that although they returned in heaviness, lamenting that their glory was departed, there probably never was a moment when they stood so high, or exerted so wide an influence, as when they again took possession of their desolated land.

When the Persian empire sunk under the arms of Alexander, we find the Jews, whose country was so often the battle-field of rival powers, again standing upright at the conqueror's side. He treated them with sufficient respect; but his generals did not exempt them from the fate of the nations which they crushed with oppression. Still, they did not neglect any of the advantages which their position gave them, and as soon as the

Greek became the common language of the Macedonian empire, their Scriptures were translated into it, and so generally spread, that those versions have supplanted the original. The Alexandrian Jews applied themselves to Grecian literature and philosophy, thus securing the influence which learning, or the reputation of it, never fails to give. It cannot be doubted that the Greeks returned this interest, and took the opportunity of learning all that the Jews could teach them.

Every one knows, that when the Romans were lords of the ascendant, the Jews became their allies first, and afterwards their vassals,—a humiliation which the proud Hebrew race severely felt, though they shared it in common with all the rest of the world. Their kings and tetrarchs drew their breath of life from Rome; and though the masters of the world were not remarkable for enlightened curiosity, the habits of their fierce and intractable subjects in Judea must have engaged the attention of some inquiring minds. We have ample proof of this in Tacitus, the most exact of their historians, who speaks of the expectation of a deliverer, as drawn from the sacred books of the Hebrew priests. This shows that those books were known, and whoever is familiar with Virgil's Pollio will be satisfied that they were read. When there were Romans in Jerusalem and Jews in Rome, it is easier to explain how they may have fallen in the poet's way, than to believe that passages of that remarkable poem came from any other than Hebrew inspiration.

We trust that we have furnished an answer to those who wonder why any privileges which the Jews possessed, should not have been placed within the reach of other nations of the world. Their separation was not personal, but moral: while they kept their peculiar habits and institutions, they were thrown in a surprising manner, into intimate relations with every great empire, as fast as a new one was built on the changing sands of human affairs;—from the time when Abraham first went down to Egypt, to the hour when one of the last great efforts of the Roman arms overthrew their temple and city.

The popular impressions with respect to the character and fate of the Jews are not so distinct as so important a history requires. We know of no divine inflictions; the punishments of individuals and nations are the natural consequences of their conduct; the misdeeds of communities, as well as the sins of individuals, put an end, sometimes forever, to that quiet which it is the best prosperity of men and nations to enjoy. The

founder of the Hebrew nation, acting under the authority of Heaven, had framed a constitution for this favored people, which prescribed pursuits adapted to their soil and character, guarded them against the excesses of passion, bound up the hands of national ambition, and gave each individual as much freedom as was consistent with the general welfare. It protected the possessions of the rich and the earnings of the poor, encouraged habits of industry, and set bars to violence and corruption. Had the Hebrews been content to sit down quietly under the shadow of these institutions, they would not have had wealth to invite oppression, and would not have lost strength to repel any invasion of adventurers. But they could not understand the wisdom of their law, and disregarded it so completely, that the very book was lost; and when it was accidentally recovered in the reign of Josiah, all hearts were filled with dismay to find how widely they had wandered. Still they were not instructed by experience;—even Hezekiah, one of their best kings, could not resist the strange ambition of displaying his wealth to robbers. The natural consequences followed. As their welfare depended on the observance of their civil system, their misfortunes followed hard upon its violation. Their occasional reformation restored their character and happiness for a time; but the whole tendency of the state was downward; and the inspired prophets foretold with amazing and awful exactness, all the particulars of its righteous doom. We cannot help thinking, that the national character is too unfavorably represented on this account. The same argument is made use of, by which the friends of Job attempted to convince him that he was more guilty than others, because he suffered more. Their character was not an amiable one; but it will be observed, that the severity of the prophets, as well as of our Saviour, falls not so much on the people, as on those who misled them. A deep and burning spirit of patriotism was their strongest passion; and it cannot be denied, that they exhibited a resolution when their country was in question, which under better guidance might have made them a virtuous people. But under the direction of the Pharisees, it led to fatal results, even to the barbarous murder of Jesus Christ. But it should be remembered, that when John appeared, calling them to repentance and reform, he became their favorite, and their demagogues dared not say a word against him. The same popularity attended Jesus Christ, though his appearance disappointed

all their hopes, which for centuries had looked for his coming in the high and commanding majesty of the conqueror and king. It required the most unwearied malice on the part of their leaders, to weaken his influence, and to work them up to that mad excitement, in which they demanded his blood. All this, we think, is implied in the memorable words, 'Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do.'

We mention this, because there is a prevailing error on this subject, and the sympathies of men are unfairly divided between the Jews and Romans. Josephus, who wrote under the eye of the conquerors, has been too long suffered to mislead men by those representations of the atrocity of the Jews and the humanity of the Romans, by which he endeavored to cover the shame of deserting a cause, for which his countrymen thought it a privilege to die. Let it be remembered, that whatever might have been the national guilt which brought them into bondage, their rebellion was an effort to be free;—a rebellion, occasioned not by the extortions of Hebrew viceroys, nor the severity of Roman procurators, hard as those evils were for their proud spirits to endure; but, after years of suffering, they rose in a universal flame, the moment an insult was offered to their religion. If any respect is due to patriotic self-devotion, we cannot withhold it from theirs. And it is an evidence of the unbounded power which a popular historian has over the moral judgment, that even in this country, we should so long have sympathised with Hume against the English patriots, and with Josephus against the Jews. For nothing can be more absurd than to look on the Romans with complacency, because they were employed on this occasion, like the barbarian who afterwards overran their empire, as a scourge in the hands of God. It is quite too much to be called on to admire the humanity of Titus, whose heart was not all stone, though it seems that he tortured his wretched prisoners till no more ground remained for a cross to stand upon. The march of their armies was well described as the 'curse of desolation;' wherever was found the 'carcass' of a fated city, there one might be sure that their 'eagles were gathered;' when they spread their pinions, it was like the waving of the death-angel's wing; and yet from our youth, we are taught to bless the name of the ravenous and grasping plunderer, and it is bad taste to give even the alms of compassion to the memory of his victim.

We do not deny that the annals of the Jews abounded in

crimes; but we have no idea of bringing the Romans into this contrast, for the purpose of exalting that great pest of the world. Those who measure character by fortune, must remember that the Eternal City was at no distant period, compelled to drain the cup she had poured out so liberally for the nations. *Her* temples were overthrown; the tombs on which her great names were written, were defaced by barbarian hands; and, while in every nation there are living memorials of the Hebrew race, there is not one who can trace his heraldry from Rome. It is the duty of all, who would give a right direction to moral feeling, to resist this unhealthy admiration of lawless violence, whether of ancient or modern times. There is no need of recommending these splendid sins; power will always command respect, and the red right hand of the conqueror will cast aside moral as well as physical resistance. Still it is not well to keep incense constantly burning on this altar of human blood; for, though these great tyrants of man are not common, all the relations of life are affected by a sentiment, which encourages false ambition, and turns real glory into shame.

We said in the outset, that we should treat this merely as a civil history, though we regard it in another and more important light; for in this view alone, the character and fortunes of the Jews are interesting and instructive to other nations; to none more so than our own. Mr. Jefferson had no great respect for this history. Did it never occur to him, that the Hebrew statesman, thousands of years before himself, had regarded agriculture as the proper employment of a free people, and all other pursuits as subsidiary to this? It is true that the Hebrew was a religious state, and we presume that Mr. Jefferson himself founded republican institutions, not on external power, but a sense of duty existing in the hearts of the people. Moses provided also for education in all such knowledge as was within the reach of such an age, by directing parents to make it a point of duty to instruct their children in the national history and the maxims of their law. To us it seems, that in all this there was something not easily explained in ordinary ways. A constitution which allows to each subject a large share of personal freedom, and an influence that may be felt in the state;—which establishes the authority of government upon the good sense and conviction of the people;—which leaves it in their power to submit or obey at pleasure, influenced only by a clear perception of the results of obedience or corruption, which

were distinctly seen by the prophet's eye, and set before them with the eloquence of the prophet's tongue;—this certainly is not a very simple thing. So far from being one of the first suggestions of civil science, it is the very last result at which the wisdom and experience of ages arrive. Even now, it is a problem hardly solved, though the revolutions of nations have been almost as many as the revolutions of the earth round the sun. Doubtless the details of his system were imperfectly developed; but the miracle is, that he should have been able to lay down so exact a plan for his national prosperity, as to predict to the letter all the evils that would follow from its violation. Those who allow to Moses no higher inspiration than that of talent, must confess that there was something marvellously bold and original in his system, and a sagacity in his foreboding of consequences, not easily matched in the history of political wisdom. We should suppose that with them it must be even more striking, than to such as fall in with the prevailing belief, which represents him as acting under the dictation of God. But we will not argue the point here; for another interesting question presents itself, respecting the modern history of the Jews.

Their history since the destruction of Jerusalem, is truly wonderful, and affords a most striking testimony to our religion. Never was vessel dashed upon the rock into smaller fragments, than the Hebrew nation in that tremendous overthrow; a million of its best lives were sacrificed; all its noblest blood was shed; the temple was ruined from topmost tower to lowest foundation-stone, and a cold and heavy desolation thrown over all the borders of the land. And this was the people, who deemed themselves the favorite sons of God! for whom he had suffered the bright light of prophecy to send its unnatural dawn far into the depth of coming ages; whom he had suffered, though unworthy, to lean so confidently upon his everlasting arm! One would have thought that so profound a calamity would have turned every Hebrew heart to stone. But every thing about this strange people disappoints predictions founded on human nature. Fortresses still existed in Judea, and, though shaken by the thunder of Jerusalem when it fell, held out without a sign of dismay. Masada was the last that fell into the hands of the Romans. They had surrounded it, and at last succeeded in battering down its walls; but when the night brought a pause to the combat, the Jewish leader assembled

his comrades and told them that God had forsaken his people; still he was more merciful than the Romans, and he proposed that they should fire the city, and offer themselves, their wives and children, as a last burnt offering upon a glorious altar. They approved his counsel; embraced their wives and children with tears, and then stabbed them to the heart. Having chosen ten of their number by lot as executioners, they embraced the corpses of their loved ones, and submitted their necks to the blow. The ten then cast lots; and when nine had fallen by each other's hands, the last survivor set fire to the palace, and drove the sword to his own heart. When the Romans entered the city, they were affrighted at the desolation. Savage and horrible as such self-devotion is, it is impossible not to admire the strength of heart which it discovers; and, without inspiration, one might foretell, that so long as a solitary heart of this description was left to beat, it would treasure its national distinction as its sole remaining pride.

Thus, in truth, it has been in every country under the sun. They were scattered to the four winds, like the ashes of their temple; and now the keel of the adventurer can hardly reach a shore, where the Jews have not been before him. Gain is the only avenue to power which their feet are permitted to tread, and they walk in it with an industry that never sleeps. Unsocial as they are, go where they will, they adapt themselves with wonderful flexibility to the habits of the people. To a certain extent they mingle with others in the intercourse of life; but there is a veil in their hearts, like that of the temple, never lifted; a sanctuary, into which the eye of no Gentile is permitted to look. There is no region in which they cannot make themselves a home; and yet they draw a line broad and deep between themselves and others, by keeping up their ancient usages, circumcision, abstinence from unclean meats, and all animal food which has not been killed by a Jew, by assembling in their synagogues, and there worshipping God in the language of their fathers. They are at home, and yet are exiles; familiar, and yet strangers; content with an unenviable lot in the land of their adoption, and yet constantly looking over its boundaries to their own holy land; having every thing to humble and depress them, and yet looking forward with triumphant hope to a time, when the coming of the Messiah, 'like the lightning shining from the east to the west,' shall shiver and melt their chains.

It is impossible to tell when and how the scattered fragments of the wreck were collected and bound together; but not long after the fall of Jerusalem, we find two Hebrew communities; the one on the other side of the Euphrates, under the Prince of the Captivity, the other on this side the river, under the Patriarch of the West. The school of Jamnia, which pretended to be the Sanhedrim saved from the general ruin, obtained great authority; and, as it was principally spiritual in its pretensions, it did not excite the jealousy of the Romans. It is curious to see how a gradual, but unconscious preparation had been made for a monument of this kind, flattering to the pride of the Jews, but as useless in itself as the fabled pillars that survived the Flood. The priesthood had been gradually superseded in the course of ages. The authority of tradition overshadowed that of Scripture, and the interpreters of this new volume acquired unbounded influence. At the same time, the worship of the synagogue grew up in place of that of the temple; so that when the ruin seemed complete, a new worship and new priesthood were already created to their hands. Even this was enough to give them a feeling of strength; and before the generation that saw the fall of Jerusalem had passed away, the whole body of Jews west of the Euphrates rose, in a fire that spread at once into a conflagration, and was only extinguished with the loss of six hundred thousand men. The Emperor then issued edicts meant to destroy their race; but at this moment, apparently so uninviting, a pretended Messiah, calling himself the 'Son of the Star,' appeared; set up his standard in Jerusalem, and the Jews poured in by thousands, with a spirit unbroken by disaster, ready to make a new appeal to arms. But their king was slain; the plough passed over the fresh ruins of the city, and all Jews were forbidden to come near it again.

But even then, when Jerusalem was left a city of the dead, and for the third time since our Saviour's prophecy, 'the mountains were melted with their blood,' their courage and faith endured. Not sixty years after, we find a Patriarch at Tiberias in this very region, whose authority was acknowledged by all west of the Euphrates, while the Prince of the Captivity still held his melancholy state upon the eastern side. He, too, had suffered his share; and at the very moment when the Roman power was about to crush him, the accession of a new Emperor drew off its armies, and left his dominion like a ship-

wrecked vessel, saved by the sinking of the tide. In this Patriarchate at Tiberias, there was no power but such as was conceded to it by public opinion ;—but its legates visited all the Jewish establishments in various lands, and received the tribute, which was regularly paid. Such was the force of this Rabbinical dominion, that for a time, the Prince of the Captivity submitted to its power. One of these Patriarchs, in the third century, was the author of the celebrated Mishna, or code of traditional law. The western prince again recovered his ascendency, and governed in Babylonia with the splendor of a king. In the schools of his dominion, comments were made on the law and the Mishna, which were embodied in the Gemara; the Mishna and Gemara together make up the well known Babylonian Talmud. This Rabbinical lore has been extremely unfortunate for the Jews; it has weighed upon them like a millstone, and prevented their entering the lists of intellectual glory. In fact, all their apparent prosperity at this time was a calamity, because it served to draw upon them the attention of the world.

The patronage or opposition of the Emperors could not do much to uphold the faint shadow of a state which the Patriarchate presented. It was nothing more than a standard floating on a dismantled tower. Both the Patriarch and the Prince of the Captivity seemed to be upheld by a feeling of national pride, without any substantial authority, and without any thing to sustain them in the changes of the world; so that even before the barbarians flowed in upon the Roman empire, the Patriarchate had gone down. The Principality, being out of the path of revolutions, escaped till the tenth century, gladdening the hearts of the Jews with the sight of its hollow glories, but all the while wearing away. We may say on the whole, that the dark ages found the Jews nearly where the fall of Jerusalem left them ; they had not yet found a resting-place in the world.

While the Jews were suffering every thing under the Christian Emperors, rather than give up the least observance of their religion, the Samaritans were more disposed to bow their heads to the storm. They eluded the severe laws of Justinian, by submitting to baptism as a matter of necessity, and then quietly returning to the faith of their fathers. We have never been satisfied with the prevailing opinion, that the Samaritans are the descendants of the idolaters (introduced by

Esarhaddon) who gradually adopted the religion of the land. We do not think that Scripture requires us to believe that the ten tribes were so completely rooted out. The Jews from their prescriptive hatred of the rival house of Israel, always represented the Samaritans as Cutheans, but their evidence must be admitted with caution in a case of the kind. It is admitted that a remnant escaped; and it would seem that it was large enough to keep up the old religion of the land. In our Saviour's time they were expecting the Messiah, and though he was reserved in declaring to the Jews that he was their expected king, he announced it without hesitation to the Samaritans; and if he charged them with 'worshipping they knew not what,' the charge would apply with equal force to the Jews, who believed in the sacredness of their temple with the same superstition. It is singular, that after the persecutions of Justinian, they were almost lost to history for ages, till at last, in the seventeenth century, a remnant, like the mutineers of the Bounty, were discovered on the side of their own holy mountain. There they had looked securely down upon the changes of the world, preserving their ancient religion, and treasuring most of all the Scriptures in the Samaritan or old Hebrew character. The Jews during their captivity had borrowed the Chaldean letters. From their correspondence with Scaliger, in reply to his inquiries, they seem to observe the law of Moses with more strictness in many points than the Jews themselves.

When the Mussulman crescent rose in the East, it turned the tide of human affairs in favor of the Jews. Mahomet was very desirous to make the Jews his converts; and as he acknowledged Moses as a prophet, insisted upon circumcision, and made the Unity of God the chief doctrine of his religion, they were disposed to favor him against the Christians. They must have seen too, that his armies were likely to prevail, led on by such chiefs as Khaled, who, when advised to repose a moment from the weariness of a day of battle, replied, 'There is rest enough in the world to come.' But Mahomet required too much of the Jews. He wished to make them disciples as well as partisans, and failing in his attempts, he became their enemy, and persecuted them to the end of his days. But they fared better with his successors, who required no such impossibilities; and it was not without satisfaction, that they saw Omar take Jerusalem from the Christians. Even when he

built the mosque which bore his name upon the ruins of their temple, they found consolation in the thought, that the Christians were effectually humbled. Some writers have thought, that a wide conspiracy in favor of the Mahometans was formed among the Jews; but their character is proof enough that they engaged in no such alliance. The natural union of interest and feeling was all that was needed; and we must say, though it is not to the honor of human nature, that nothing binds human hearts so firmly together as hatred to a common foe.

The conquests of Mahomet set the whole world in motion for several centuries. His successors having acquired the thirst of adventure, were not content with the quiet possession of Arabia and Syria; they poured like a flood into Egypt, and swept along the whole southern coast of the Mediterranean; then they passed into Spain, where they established an empire, and as if nothing could set bounds to their enterprise, penetrated into the heart of France. The Saracens also insulted the declining majesty of Rome. But almost every step of their desolating march was over a Christian nation; the pride of the Christian world was deeply wounded, and two or three centuries after, we find the whole Christian world in motion along the northern shore, to avenge the injuries of the cross. The whole course of this revolving circle, had an important bearing upon the interests of the Jews. They are supposed to have had an agency in bringing about the first invasion of Spain by the Saracens, in which Roderick lost his life and crown; an agency, however, which was fully justified by the cruelty they endured from the Gothic kings. These troubled times brought them into notice. Their superior intelligence and education made it necessary to give them offices of profit and trust; and when Charlemagne determined on sending an embassy to Haroun al Raschid, one of this race was employed to represent the European sovereign, and to conduct the diplomatic intercourse between Bagdad and Aix-la-Chapelle.

The conquest of Spain by the Moors, and the establishment of Charlemagne's great empire, were circumstances which threw a gleam of light upon the dark current of the Jewish history; and we are thus particular in allusion to them, because in that age, the Jews fixed that character which they retain at the present day. They did not lose the oppor-

tunity; but exerting themselves with their usual sagacious and untiring industry, they became rich;—every stream of commerce in every nation flowed with golden sands for them. In France they took a high stand, and in Spain they were hardly distinguished in wealth, honor, and trust, from their Saracen masters. But the natural result was, that when the wild spirit of chivalry began to prevail in the world, ruling in the hearts of men by maxims with which morals and humanity had very little to do;—the fortunes of the great were exhausted by martial extravagance, the earnings of the poor were drained by oppression, and as the Jews offered a vast resource to beggarly nobles and princes, their wealth at once became a crime. It was discovered that they were guilty of the murder of our Saviour nearly a thousand years before, and for this, it was but reasonable that they should be insulted and plundered in every Christian land. The Jews, with their usual still fortitude, prepared not only to meet, but to draw advantage to themselves from the storm. The soldier of the cross must have his arms; and in the excitement of the moment, the Crusaders were ready to pledge every thing for gold. But when the time for payment came, they found that their revenues had not been increased by the prodigality of war, and they were obliged to resort to other means to redeem the pledges they had given. The Jews were then exposed to all kinds of violence; their wealth was confiscated, and their persons banished. Philip Augustus and St. Louis in France, distinguished themselves by this saintly extortion. In the reign of Richard I. of England, they were exposed to one of the most infamous massacres recorded in history, and passed through repeated changes of hope and suffering under his contemptible successor. England has nothing to boast of in this dark registry. The only ray of mercy and honor that could be seen in all Europe was in Germany, where Frederic II., the most accomplished prince of his age, had penetration enough to see the baseness of the charges brought against them. When informed, according to the usual scandal of those times, that some Christian children had been found in the house of a Jew, murdered in preparation for the Passover, 'Bury them,' was his only reply. Happy would it have been for Europe, if other sovereigns had resembled him; though superstition had a hold on his dominions, it had none upon his mind: even as a crusader, the grandson of Barbarossa effected by peaceable

means what others could not accomplish by war, and left a name as enviable among the infidels, as that of Saladin has ever been among the Christians.

The character of the Jews has remained nearly the same to the present day, only varying with the times, not by any wide and decisive change in the prosperity or improvement of the race. But it is needless to dwell upon this period, since it has been set before the public eye in the splendid panorama of Ivanhoe; where we see at a glance the sufferings to which they were exposed, and the fortitude with which they stooped to meet them,—the contempt and hatred with which they were universally regarded, and the power which they contrived to gain notwithstanding,—the low avarice to which they descended, and the traditional enthusiasm inspired by the remembrance of their religion and their holy land. In the delightful vision of Rebecca, perhaps the loveliest portrait the imagination ever drew, we see the gentle firmness formed by long exposure to danger, contrasted in Rowena with the superiority of one, who had breathed nothing but the incense of chivalrous adoration; and we fear, that one touch of this celestial pencil has done more for this injured race, than justice and humanity in the last thousand years. It is well for the world, that this supernatural power of genius resides in such a conscientious and honorable hand. While we acknowledge the moral taste of Shakspeare in respect to character, and confess that he does not attempt to give the guilty any lasting attraction, we regret that his Merchant of Venice has done so much to associate all that is savage and rapacious with the name of Jew. We cannot blame him for sharing the prejudices of his time, but we certainly are glad that there is a power to correct his errors, and to balance the impression against the Jews which his painting has made, by one in their favor, drawn with equal talent, and from its nature resistless and enchanting.

We are sorry that there is so little to be said of the literature of the Jews. The fetters of Rabbinism have been so closely folded about their minds, as to prevent free and vigorous action. They have had little of the quiet which is most favorable to intellectual exertion, and we take it, that no great literary improvement can be expected from those, who are constantly weighed down by the millstone of banishment or bondage. The most remarkable person in this department, who has ever sprung from the race, is the modern Men-

delsohn, whose reputation in Germany is thought to have bettered the condition of the Jews. If, however, his opinions were, as we understand them, that the Jews had a revealed law, but no revealed religion beside the law of nature, the Jews must have dreaded his heresy more than they exulted in his success. Their feeling towards him was not unlike that of the Hindoos toward Rammohun Roy at the present day; but they forgave him his deism, so long as he did not embrace Christianity.

It is not surprising that a people who have suffered so much by that sickness of heart which arises from hope deferred, should have been exposed to frequent delusion. When they have been so long watching the heavens, ready to believe that every change was a sign of the Messiah's coming, any impostor might calculate upon their easy credulity. Before our Saviour, there were false Christs in great numbers, and since his time the Jews have been repeatedly misled by adventurers. The most remarkable deception of this kind has been practised in modern times. In 1666, Sabbathai Sevi, a person obscurely born, who appeared in Smyrna, took advantage of his remarkable personal beauty to carry on this daring imposture. He formed the design when young, and prepared his way by affecting uncommon self-denial. When the public mind seemed ready for the declaration, he announced himself as the Messiah. The Rabbins resisted him, and drove him from place to place, till he reached Jerusalem, where he remained, gathering proselytes, for many years. His declaration excited a strong feeling against him, but one of his most distinguished opposers suddenly falling dead, the accident was interpreted as a testimony of Heaven in his favor. Then the glad tidings spread throughout Europe and Asia, that the Messiah was come;—labor was suspended, and the Jews every where waited the call to rise. Meantime Sabbathai found it no easy matter to ride in the whirlwind he had raised. The ardor of his partisans hurried him to Constantinople to confront the Sultan. That monarch made him this fair and reasonable proposal, 'that the Messiah should be shot at with three poisoned arrows, and if he proved invulnerable he would himself own his title; if he declined this offer, he must either become a Mahometan or be put to death.' Sabbathai was not long embarrassed by uncertainty; he declared himself a Mahometan without any unnecessary delay, and was dismissed by the Sultan with

honor instead of contempt. He then supported the double character which he had assumed with such expedition, and his followers were fast going over to Mahomet in imitation of his example, when the Rabbins succeeded in gaining the ear of the Sultan, who imprisoned him in Belgrade, where he died a natural death in his fifty-first year. Gross and obvious as this imposture was, it long survived him, and his followers are said to be found even now in various parts of the world. This shows how ready they are to grasp at any hope, when faith is almost changed into despair, not only by the growth of Christianity, but by their own tradition. This is found in the Talmud in the form of a prophecy by Elijah, that the world is to continue six thousand years;—two thousand years without law, two thousand years under the law, and two thousand under the Messiah's reign. The first expired in Abraham's life, the second when our Saviour really came. Such a tradition, unimportant as it is to others, one would suppose would be disheartening to them, when they can only evade it, by saying that the advent is delayed on account of the sins of the world; the very sins which the Messiah was to come in order to take away.

It is a little singular that Cromwell and Napoleon each took an interest in the Jews, and endeavored to remove the ban which rested upon the race. Such was the prejudice of the day, that Cromwell could do but little in their favor, though the republicans were not zealous against them. Harrington, in his Oceana, recommended the sale of Ireland to the Jews. The necessities of Charles II. and his court, did more than Cromwell's decision, and after the Restoration, the Jews crept quietly into the kingdom, where their descendants remain to the present day. The other great enemy of oppression, Napoleon, caused questions to be proposed to the Jews respecting their allegiance to France, and having received the most satisfactory answers, he assembled a Sanhedrim for the purpose of re-establishing the worship of the Synagogue in the empire. It is somewhat in the nature of a reproach to the world, that the Jews should find only these eminent philanthropists, to enforce such plain maxims of justice and humanity. It is to be hoped, that after the lapse of some centuries, Christian nations will begin to discover, that their prosperity and religion are not secured by absurd systems of exclusion, which, instead of being a safeguard, are only so many challenges to

those without, to batter down the walls which shut them out from the rights they inherit from God and nature.

It is not easy to estimate the numbers of a race who are scattered to the four winds of heaven. The returns made to Bonaparte fixed their number at three millions. This statement, in Mr. Milman's opinion, is too low; he is inclined to raise it as high as five millions. Even this is but a small number, compared with former times. In France there are about forty or fifty thousand. They are still excluded from Spain by an ancient law. In Great Britain their number is variously stated, but not exceeding twenty-five thousand. There they are harassed by those legal disabilities, which answer no purpose but that of insult and vexation. The oath required on the faith of a Christian, excludes them from Parliament and many other offices; and what is more important to them, they cannot take out their freedom as citizens of London, and thus are perplexed and fettered in their trade. Their numbers in our country are small. They do not seem willing to put the ocean between themselves and their father-land, though they care not over how many leagues of earth they travel. We have reason to be proud at the thought, that such as do fix their residence among us, are subjected to no inconvenience in any part of our land. If there is any decided feeling towards them, it is that of respect for a race, who, as we learn from our Scriptures, were once under the guardianship of Heaven, and are still preserving with unexampled fortitude, whatever monuments of their former distinction the revolutions of the world have left them. We do not rank their religion with heathen superstitions, but regard it as a revelation from above, differing from Christianity as the cold grey dawning from the perfect day. We consider them entitled to our sympathy from their sorrows, and their religious devotion. And if any one tells us that they are suffering a merited punishment for their national sins, though we do not contradict him, we say that they are not the only people that ever sinned, and that in all cases the judgments of Heaven can be executed without our helping hand.

We are not inclined to debate with the Jews the great question, concerning their restoration to their native land. It is this expectation more than their physical characteristics, which prevents their finding a home in any land to which they go. It has supported them in all their reverses; but the lamp which gives so friendly a light in the darkness, looks intrusive and un-

natural after the dawning of the day. Napoleon endeavored to amalgamate them with the people of France; but his ways of effecting political changes were not particularly winning; and such changes are beyond the reach of power. It is certainly worth while to ascertain whether there is any natural obstacle in the way of this assimilation, or whether it can be removed like the blue ribbon which the ancient Hebrews were told to wear upon their garments. If it be found that Heaven has ordained their perpetual separation, plans for their moral restoration may be abandoned. But till this is placed beyond question, we may be permitted to doubt, whether, when all the purposes of the Hebrew law were fulfilled by the coming of Christianity, it was not intended that they should no longer be distinguished from other nations; whether the prophecies of their destiny are not made good by nearly two thousand years of woe; and whether there is any revealed purpose yet to be answered, by holding them up as a spectacle to the world. At all events, if they are to be restored to the land of their fathers, and to cherish the wild growth of their patriotism again on the soil where it naturally springs, the prospect is as distant as any thing human can be; and meantime their moral restoration might begin—the nations should remove their chains to the last filing; men should look upon the Jew as a man, and show him what he has never yet had reason to discover, that there is an enlarged, liberal, and enlightened benevolence taught in the Gospel.

We desire to speak with respect of all religious exertions, but we must say that nothing seems so much like mockery as the attempts made to convert the Jews. This benevolent zeal assumes, that they stand on the same ground with the heathen, a compliment neither deserved, nor likely to be gratefully received by such a people, and then employs, as the instruments of their conversion, those who have deserted them to embrace Christianity, and who, of course, are least likely of all human beings, to gain their confidence, or even attention. To us this seems like employing Arnold to persuade the Revolutionary army to submit, or Julian the apostate to convert the Christians. We should remember that all to whom our religion is offered, look for its character to Christian nations, and find there a full reply to all arguments that can be presented. The religion of peace has never kept the regions that profess it from the sins and sorrows of war. The law of good-will has

not yet made Christians kind or just to each other; and how can the Jew be expected to embrace a faith, which not only comes to him without any moral superiority in his eyes to his own, but has been the statute to which his persecutors have always appealed, as their warrant for oppressing his race? Much must be done by way of preparation, before they can be made to listen to the claims of Christianity; and they will not do so much as this, till they learn that it is not Christianity that inflicts their wrongs, and that Christians in their hatred, revenge, and persecution, are doing violence to their religion. We take encouragement, however, from observing the effect of that religion. Like all moral means, it operates slowly; but its effect begins at last to appear. Nations the most decidedly separated by manners, language, and institutions, begin to flow together;—a tide of improvement begins to rise and swell, on which the humble and oppressed are borne upward, while towers, palaces and thrones are sinking under its waters.

Before we close, we must express the pleasure with which we have read this work. We took it up with no great expectations. We had known the author as a poet of talent, though not of the first order; there seemed to be something formal and unmanageable in his powers, which made his success in any given effort rather a matter of accident than of calculation. But in this history, his stateliness is laid by in a measure, and what remains is not unsuited to the subject; his fine imagination, too, appears to advantage in an attempt, where the writer's success, like that of the explorer in Herculaneum, partly depends upon the brilliancy of the torch which he bears. We should not cite his work as a grave authority, nor was it so intended; his aim was to make a popular and entertaining history, and in this he has perfectly succeeded. He has not walked in the beaten track, but has formed opinions for himself, and expressed them with manly freedom; so that though there are points in which we differ from him, we do not think it necessary to discuss them, being persuaded that if the book is read in the spirit in which it was written, it will lead to no serious errors. We therefore recommend it to all who wish to be acquainted with the character and history of the Jews.

Note. It was stated through inadvertence in the Article on the Debate in the Senate of the United States, in our last Number, that the greater part of the 'Federalist' was written by Mr. Madison. It is well known—as we have since been reminded by Mr. M.—that General Hamilton was the largest contributor.

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

No. LXXI.

APRIL, 1831.

ART. I.—*Origin and Progress of the French Language.*

1. *Choix des Poésies Originales des Troubadours.* Par M. RAYNOUARD.
2. *Second Mémoire sur l'Origine et les Revolutions de la Langue Françoise.* Par M. DUCLOS. [In Vol. XVII. of the Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres.]
3. *Les Poètes François depuis le* XII. *Siècle jusqu' à Malherbe.*

It is our intention in the present article to give our readers some account of the origin and progress of the French Language; 'a tongue most dear unto thee,' as the Ecclesiastical historian Howel says, 'if thou beest not a Pedant, a mere Englishman, art a traveller, and hast any thing in thee of good breeding.' The works, whose titles stand at the head of this article, are the sources from which we shall draw most of our facts and illustrations, in reference to the subject before us; and in order to execute our task the more efficiently, we shall commence with the earliest existing monuments of the ancient *Romance*, or *Roman Rustic* language, and by reference to literary documents of successive periods, trace the progress and improvement of the French down to the close of the sixteenth century, when, to use the quaint phraseology of an old writer, it had become *gente, propice, suffisante assez et du tout elegante pour exprimer de bonne foy tout ce que l'on sçauroit excogiter, soit en amours ou autrement.*

The earliest inhabitants of Gaul, whose existence has become a matter of history, were the Celts. No well authenticated document of their language is now extant; and if any faint and imperfect vestiges of it have survived the lapse of time, they are to be looked for in the *Armoric*, or the dialect of the peasants of Brittany in France. It perished when Gaul passed under the Roman yoke; for it was always the policy of the Roman Government to lay the foundation of her empire broad and deep, by introducing her own language and laws among the nations she conquered. The Roman language established itself upon the ruins of the Celtic, as did the Roman Empire upon the wreck of Druidical rites and mysteries. The conquerors published their laws in Latin, and Academies and public schools were established in various parts of the kingdom, in which Latin, Greek and Rhetoric were taught, and prizes of eloquence awarded. When to these circumstances we add, that books, which go farther than any thing else in fixing and perpetuating a language, were wholly unknown among the Gauls, there seems to be nothing very remarkable in the rapid decline and final extinction of the Celtic. As it was never a written language, the Druids, who were the Priests and Lawgivers of the nations, caused their disciples to commit to memory certain verses containing their laws and religion; and it was in this way only, that they were handed down from age to age. Thus, having no bulwarks to protect it against the influx of a foreign language, the Celtic was soon swept away and at length swallowed up and lost amid the rapid fluctuations of the Latin and Tudesque. Latin then became the universal language of Gaul. It was not the elegant and nervous Roman of the Augustan age, for we know that the existence of the Latin language in its purity was limited to that century which elapsed from the days of the last Scipio Africanus to those of Augustus*. The Attic Nights of the Grammarian Aulus Gellius bear witness to the corruption of the Latin language at Rome; infinitely greater must have been its corruption in the wide-spread territories of the Roman Provinces. There it had become a rude and barbarous dialect, a kind of *sermo quotidianus et rusticus*, in which the conjugation of verbs, and the cases, genders and declensions of nouns were confused and

*Velleius Paterculus, speaking of Tully, says 'Delectari ante eum paucissimis, mirari verum neminem possis, nisi aut ab illo visum, aut qui illum viderit.'

lost. From this rough and mutilated trunk sprang the modern French.*

*The manner in which the modern languages were thus formed, by the mutilation of the Latin, and its union with the northern dialects, is sufficiently obvious. Some familiar illustrations may not, however, be entirely useless. The process may be seen in the manner in which the uneducated Indian speaks our own language, disregarding all grammatical rules, and confounding number with case. For example: *Why for you no telle me true? me kille you.* The same is observable in the language of the uneducated black. A further illustration may be found in the several *Creole* dialects of the West Indies. We extract the following specimen of the *Danish Creole*, spoken at St. Thomas, from the Encyclopædia Americana, Vol. IV. Art. Creole. It is from a translation of the first chapter of the Gospel of St. John.

'Libi ben de na inni va hem, Kaba da libi ben de Kandera va somma. Kaba da Kandera de krinî na dungru, ma dungru no ben tekî da Kandera. Gado ben senni wan somma, dem Kali Johannes, dissi ben Komm va takki vo da Kandera, va dem somma Komm bribi na da Kandera. Hem srefi no da Kandera, ma a ben Komm va takki na somma va da Kandera.'

'In him was life; and the life was the light of men. And the light shineth in darkness; and the darkness comprehendeth it not. There was a man sent from God, whose name was John. The same came for a witness, to bear witness of the light, that all men through him might believe. He was not that light, but was sent to bear witness of that light.'

The following illustration from the *French Creole* of Guadaloupe will be better understood. It is a stanza from a ballad of the country; and opposite we place a literal French translation, running nearly word for word.

'Filles qui ca coutè garçon,
Yo ca tandè belle quichose,
Main yo pas jamè contant,
Jusqu' à tant yo renne yo bien folle.

Pauve piti manzè Zizi,
Mi guété, manzè Zizi,
Mi guété, manzè Zizi;
Li tini doulè, doulè, doulè,
Li tini doulè nan cœur li.'

'*Les* Filles qui écoutent *les* garçons,
Elles entendent *de* belles choses,
Mais elles *ne sont* jamais contentes,
Jusqu' à ce qu' ils les *aient* rendu bien folles.
Pauvre petite mademoiselle Zizi,
Regardez, mademoiselle Zizi,
Regardez, mademoiselle Zizi;
Elle tient douleur, douleur, douleur,
Elle tient douleur dans son cœur.'

It will be perceived that in the above extract the single particle *Yo* takes the place of *Elles, ils, les;* and *Li* is used for the personal pronoun *Elle* and the possessive pronoun *son.* This exhibits fully enough the manner in which words are changed, and number and case confounded. The following sentence will show how new words are introduced arbitrarily into a language, to express or enforce the speaker's meaning. '*Chauval à li tombé blacata; li tombé pouff; tête à li congnè tingue.*' 'His horse fell down *blacata.*' a word used to express the clatter of a horse falling on a pavement. 'He himself fell *pouff,*' a word expressing the dull heavy sound of a person thrown from a horse; 'His head struck *tingue;*' this needs no explanation to the reader, who has ever had his heels tripped up unawares.

Towards the middle of the fourth century, the Franks, after repeated inroads and ravages in the territories of the Gaul, obtained a firm foothold, and established themselves on the westward of the Rhine. From this point they gradually widened the circle of their territory until it reached the fertile borders of the Seine. In the last half of the succeeding century, the victorious arms of Clovis triumphed over Alaric the Visigoth, who had crossed the Pyrenees from Spain, and pillaged the luxuriant provinces of the South. Thus a large portion of the Gallic territory passed to the sceptre of the Franks; and the throne of the French monarchy was established. Instead of promulgating an entirely new code of laws, the Franks received in part those of the conquered people. These laws, as well as all public acts and documents were in Latin, and continued to be so for centuries, though the court language of the Franks was the *Francthеuch*, called also the *Théotique*, or *Tudesque*. The Latin was thus preserved in public records, and in the ceremonies of the church; whilst with the people it was daily losing ground, and becoming more and more corrupt. It gradually mingled with the dialects of the North, till at length a new vulgar dialect was formed, called the Romance Language, or the *Roman Rustic;* a name given to it, because the Latin words and idioms predominated in its composition, and because it was the language of the peasantry and the lower classes of society.*

* Ma i Popoli del Settentrione, i quali, sotto il generico nome di Goti, sin prima che Massimino occupasse l' Imperio, s'erano co' Romani in lega congiunti, essendosi poi col nome di *Franchi*, *Vandali*, *Unni*, e *Longobardi* ostilmente diffusi in amendue le Gallie, Cisalpina, e Trasalpina, e di poi nelle Spagne, questa Nazione *d' un sol labbro*, (a riserva forse degli Unni, riputati di origine Sarmatica, e perciò di Lingua Sclavonica, de Goffredo Guglielmo Leibnizio tenuti) cominciò a mettere tostamente in commerzio la novità, e la barbarie del proprio linguaggio. Ciò a poco a poco venne per tutto usurpando il luogo al dominante Idioma Romano, che usato era allora dagli abitanti di quelle Provincie, dove pose ella il piede, i quali si chiamavono in quel tempo Romani, civè di Lingua e di Legge Romana, talmente che così fatta favella perdette affatto il suo posto, e venne in gran parte altresì ad alterarsi, come che tuttavia no perdesse il suo nome.

'Questa Lingua Romana parendo però agli nomini di que' tempi più regolata, e più leggiadra della Gotica, Alanica, e Teotisca loro nativa, s' ingegnavano eglino di apprendere, e di ritenere; scegliando anche in essa di scrivere, la quale con lingua' Francogallica *Roman* appellarono.'

Quadrio; Della Storia, e della Ragione d'Ogni Poesia. T. VI. p. 289.

In the days of Charlemagne, we find that the Latin had become obsolete with the great mass of the people. It no longer existed, save in statutes and contracts, in the homilies of pious fathers, in ghostly diptychs, and the legends of Saints. By a canon of the third Council of Tours, held in 813, one year before the death of Charlemagne, it was ordered, that the Bishops should select certain homilies of the Fathers to be read in the churches, and that they should cause them to be translated into the Roman Rustic and into Tudesque, in order that the people might understand them.*

Of the prevalence of the Roman Rustic in the eighth century, as the popular or *vulgar* language throughout the southern dominions of Charlemagne, that is, throughout the south of France, a part of Spain, and nearly all Italy, there is ample evidence. The Tudesque, however, continued to be the court language. In order to reduce it to fixed rules and principles, and to facilitate the acquisition of it, Charlemagne composed a grammar. With feelings of national pride he endeavored to improve and extend it, hoping that he might one day publish his laws and edicts in his own maternal tongue, and that it would become the language of his realm. In this he was disappointed. The people were better pleased with the accents of their own unpolished jargon, than with the still ruder dialect of the north; and thus the Roman Rustic grew stronger day by day, and at length succeeded in completely dethroning the Tudesque, as we shall show hereafter.

The most ancient monument of the Roman Rustic, now existing, is the *Serment de Louis le Germanique*. This document is an oath of defensive alliance between Louis of Germany and Charles the Bold of France, against the dangerous and ambitious projects of their elder brother Lothaire. It was made at Strasbourg in the year 842. We here give the original text in Roman Rustic, and place over against it the Latin interpretation, as cited by Mr. Bonamy in his memoir upon this subject.†

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* Mémoires de l' Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres. T. 17. p. 173.

† See Mémoires de l' Académie des Inscript. et Belles Lettres. Tome 26. p. 638.

'Pro Deu amor, et pro Christian poblo, et nostro commun Salvament, dist di en avant, in quant Deus savir et podir me dunat, si salvarai je cest meon fradre Karlo, et in adjudha er in cadhuna cosa, si cum om per dreit son fradre salvar dist, in o quid il imi altresi fazet, et ab Ludher nul plaid nunquam prindrai, qui meon vol cist meon fradre Karle in damno sit.'

'Pro Dei amore et pro Christiano poplo, et nostro communi salvamento, de ista die in abante in quantum Deus sapere et potire mî donat, sic salvaro ego eccistum meum fratrem Karlum, et in adjutum ero in quâque una causa sic quomodo homo per derectum suum fratrem salvare debet in hoc quid ille mî alterumsic faceret, et ab Lothario nullum placitum numquam prendero quod meo volle eccisti meo fratri Karlo in damno sit.'

'For the love of God and Christendom, and for our common safety, from this day forth, as much as God shall give me knowledge and power, I will protect my brother Charles, here present, and will aid him in every thing, (as a man in justice ought to protect his brother,) in which he would do the same for me; and I will make with Lothaire no compact, which of my own free will can injure my brother Charles, here present.'*

Such was the Roman Rustic as spoken in France during the first half of the ninth century. Toward the close of the same century, it became the court language of the King of Arles in Provence, and was called the Roman Provençal, or the *Langue d'Oc.* At a later period it was enriched and perfected by the poems of the Troubadours.†

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*The following is the old German version of this oath. It is taken from specimens of the *Althochdeutsche Sprache* given in a little work entitled '*Chrestomathie zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Poesie. Herausgegeben von Franz Budde.*'

'In Godes minna ind durch tës Christianes folches ind unser bêdhêrô gehaltnissi, fon thësemo dage frammordes sô fram sô mir Got geuvizei indi maha furgibit, sô hald ich thësan minan bruodher, sosô man mit rehtâ sinan bruodher scal, inthiu thaz êr mig sosoma duô, indi mit Luthêreni in nocheiniu thing ne geganga zhe minan uvillon imo ce scadhen uvërhem.'

†Que cette langue d'*Oc* ou *Provençale* soit la même que l' ancienne langue *Romaine*, il ce peut clairement justifier par les serments qui sont dans Nitard." Cazeneuve.

One of the oaths here spoken of by Cazeneuve, we have given above.

'La langage *Romain* fut appelé la langue Provençale, non-seulement parce qu' il reçut moins d' alteration dans la *Provence* que dans les autres cantons de la France, mais encore parce que les Provençaux

The oldest literary production in the Roman Rustic, and next to the *Serment de Louis*, the oldest monument of that language which has reached our day, is the Poëme sur Boece. The subject of this poem is the captivity of Boetius, and his imprisonment in Ticinium; and it contains some imitations of his celebrated work *De Consolatione Philosophiæ*. It belongs to the eleventh century. The following extract will be sufficient to exhibit the state of the language at that time.*

'El Capitoli lendema, al dia clar,
Lai o solien las altras leis jutjar,
Lai veng lo reis sa felnia menar,
Lai fo Bœcis, e foren i soi par.
Le reis lo pres de felnia reptar;
Qu' el trametia los breus ultra la mar;
A obs los Grex Roma volia tradar.
Pero Boeci anc no venc e pesat;'

'To the Capitol on the next morning, in open day, where according to custom all causes were tried, came the King to carry forward his felony. There was Boetius, and there also were his peers.'

'The King began to accuse him of felony; that he had sent letters beyond the sea, and wished to betray Rome into the hands of the Greeks. Nevertheless this had never come into the mind of Boetius.'

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s' en servoient ordinairement dans leurs compositions.' Huet. De l' Origine des Romans.

'Quell' Idioma Romanzo, chiamato Provenzale, o Francesco, fralle quali due Lingue, *come che alcun divario allora fosse*, nientedimeno il nome di Provenzale si usava indifferentemente, come il Toscano per l' Italiano.' Quadrio. Storia d'Ogni Poesia, VI. p. 290.

See also the Histoire Littéraire d' Italie. Par P. L. Ginguené. *T. I. ch.* 111.—Crescimbeni. Ist. della Volg. Poes. T. I. p. 317.—Tiraboschi. Istoria della Poesia, Liv. I.

*This poem, in the text of the original manuscript, is not divided into lines. It stands thus;

'El capitol len dema al dia clar, lai o sol'ien, las altras leis iutiar lai veng loreis sa fel nia menár lai fo boecis eforen, i, sor par, loreis lo pres de felnia reptar, quel trametia. los breus ul tra la mar. a óbs los gréx roma uolia tradar. pero boece anc no uenc epesat. sál él enestánt. e ceudet sen saluar. lom. nol laiset a saluament annar.'

It will be observed, also, that no use is made of capital letters, except at the commencement of the stanza, and that no points are placed over the *i*'s.

'Nos, e molz libres, o trobam legen.'
Dis o Boecis, e sso gran marriment
Quant e la carcer avia 'l cor dolent,
'Molt val lo bes que l' om fai e jovent
Com el es velz, qui pois lo soste;
Quan ve a l' ora qu'el corps li vai franen,
Per be qu' a fait deus a ssa part lo te.

'Nos de molz omnes nos o avem veut,
Om per veltat non a lo pel chanut;
O es eferms, o a afan agut.
Cellui vai be qui tra mal e jovent,
E, cum es velz, donc estai bonament;
Deus a mes e lui so chastiament;
Mas, quant es joves, et a onor molt grant,
Et evers deu no torna so talant,
Cum el es velz, vai s' onors descaptan;
Quant se reguarda, non a ne tan ne quant;
La pelz li rua, hec lo kap te tremblant.
Morir vobria, e es e gran masant.'

'We, in many books, find it written,' said Boetius in his great despair, when in prison his heart was heavy with grief, 'much availeth the good which a man doth in his youth, for when he is old it sustaineth him; when he cometh to that hour when his body beginneth to fail, for the good he hath done, God shall be with him.

'We in many men have seen this, that man hath not the hoary head through old age, but through infirmity and care. It is well with him who is acquainted with sorrow in his youth, and when he is old, it is well with him; for God hath taught him divine wisdom. But when he is young and hath great honor, and placeth not his affections upon God, when he becometh old, his honors shall decrease; he shall look upon himself, and find that he has nothing left; his skin shall be wrinkled, and his head shall tremble; he shall call on death, and be in great dismay.'

Next in order, as productions of modern literature and specimens of the Roman Rustic, come the religious poems and other devotional writings of the Waldensians. From one of these, the Noble Lesson, *La Noble Leyçon*, Voltaire makes an extract, as a specimen of the Provençal Language. But the dialect in which these ancient poems were composed, was most certainly not the court dialect of Arles. Still there seems to be no greater difference between them, than that which always exists between the court language of a country, and the lan-

guage spoken in towns and villages, more or less remote from the capital.*

The same remark is true of the prose extract which follows. It is drawn from the Tenth Article of 'The Ancient Discipline of the Evangelical churches in the valleys of Piemont,' as given in Morland's History.† The article is upon dancing, or balls; and is a curious specimen of the severity of the Waldensian discipline and morality in an age of licentiousness.

'Lo Bal es la procession del Diavol, et qui intra al Bal intra en la soa procession. Del Bal lo Diavol es la guia, lo mez et la fin. Tanti pas quant l'home fay al Bal, tanti saut vay en enfer. Al Bal si pecca en moltas manieras. En anar, car tuit li pas son nombra; en tocar, en ornament, en auvir, en veser, en parlar, en cants, en mesconias, et en vanetas. Lo Bal no es autre que miseria, pecca et vaneta.

'A Ball is the Devil's procession, and whosoever entereth in there, entereth into his procession. The Devil is the leader, the middle and the end of the dance. So many paces as a man maketh in a ball, so many leaps he maketh towards Hell. They sin in dancing sundry ways. First in walking, for all their paces are numbered; in touching, in their ornaments, in hearing, in seeing, in speaking, in singing, in lies and vanities. A Ball is nothing but misery, sin and vanity.

'Dereço li ornament que portan las fennas al Bal son enaima coronas per plusiors victorias que lo Diavol a agu de li filli de Dio per lor. Car lo Diavol non a solament un glai en li Bal, ma tanti quanti y a de personas bellas et orna. Car la parola de la fenna es glai fogueiant. Donc lo es forment de temer lo luoc

'Besides, the ornaments which women wear in Balls are so many crowns for the several victories which the devil hath obtained by them over the children of God. For the Devil hath not only one sword in these Balls, but as many as there are handsome persons and well adorned. The tongue of a woman is a glittering sword.

* Speaking of the language in which the religious poems of the Waldensians are written, Mr. Raynouard observes:

'Quant à l' idiôme dans lequel elles sont écrites, on se convaincra que le dialecte vaudois est identiquement la langue romane; les légères modifications qu'on y remarque, quand on le compare à la langue des Troubadours, reçoivent des explications qui deviennent de nouvelles preuves de l' identité.' Raynouard. Poesies des Troubadours. Tome II. p. CXL.

† The History of the Evangelical Churches of the Valleys of Piemont. By Samuel Morland, Esq. Book I. chap. V. p. 88.

alqual son vist tanti glai de l'ennemic, cum solament un de li glai de luy sia de esser forment temer. Encora fier aqui lo Diavol, cum lo glay emola, car las fennas non venon legierament en li Bal, si ellas non se polisson premierament, et se ornan, loqual poliment et ornament, es coma aymolar lo glai del Diavol, et la roa que se fay al Bal, es enaima una mola de Diavol, cum laqual el agusa lo seo glai.

'Car la plus fort armadura que lo Diavol aya son las fennas, laqual cosa es demonstra, car lo Diavol eslegic la fenna a decebre lo premier home. Et Balaam acer eslegic aquestas a degittar lo filli d'Israel.

'Lo Bal es la pompa et la messa del Diavol, et qui intra al Bal, intra en la soa pompa et en la soa messa. Car la fenna cantant al Bal es Prioressa del Diavol, et aquilli que respondon son Clercs, et aquilli quis son a regardar son li perrochian, et li son, et las calamelas son las campanas, et li joglar liqual sonan son menistre del Diavol. Car enaimar quand li porc son spars, et lo Pastor de lor en fay quialar un, aço que li autre auven sajostan. Enaimi lo Diavol fay cantar una fenna al Bal, o quiallar la calamella aço que tuit li seo porc, ço es, Balador sajostan.'

Therefore that place is much to be feared where the enemy hath so many swords, seeing that one of his swords is exceedingly to be dreaded. Moreover, the Devil in this place smiteth with a very sharp sword, for the women come not willingly to Balls without painting and adorning themselves, which paint and ornaments are like the whetting of the Devil's Sword, and the Ring which is made in Balls, is the Devil's grindstone, whereon he sharpens his sword.

'Now the strongest arms the Devil hath are Women, which thing is shown in that the Devil made choice of the woman to deceive the first man by. And Balaam made choice of them to reject the children of Israel.

'Balls are the pomp and the mass of the Devil, and whoso entereth into Balls, entereth into the Devil's pomp and mass. For the woman that singeth at the Ball is the Prioress of the Devil, and they that answer are Clerks, and they which look on are Parishioners, and the Cymbals and the Flutes are the Bells, and the musicians that play are the ministers of the Devil. For as when the swine are scattered abroad, and the swineherd maketh one to cry, straightway the others flock together to him; so the Devil causeth one woman to sing at the Ball, or *play on the Music*, so that all the swine, that is, the Dancers, may straightway draw together into a knot.'

This ancient discipline of the Evangelical Churches in the valleys of Piemont was extracted by Morland 'out of divers authentic manuscripts, written in their own language several hundreds of years before either Calvin or Luther.' Leger, in his history of the Waldensian Churches, extracts the fourth article of this discipline, and assigns the date of the document to the year 1100.* These authorities sufficiently establish their claims to antiquity.

La Noble Leyçon, or Noble Lesson of the fathers of the Waldensian Church, we cannot pass over without notice. It is a kind of poetical homily, containing an abridgment of the history and doctrines of the Old and New Testaments. It consists of about five hundred lines; and seems to have been composed in order to bring within the reach of the people, all the great points of faith contained in the Scriptures. Morland gives it entire; and Leger has made copious extracts. By collating several passages, a slight verbal difference is occasionally found between the two copies, which may doubtless be attributed to want of care in transcribing. As Leger observes that in making his extracts he has not *altered the least syllable*, we will avail ourselves of his copy. The poem commences as follows.

'O Frayres entendé una nobla Leyçon.
Souvènt devèn veglar e star en oreson,
Car nos veen aquest mont esser pres del chavon.
Mot curiòs deorian esser de bonas obras far,
Car nos veen aquest mont de la fin apropiar.
Benha mil & cent an compli entierement
Que fò scripta lòra; que sèn alderier temp.
Poc deorian cubitar; car sen al remanent.

'O Brethren, give ear to a noble Lesson.
We ought always to watch and pray,
For we see this world nigh to a conclusion.
We ought to strive to do good works,
Seeing that the end of this world approacheth.
There are already a thousand and one hundred years fully accomplished
Since it was written thus, *For we are in the last time.*
We ought to covet little, for we are at the latter end.

*Histoire Générale des Eglises Evangéliques des Vallées de Piémont ou Vaudoises. Par Jean Leger. Chap. XI. p. 58.

'Totiorn las enseignas venir à compliment.
En acreysament de mal & en amermament de bon
Ayço son li perilli que l'Escriptura dì
L'Avangeli ho recognta & Sant Paul o escri.
Que noun home que vira non pò saber la fin
En perço deven mays temer; car nos non sen certan
Si la mort nos penré en choy, o ben deman;
Ma cant venré Jesus al jorn del Jujamènt
Un çascun recebré per entier payamènt.
A quilli qu' aurèn fay mal e a quilli qu'auren fayt ben
Ma l'Escriptura di, e nos creyre ho devèn,
Que tuit li home del mont per dui chamin tenrèn,
Ly bon yren en gloria, li fellon en torment.
Ma aquel que non creyré en aquel departiment,
Regarde l'Escriptura del fin commençament.

* * * *

'Cant ven lo mal mortal, la mort lo costreng, e à pena pò parlar,
E demanda le Prevere sàl se vol confessor:
Mas segont l'Escriptura el ha tro torsà lacal commanda, e di

'We see daily the signs to be accomplished,
In the increase of evil and the decrease of good.
These are the perils which the Scripture mentioneth,
In the Gospels and Saint Paul's writings.
No man living can know the end.
And therefore we ought the more to fear, for we are not certain
Whether we shall die to day or to morrow.
But when Jesus comes at the day of Judgment
Each one shall receive his full reward,
Those that have done evil and those that have done good.
But the Scripture saith, and we ought to believe it,
That the men of the world shall pass two ways.
The good to glory, and the wicked to torment.
And he that shall not believe this division
Let him search the Scriptures from the beginning.

* * * *

'When the stroke of death comes, when death seizes on him, and hardly can he speak,
The priest asketh if he will confess his sins;
But according to Scripture he hath delayed too long, for that commandeth us

'San e vio te confessa, non attendre à la fin:
Lo Prever li demanda s'el ha nengun peccà,
Dui mot a trei li respont, e ha tost enavança:
Ben li di lo Prever qu' el non po esser assòt,
Sel non rent tot l' autruy e esmende ben sio tort.'

'To confess when we have yet time, and not wait till the end:
The priest asketh him if he hath any sin,
He answereth two or three words and soon hath done.
The priest tells him he cannot be forgiven
Unless he gives up all his worldly goods in recompense for his sins.'

These extracts will exhibit the state of the popular language in Piedmont at the commencement of the twelfth century. It does not seem to have possessed any great uniformity at that time, for we find the same word spelt in different ways in the course of the same piece. The same remark is true of all, or at least a great portion, of the literary productions of that age.

Before leaving the *Langue d'Oc*, we will make one extract from the poems of the Troubadours, in order to enable our readers to compare the language in which they were written with that of the previous extracts.

*Chanson Guerrière.**

'Be m play lo douz temps de pascor
Que fai fuelhas e flors venir;
E play mi quant aug la baudor
Dels auzels que fan retentir
Lor chan per le boscatge;
E play mi quan vey sus els pratz
Tendas e pavallos fermatz;

Battle Song.

'The beautiful Spring delights me well
When flowers and leaves are growing,
And it pleases my heart to hear the swell
Of the bird's sweet chorus flowing
In the echoing wood;
And I love to see all scattered around
Pavilions and tents on the martial ground;

*This very spirited song is by Bertrand de Born. The whole of the original is given by Raynouard, T. II. p. 210, and with a little variation in the text in the *Bibliothèque Choisie des Poètes François jusqu' à Malherbe.* T. I. p. 82. The translation is from Roscoe's English edition of Sismondi's Literature of the South of Europe. Vol. I. p. 141.

'E plai m 'en mon coratge
Quan vey per campanhas rengatz
Cavalliers ab cavals armatz.

'E play mi quan li corredor
Fan las gens e'ls avers fugir;
E plai me quan vey aprop lor
Gran ren d' armatz ensems brugir;
Et ai gran alegratge,
Quan vey fortz castelhs assetjaz
E murs fondre e derocatz,
E vey l'ost pel ribatge
Qu'es tot entorn claus de fossatz,
Ab lissas de fortz pals serratz.

* * * *

'Lansas e brans, elms de color,
Escutz trancar e desguarnir
Veyrem a l' intrar de l' estor
A manhs vassalhs ensems ferir.
Don anaran a ratge
Cavalhs dels mortz e dels nafratz;
E ja pus l' estorn er mesclatz,

'And my spirit finds it good
To see, on the level plain beyond,
Gay knights and steeds caparisoned.

'It pleases me, when the lancers bold
Set men and armies flying;
And it pleases me, too, to hear around
The voice of the soldiers crying;
And joy is mine
When castles strong besieged shake,
And walls uprooted totter and quake,
And I see the foemen join
On the moated shore, all compassed round
With palisade and guarded mound.

* * * *

'Lances, and swords, and stained helms
And shields dismantled and broken
On the verge of the bloody battle scene,
The field of wrath betoken;
And the vassals are there
And there fly the steeds of the dying and dead;
And where the mingled strife is spread,

'Negus hom d'aut paratge
Non pens mas d' asclar caps e bratz,
Que mais val mortz que vius sobratz.
Je eus die que tan no m'a sabor
Manjars ni beure ni dormir,
Cum a quant aug cridar; A lor!
D' ambras las partz; et aug agnir
Cavals voitz per l'ombratge.
Et aug cridar; Aidatz! aidatz!
E vei cazer per los fossatz
Saucs e grans per l'erbatge,
E vei los mortz que pels ecstatz,
Au los tronsons outre passatz.'

* * *

'The noblest warrior's care
Is to cleave the foeman's limbs and head,
The conqueror more of the living than dead.
I tell you nothing my soul can cheer
In banqueting or reposing,
Like the onset cry of 'charge them!' rung
From each side as in battle closing;
Where the horses neigh,
And the call to 'Aid!' is echoing loud,
And there on the earth the lowly and proud
In the foss together lie;
And yonder is piled the mingled heap
Of the brave that scaled the trench's steep.'

* * *

By comparison it will be perceived that the difference between the Waldensian and the Provençal is very trifling, and confined almost entirely to the terminations of words. Take for example the second person plural of the imperative and the past participle, as these forms of the verb first present themselves to us in casting our eyes over the foregoing extracts. In the Waldensian you have *nombra*, &c. for the form of the participle, and *entendé*, &c. for that of the imperative. Corresponding inflections of the verb in Provençal are *fermatz*, &c.; *aidatz*, &c.

So much for the *Langue d'Oc*. At the present day it is generally classed among the dead languages; though some writers maintain, that the *patois* of the department of the *Bouches-du-Rhône*, and of other departments in the South of

France is substantially the old Provençal language.* During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries it was in great repute not only in France, but in Spain and Italy; and every one who has made himself at all familiar with the structure of the Troubadour poetry, must be fully persuaded of the richness and flexibility of a language, which afforded such a redundancy of similar sounds, and was moulded into such a variety of form.

Whilst the Roman Rustic had been thus perfected in the South of France, in the provinces north of the Loire, it had gradually been transformed into a new dialect.† This change seems to have commenced from the close of the ninth century. Upon this subject, Cazeneuve writes thus; 'Yet this *Langue Romaine* underwent in a short time a notable change, for as languages generally follow the fortunes of States, and lose their purity as these decline, when the crown of Germany was separated from that of France, the court of our Kings was removed from Aix-la-Chapelle to Paris; and as this city was situated near the frontier of the German territory, and consequently at a distance from the *Gaule Narbonnoise*, where the Roman Rustic, or *Langue Romaine*, was spoken, there was imperceptibly formed at the French court, and in the neighboring provinces, a *third* language, which still retained the name of *Romaine*, but in the course of time became totally different from the ancient *Langue Romaine*, which, however, remained in its purity in the provinces south of the Loire; and since the people north of the Loire expressed affirmation by the word *Oui*, and those south of it, by the word *Oc*, France was divided into the Land of the *Langue d'Oui*, or French, and the Land of the *Langue d'Oc*, or Provençal."‡ This northern ro-

*'On peut remarquer que la langue qu' on appelle Romaine est presque la même que celle que parlent encore aujourd' hui les peuples de Provence, de Languedoc, et de Gascogne.' Hist. Générale du Languedoc.

†'Il reste à savoir pourquoi ceste langue Romaine Rustique a été chassée outre Loire.

'Cette derniére séparation de Hue Capet fut cause, et, à mon advis, apporta un plus grand changement; voire, si j'ose le dire, *doubla la Langue Romande*.' Fauchet. Recueil de l'Orig. de la Lang. et Poés. Française. Liv.1. ch. 4.

‡The custom of naming a language from its affirmative particle was a general one. The Italian was called the *Langue de Si*, and the German, the *Langue de Ya*.

mance dialect was also called the *Roman Wallon*, or Walloon Romance, from the appellation of *Waelches* or *Wallons*, given by the Germans to the inhabitants of the north of France.

This Roman Wallon soon ripened into a language, and at the commencement of the tenth century became the court dialect of William *Longue-Epée*, duke of Normandy. The most ancient monument of this language, now existing, is to be found in the laws of William the Conqueror, who died in the year 1087. From these laws we shall give one short extract, in order to show how far the Roman Wallon had already diverged from the Roman Rustic, in which the *Serment de Louis le Germanique* was written.

'Ce sont les leis et les custumes que li Reis William grantut à tut le peuple de Engleterre après le conquest de la terre. Ice les meismes que le Reis Edward sun cosin tint devant lui.

'These are the edicts and common law that King William granted to all the people of England after the conquest of the land. They are the same that King Edward his cousin held before him.

1°. *De Asylorum jure et immunitate Ecclesiasticâ.*

'Ce est à saveir; pais à Saint Eglise; de quel forfait que home out fait en cel tens; et il pout venir à Sainte Eglise, out pais de vie et de membre. E se alquons meist main en celui qui la mere Eglise requireit, se ceo fust u Abbaie, u Eglise de Religion, rendist ce que il javereit pris, et cent sols de forfait, e de mer Eglise de Paroisse XX sols, e de chappele X sols, et que enfraiant la pais le Rei in Merchenelæ, cent sols les amendes, altresi de Heinfare, e de arreit purpensed.'

'To wit: peace to the Holy Church: of whatever crime a man may be guilty in this time; and he shall take refuge in the Holy Church, he shall be safe in life and limb. And whoever shall lay hands on him who seeks aid from the mother Church, be it Abbey or Church of religious worship, shall restore what he has seized, and one hundred sous in forfeit, and to the mother parochial church XX sous, and to the chapel X sous: and whoever breaks the King's peace *in lege Merciorum*, shall pay a fine of a hundred sous, the same for homicide, and malice aforethought.'

After the reign of William the Conqueror, the Roman Wallon was called French. That monarch took a national pride in cultivating and improving the language of his native Normandy, and used every means in his power to establish it in

England on the ruins of the Saxon. Even before the Norman conquest, the Saxon language had been falling into disuse, and the people of England had begun to grow ashamed of their rude northern dialect. It had long been the practice of the Anglo-Saxons to send their children to the French monasteries for their education, and so essential to the character of a scholar, was the knowledge of the French language considered in the eleventh century, that the Bishop of Worcester was deposed as being 'a superannuated *English* idiot, who could not speak French.' Indeed, barbarous as the French then was, it was deemed polished and refined in comparison with the Saxon. It was taught in the schools, it was spoken at court, and the laws of the kingdom were promulgated in it. The following passage is quoted by Warton from Trevisa's translation of Hygden's Polychronicon, written, as the author himself tells us, *in the yere of oure Lorde a thousand three hundred and four score and five.* 'Children in schole, against the usage and manir of all other nations, beeth compelled for to leve hire own language, and for to construe hir lessons and hire thynges in French: and so they haveth sethe Normans came first into Engelond. Also gentlemen children beeth taught to speke Frensche from the tyme that they bith rokked in here cradle, and kunneth speke and play with a childes broche: and uplondissche [country] men will likne himself to gentylmen, and fondeth [delights] with great besynesse for to speke Frensche to be told of.'*

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* See Warton's History of English Poetry, Vol. I. p. 5. In connexion with this subject, we cannot forbear citing the following exquisite little song on the approach of summer, which will serve as a specimen of the Norman Saxon at the commencement of the thirteenth century. It is from the Harleian MSS. in the British Museum; and is found in the additional notes to Warton's History, Vol. I. p. 32.

Sumer is i-cumen in,
Lhude sing cuccu;
Groweth sed, and bloweth med,
And springeth the wde nu.
Sing cuccu, cuccu.

Awe bleteth after lomb,
Lhouth after calve cu;
Bulluc sterteth, bucke verteth;
Murie sing, cuccu,
Cuccu, cuccu;
Wel singes the cuccu;
Ne sirck thou nauer nu.
Sing cuccu nu,
Sing cuccu.

Summer is a-coming in,
Loud sing cuckow;
Groweth seed, and bloweth mead,
And springeth the wood now.
Sing cuckow, cuckow.

Ewe bleateth after lamb,
Loweth calf after cow;
Bullock starteth, buck departeth;
Merry sing, cuckow,
Cuckow, cuckow;
Well singeth the cuckow;
Nor cease to sing now.
Sing cuckow, now,
Sing cuckow.

Having, in the extract from the laws of William the Conqueror, exhibited a specimen of the French language at the close of the eleventh century, at which time it ceased to be called the Roman Wallon, we will now advance a half century, and observe the progress made in its cultivation during that space of time. The following extract is from the sermons of Saint Bernard, the zealous Abbot of Clairvaux, whose impassioned eloquence was the most unrelenting and deadly scourge of heresy, and whose false prophecies were as effectual in filling the ranks of the Crusaders, as ever the preaching of Peter the Hermit had been. He died in 1153.

'Ci commencent li Sermon Saint Bernars kil fait de lavent et des altres festes parmei l' an.

'Nons faisons vi, chier freire, l'encommencement de l' avent cuy nom est asseiz renomeiz et connis al munde, si come sunt li nom des altres solempriteiz. Mais li raison del nom nen est mies par aventure si connë. Car li chaitif fil d' Adam n'en ont cure de véritеit, ne de celes choses ka lor salueteit appartienent, anz quierent icil les choses défaillans et trespessaules. A quel gent ferons nos semblans les homes de ceste génération, ou à quel gent ewerons nos ceos cui nos veons estre si ahers et si enracineiz ens terriens solas et ens corporiens, kil departir ne s'en puyent.'

'Here commence the Sermons of St. Bernard, that he made for Advent, and other festivals during the year.

'We here make, my dear brethren, a beginning of Advent, whose name is renowned and known enough throughout the world, as are the names of the other solemnities. But the reason of the name peradventure is no longer so well known. For the vile sons of Adam care not for the truth, nor for those things which appertain unto their salvation, rather seek they after things perishable and transitory. To what people shall we liken the men of this generation, or to what people shall we compare those whom we see so perverse and deeply rooted in worldly cares and the deeds of the body, that they cannot depart from them.'

This extract we must consider as a specimen of the best language of that age; for St. Bernard, an Abbot of the Church, and the friend, companion, and counsellor of kings, must certainly have been versed in the most refined language of his day. By comparing this extract with that given above from the edicts of William the Conqueror, we shall perceive that during an interval of upwards of fifty years the language had advanced hardly a single step. The only point in which the latter ex-

tract excels the former, is a little greater roundness and harmony of periods, and a greater continuity of style.

Half a century later flourished Ville-Hardouin, the earliest of the French historians. In the year 1207, he finished his History of the Conquest of Constantinople, by the French and Venetians. An extract from his writings will enable the reader to observe the advance of the language during the lapse of about fifty years.

'Sachiés que 1198 ans après e' Incarnation notre Sengnor J. C. al tens Innocent III, Apostoille de Rome, et Filippe, Roy de France, et Richart Roy d' Engleterre, et un sainct home en France, qui et nom Folque de Nuilli: Cil Nuillis siest entre Lagny sor Marne et Paris: et il ere Prestre et tenoit la parroiche de la Ville: et cil Folques dont je vous di comença à parler de Dieu par France, et par les autres terres entor; et notre Sires fist maint miracles por lui. Sachiés que la renomée de cil saint home alla tant, qu'elle vint à l' Apostoille de Rome Innocent: et l' Apostoille envoya en France et manda al prodome qui il empreschast des Croix par s' autorité: et après il envoya un suen Chardonal maistre Perron de Chappes Croisié: et manda par luy le pardon tel come vos dirai. Tuit cil qui se croisseroient et feroient le service Deu un an en l' ost, seroient quittes de toz les pechiez que ilz avoient faiz, dont ils seroient confés. Por ce que cil pardons fu issi gran, si s' en esmeurent mult li cuers des guenz, et mult s' en croisierent, por ce que li pardons ere si gran.'

'Know that 1198 years after the Incarnation of our Lord J. C. in the time of Innocent III, Apostle of the Holy See, and Philip King of France, and Richard King of England, there was a holy man in France, whose name was Folque of Neuilly: This Neuilly lies between Lagny-sur-Marne and Paris: and he was a Priest, and held the parish of the town, and this Folque, of whom I speak, began to discourse of God through France and the neighboring lands, and the Lord did many miracles by him. Know that the fame of this holy man was so spread abroad, that it reached the ears of Pope Innocent of Rome; and the Pope sent to France, and wrote the good man word to preach the Crusades by his authority: and afterwards he sent one of his Cardinals, Messire Perron de Chappes Crusader, and wrote by him a pardon, such as I will now tell you. All who should join the crusade, and serve God one year in the East, should be pardoned all the sins they had committed, and had confessed. And because this pardon was so great, the hearts of the people were much moved at it,—and many engaged in the crusades, so great was this pardon.'

In comparing this extract with that drawn from the sermons of St. Bernard, we shall perceive that the language had been rapidly gaining ground; for though still rude and unpolished, it was evidently beginning to assume a more graceful form and easy carriage, than it had possessed at any previous time.

For these prose illustrations of the progress of the French language, we are indebted to the valuable essay of M. Duclos, in the *Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscrip. et Belles Lettres. T.* 17. We shall now take our leave of him; for although, as he observes, prose is a better medium through which to trace the progress of a language than poetry, yet as we are writing for the general reader rather than for the academician or philologer, we shall endeavor to make our article the more interesting, by confining ourselves hereafter more exclusively to poetic illustrations.

Before proceeding to an examination of the progress of the French language in the thirteenth century, we shall lay before our readers a piece, which will enable them to compare together five of the dialects spoken in the south of Europe, at the close of the twelfth century, and to observe how far these sister branches of one parent stock had diverged from each other. It is a *Descort* of the Troubadour Rambaut de Vaqueiras, who flourished in the days of Ville-Hardouin. The first stanza is written in Provençal; the second in Italian; the third in French; the fourth in Gascon; and the fifth in Spanish. Finally, he brings together these five dialects, giving a couplet of each, in the order pursued in the poem. The lady whom he addresses in the *Envoi*, under the appellation of *Bels Cavaliers*, was Beatrix de Montferrat, sister of the Marquis de Montferrat, the friend and patron of the poet.*

* A singular little incident is told concerning the intrigues of Vaqueiras and Beatrix. The Marquis de Montferrat, having discovered the Troubadour asleep in his sister's bedchamber, took away his cloak, leaving his own in its place. When Vaqueiras awoke, he was surprised but not disconcerted, at having his intrigues thus discovered by the Marquis. The only difficulty was to make his peace with Montferrat. To effect this, he chose the moment when the Marquis was surrounded by a numerous company of lords and ladies, and carrying his cloak to him, as if he had made use of it without permission, conjured him to pardon *the liberty he had taken.* This presence of mind in the Troubadour so delighted Montferrat, that he was immediately reinstated in his patron's favor.

DESCORT.*—PROVENCAL.

'Aras quan vey verdeyar
Pratz e vergiers e boscatges,
Veulh un descort comensar
D'amor per que vauc aratges
C'una dona m sol amar,
Mas camiatz lés son coratges;
Per qu' ien fauc dezacordar
Los motz els sos els lengatges.'

'When I see the sylvan sheen
Of orchard, wood, and meadow green,
Then to the discordant string
The vassalage of love I sing.
She who listen'd to my vow,
Neither heeds nor hears it now,
Hence it is discordant all,
Language, rhyme and music fall.'

ITALIAN.

'Jeu sui selh que be non ayo,
Ni enqueras non l' avero,
Per abrilo ni per mayo,
Si per ma dona no l' o
Et entendo son lenguaio;
Sa gran beutat dire no so,
Plus fresca es que flor de glaio,
E ia no m'en partiro.'

'My joys are gone, and thus forgot,
Sunny April shall bring them not,
Nor merry May shall them restore,
Till *her* voice says, "weep no more."
Never tongue her charms may sing,
Fresher than the flowers of Spring;
Never shall my footsteps stray,
From that opening flower away.'

FRENCH.

'Belha doussa Dama chera,
A vos mi don e m' autroy,

* This Descort of Vaqueiras is extracted from the Remarques sur la Langue Françoise du XII. et XIII. Siècles: etc Par. M. de la Curne de St. Palaye. See Mém. de l'Académie. T. XXIV. It is given also by Raynouard. T. II. p. 226.

Ja n'aurai mes joy entera,
Se no vos ai e vos moi.
Molt estes mala guereya,
Se ya muer per bona foy,
Mas per nulha maniera
No m partrai de vosta loy.'

'Lady, fair, and good, and bright,
Thus I yield myself to thee;
Never, till our hearts unite,
Perfect joy shall dwell with me.
Cruel foe indeed wert thou,
Should I perish for thy sake;
Yet my heart shall never break
The golden chain that binds it now.'

GASCON.

'Dauna io me rent a bos,
Guar eras m'es bon e bera;
Anc se es guallard' e pros,
Ab que no'm fossetz ton fera,
Mout abetz beras faissos,
Ab color fresqu' e novera,
Bos m' abetz e si eu'bs ag os;
No'm sofranhera fiera.'

'Thou art good to me and true, Ladie;
Therefore yield I all to thee.
Thou wert gay and gentle too, Ladie,
But for former cruelty.
All thy ways are frank and free,
Fresh and blooming is thy cheek,
Give thyself to love and me,
I no other wealth will seek.'

SPANISH.

'Mas tan temo vostre pleito,
Todon soi escarmentado.
Per vos ai pen e maltreito,
E mon corpo lazerado.
La nueit quan jatz e mon leito,
Soi mochatz ves resperado;
Pro vos cre e non proferto,
Falhit soy en mey cuidado,
Mais que falhir non cuideyo.'

'But I fear thine angry brow,
And I tremble even now.
I have suffer'd pain and care,
Many wounds for thee I bear,
And many a time from troubled sleep,
At midnight hour I wake and weep.
I adore thee, but in vain,
Deceived by thee my joy is pain,
And hope falls back to earth again.'

ENVOI.

PROVENCAL, ITALIAN, FRENCH, GASCON, SPANISH.

'Bels Cavaliers, tant es cars
Lo vostr onratz senhoratges,
Que cada jorn m'esglayo,
Ho me lasso que faro;
Si sely que g'ey plus chera,
Me tua, no sai por quoy.
Ma dauna fe que dey bos,
Ni pe l cap sanhta Quitera,
Mon corass m'avetz trayto,
E mout gen faulan furtado.'

'Bel Cavalier! so dear to me
Is thy noble seignorie,
Returning daylight but reveals
The anguish which my bosom feels,
That thou, the most beloved of all,
Thus should triumph in my fall.
Ladie! by all the tears I've shed,
By Saint Quitera's holy head,
Thou hast this poor heart beguiled,
With thy voice so soft and mild.'

By comparing together the several strophes of Vaqueiras's Descort, it will be easy to perceive the common origin of these languages, and the little difference which existed between them even down to the beginning of the thirteenth century. We find in all of them the same words, and the same forms of expression. Even the nations by whom these languages were spoken, seem at that period to have composed but one great people. National peculiarities, though existing, had not been developed and brought forward; nor had peculiar feelings, and manners, and institutions, given a national air and countenance to language.

We now come to the thirteenth century. As we advance, the improvement of the French language becomes more and more apparent. Still its progress does not appear to have been so rapid, as we might be justified in supposing it ought to have been, when we take into consideration the literary history of that period. It will be recollected, that a taste for poetry and romance had long been prevalent in France, and that during the thirteenth century, the lyric poetry of the Trouvères, their Fabliaux, and the old romances of chivalry were at the height of their renown. They were sung and recited both in the halls of princes, and in the cottages of the peasantry. They cheered the gloomy castles of gentle dames, whose lords had followed the redeeming Cross to Palestine; and maidens read them as a solace to the suffering knight, who had been wounded in joust or tourney. When we consider the great influence that poetry exerts over a language, and the great tendency it has to soften and enrich it, and then add to this the universal sway it bore throughout France, during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, there seems to be room for a little surprise, that the advance of the French language towards refinement was not more rapid and effectual in those centuries. We apprehend, that the solution of this problem must be looked for in the nature of the poetic compositions of the day, whose careless and familiar style served rather to perpetuate the barbarous forms of language, than to polish or improve them.

Though the progress of the French was not so rapid as we might have inferred that it should have been, still it was rapid in comparison with what it had been previously. We might trace it down through the lays and ballads of Thibault, Count of Champagne, who has been dignified with the title of the first of the *French* poets, and the songs of Jacques de Chison, Gace Brulé, and Raoul de Soissons, the *Sire de Vertus*.*

*These are among the most celebrated French poets of the first half of the thirteenth century. The language is much more indebted to them than to any writers that preceded them. Of Thibault and Gace Brulé, the old *Chronique de Saint Denis* says, '*qu'ils firent entre eux les plus belles chansons, les plus délicates, et les plus mélodieuses, qui furent oncq oyées.* They both possess grace and *naïveté*. These qualities belong equally to Jacques de Chison, who surpassed most of his contemporaries in delicacy and sentiment. He is the only poet we recollect of that licentious age, who sung the charms of wedlock.

But for obvious reasons, we prefer to step forward a half century from the time of Vaqueiras, and show at a single glance, what had been done in the interval.

Towards the middle of the thirteenth century flourished Guillaume de Lorris, whom Marot called the *French Ennius.* Of the life of this poet nothing is known: even the epoch of his death is uncertain. French literature owes to his genius the commencement of the Romaunt of the Rose, a poem remarkable, when we consider the age in which it was written, for the brilliant fancy and easy versification it displays, and still more remarkable as standing pre-eminent above all others, until the time of Francis I.

The Romaunt of the Rose is an allegorical poem, in which sacred history is mingled with fable, and the morals of a licentious age are satirized with unsparing severity. The main subject is the art of love; or, as the author informs us at the commencement of the work,

> 'Ce est li Rommanz de la Roze
> Ou l'art d'amors est tote enclose.'

To illustrate what we have said of the progress of the language during the first half of the thirteenth century, and to exhibit the lively fancy and easy style of Guillaume de Lorris, we extract from his Romaunt the following description of Time. We avail ourselves of Chaucer's translation, which we place below the text. It was written about the middle of the fourteenth century,—a century after the original. This translation is preferable to any other, since it is as nearly literal as any translation can be, and moreover contains the true spirit of the original. By having a specimen of the English language of the fourteenth century before them, our readers will be enabled, also, to compare it with specimens of the French, of the same period, which will be given in the sequel of this article, and thereby to see which of these languages was in advance in point of cultivation.

> 'Le temps qui s'en va nuit et jour,
> Sans repos prendre et sans séjour,
> Et qui de nous se part et emble
> Si celéément, qu' il nous semble

Raoul de Soissons was the bosom friend of Thibault, and certainly possesses something of his grace.

Qu' il nous soit adès en un point,
Et il ne s'y arreste point,
Ains ne fine de trespasser,
Si que l'on ne pourroit penser
Lequel temps c'est qui est présent,
Ce demande-je au clerc lisant;
Car ainçois qu'il eût ce pensé
Seroit-il jà outre passé.
Le temps si ne peut séjourner,
Mais va toujours sans retourner,
Comme l'eau qui s'avale toute,
Dont n'en retourne arriere goutte.
Le temps s'en va, et rien ne dure,
Ne fer, ne chose tant soit dure;
Car il gaste tout et transmuë.
C'est celui qui les choses muë,
Qui tout fait croistre et tout mourir.'*

'The time that passeth night and daye,
And restlesse trauayleth aye,
And stealeth from us so privyly
That to us seemeth sikerly (surely)
That it in one point dwelleth euer,
And certes it ne resteth neuer,
But goeth so fast and passeth aye
That there nis man that thinke maye
What time that now present is,
Asketh at these clerkes this,
For menne (whilst) thinke it readily
The times been passed by.
The time that may not soiourne
But goth, and may neuer retourne,
As water that doun runneth aye
But neuer droppe retourne maye
There may nothing as time endure,
Metall, nor yearthly creature,
For all thing is frette (devoured) and shall, [be]
The time eke that chaungeth all,
And all doth waxe, and fostred be,
And all thing destroyeth he.†'

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* Les Poëtes François, depuis le XII. Siècle jusqu' à Malherbe. T. II. p. 111.

† The works of the English Poets from Chaucer to Cowper. By A. Chalmers. Vol. I. p. 174.

The death of Guillaume de Lorris is supposed to have taken place about the year 1261. Forty years after, the Romaunt of the Rose, which he left unfinished, was completed by Jean de Meun. To this man has been yielded the palm not only of being the greatest poet, but likewise of being one of the most learned men of his age. He died about the year 1320. Having been the scourge of the hypocrisy of the priests during his life, one of his last acts was a practical satire upon their cupidity. In his will he bequeathed to a convent of Dominican Friars, a large chest, which was not to be opened till after the death of the testator. Supposing from its great weight, that it was full of valuable effects, they gave the poet an honorable burial in their convent. No sooner were the funeral obsequies over, than they opened the strong box with eager curiosity, and found it full, not of money and precious articles, but of large squares of slate, covered with inexplicable mathematical figures and diagrams.

We regret that our limits will not permit us to give an extract from that part of the Romaunt of the Rose, of which Meun was the author. Many portions of it are very beautiful; particularly the description of the *Loves of the Golden Age*, when

> 'Les oyseaux *en leur latin*
> S'estudient chascun matin.'

We now come down to the fourteenth century. About the middle of this century flourished Jean Froissart, better known as a historian than as a poet. The following *Rondel*, which possesses both vivacity and *naïveté*, will show what improvement the French had made, both in phraseology and grace of style, during the last half of the thirteenth century and the first half of the fourteenth. And here it may be remarked, that we shall find the progress of the language more and more gradual, as we recede farther and farther from the ages of absolute barbarism; and that after a certain point of refinement has been reached, a whole century will not produce so great a change, as the lapse of a few years has produced at some previous epoch.

RONDEL.

> 'Amours, Amours, que voulés de moi faire?
> En vous ne puis veoir rien de seur;
> Je ne cognois ne vous, ne vostre afaire,

Amours, Amours, que voulés de moi faire?
En vous ne puis veoir rien de seur.

'Lequel vaut mieux, parler, prier ou taire?
Dites-le-moi vous qui avés bon eur:
Amours, Amours, que voulés de moi faire?
En vous ne puis veoir rien de seur.'

'Love, love, what wilt thou with this heart of mine?
Nought see I fix'd or sure in thee!
I do not know thee—nor what deeds are thine:
Love, love, what wilt thou with this heart of mine?
Nought see I fix'd or sure in thee.

Shall I be mute, or vows with prayers combine?
Ye who are bless'd in loving, tell it me:
Love, love, what wilt thou with this heart of mine?
Nought see I permanent or sure in thee!'

During the same epoch with Froissart, flourished the famous Olivier Basselin, whose name in poetic history takes the various shapes of *Vasselin*, *Bachelin*, *Bisselin* and *Bosselin*. He was the inventer of *Vaudevilles*, and a noisy apostle of *le bon vin*, and *le cidre de Normandie*. We cannot, however, make use of his writings in illustration of the state of the French language in his day, for it suffices to glance the eye over them, in order to perceive that they are not written in the style and language of that age, but have all been re-touched by a later hand.

As we advance into the fifteenth century, the mists of antique phrase begin to roll away, and we no longer grope along in the obscurity of a barbarous dialect, though occasionally an unknown word, or an idiom of outlandish aspect reminds us, that we are still in the land of strangers. During the first half of the century of which we speak, lived and flourished a poet of singular delicacy of thought, and wonderful sweetness of expression. This was Charles d'Orléans, father of Louis XII. and uncle of Francis I. Like James I. of Scotland, he was far in advance of his age in learning and refinement, and like the royal Scottish poet, passed a great portion of his life in sorrow and imprisonment. He was taken prisoner at the battle of Agincourt, and carried into England, where he remained twenty-five years in captivity. It was there that he composed most of his poetry. He died in 1467.

The following *Rondel* and *Renouveau* will exhibit the progress of the language during the above-mentioned epoch. And let it be recollected, that when we speak of the progress of the language, we do not refer to changes in orthography. Of this a word hereafter.

RONDEL.

'Allez-vous-en, allez, allez,
Soussy, soin et mélancolie;
Me cuydez-vous toute ma vie
Gouverner, comme fait avez?
Je vous promets que non ferez;
Raison aura sur vous maistrie
Allez-vous-en, allez, allez,
Soussy, soin et mélancolie.

'Si jamais vous retournez
Avecque vostre compagnie,
Je prie à Dieu qu' il vous maudie,
Et le jour que vous reviendrez:
Allez-vous-en, allez, allez,
Soussy, soin et mélancolie.'

'Hence away, begone, begone,
Carking care and melancholie;
Think ye thus to govern me
All my life long, as ye have done?
That shall ye not, I promise ye,
Reason shall have the masterie.
So hence away, begone, begone,
Carking care, and melancholie.

'If ever ye return this way,
With your mournful company,
A curse be on ye, and the day
That brings ye moping back to me:
Hence away, begone, I say,
Carking care and melancholy.'

The following *Renouveau*, or song, on the return of Spring, is full of delicacy and beauty.

LE RENOUVEAU.

'Le Temps a laissé son manteau
De vent, de froidure et de pluye,
Et s'est vestu de broderie
De soleil luisant, clair et beau.

Il n'y a beste, ni oyseau
Qu' en son jargon ne chante ou crye.
Le Temps a laissé son manteau
De vent, de froidure et de pluye.

'Riviere, fontaine et ruisseau
Portent en livrée jolie
Gouttes d' argent d' orfavrerie ;
Chascun s' habille de nouveau ;
Le Temps a laissé son manteau
De vent, de froidure et de pluye.'

'Now Time throws off his cloak again
Of ermin'd frost, and cold and rain,
And clothes him in the embroidery
Of glittering sun and clear blue sky.
With beast and bird the forest rings,
Each in his jargon cries or sings :
And Time throws off his cloak again
Of ermin'd frost, and cold and rain.

'River, and fount, and tinkling brook
Wear in their dainty livery
Drops of silver jewelry ;
In new-made suit they merry look ;
And Time throws off his cloak again
Of ermin'd frost, and cold and rain.'

We have before remarked, that in speaking of the progress of the French language, we did not refer to the changes of its orthography. We refer to its increasing richness, and force, and appropriateness ; to the harmony of its periods, the refinement of its idioms, the delicacy of its expressions, the ease, and elegance, and dignity of its style ; or in a word, to its approximation to a perfect medium of thought. In our judgment, therefore, of this point, we cannot rely much upon the changes of orthography ; for we often find, and particularly in the old French authors, great elegance of style and diction arrayed in the most uncouth orthography. This is strikingly the case with some of the provincial writers of the centre and south of France, both in the age of Charles d'Orléans, and at much later periods.* Of this we have full testimony in numerous

* Of how little importance the old French writers deemed the subject of orthography, may be inferred from a passage in Montaigne. 'Je ne me mesle, ny d'orthographe (et ordonne seulement qu'ils suivent l'ancienne) n'y de la punctuation : je suis peu expert en l'un et en l' autre.' Essais de Montaigne. Lib. III. ch. 9.

authors. Look, for example, into the writings of Clotilde de Surville, a poetess, who flourished contemporaneously with Orléans. Her style is in a high degree correct, harmonious, and polished, but her orthography is uncouth and provincial. Perhaps it was in reference to this, that Alain Chartier in his *Flour de belle rhétorique*, said of her, '*qu'elle n'auroit jamais l'air de cour:*' for assuredly *Maistre* Alain could not have referred to the polished ease of her versification, so much more courtly than his own. The following beautiful extract will illustrate our remark.

VERSLETS A MON PREMIER NE.

'O cher enfantelet, vray pourtraict de ton pere,
Dors sur le seyn que ta bousche a pressé!
Dors, petiot; cloz, amy, sur le seyn de ta mere,
Tien doulx œillet par le somme oppressé.

'Bel amy, cher petiot, que ta pupille tendre
Gouste ung sommeil qui plus n'est faict pour moy!
Je veille pour te veoir, te nourrir, te défendre....
Ainz qu'il m'est doulx ne veiller que pour toy!

'Estend ses brasselets; s'espand sur lui le somme:
Se clost son œil: plus ne bouge...il s'endort...
N'estoit ce tayn floury des couleurs de la pomme,
Ne le diriez dans les bras de la mort?

'Arreste, cher enfant!...j'en frémy toute engtiere!
Réveille-toy! chasse ung fatal propoz!
Mon fils!..pour ung moment...ah! revoy la lumiere!
Au prilx du tien rends-moy tout mon repoz!

'Doulce erreur! il dormoit...c'est assez...je respire;
Songes légiers, flattez son doulx sommeil!
Ah! quand voyray cestuy pour qui mon cueur souspire,
Aux miens costez, jouir de son réveil?'*

LINES TO MY FIRST BORN.

'Sweet babe! true portrait of thy father's face,
Sleep on the bosom that thy lips have prest!
Sleep, little one; and closely, gently place
Thy drowsy eyelid on thy mother's breast.

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*Bibliothèque choisie des Poëtes François. Tome II. p. 210.

'Upon that tender eye, my little friend,
Soft sleep shall come, that cometh not to me!
I watch to see thee, nourish thee, defend....
'Tis sweet to watch for thee—alone for thee.

'His arms fall down; sleep sits upon his brow;
His eye is closed: he sleeps....how still and calm!
Wore not his cheek the apple's ruddy glow,
Would you not say he slept on death's cold arm?

'Awake, my boy!....I tremble with affright!..
Awake, and chase this fatal thought!..unclose
Thine eye but for one moment on the light!
Even at the price of thine give me repose!

'Sweet error!—he but slept....I breathe again....
Come gentle dreams, the hour of sleep beguile!
Oh! when shall he, for whom I sigh in vain,
Beside me watch to see that waking smile?'

We pass over the writings of Villon, who also flourished in the fifteenth century. In comparison with Charles d'Orléans and Clotilde de Surville, he little deserves the high praise bestowed upon him by Boileau, who says,

'Villon sut le premier, dans ces siècles grossiers,
Débrouiller l'art confus de nos vieux romanciers.'*

We now come to that brilliant epoch in the history of the French language and literature, the reign of Francis I. in the sixteenth century. The better to conceive how much this prince, surnamed the *Father of Letters*, advanced the cultivation of his native tongue, it should be borne in mind, that until his day all public acts and documents were published in Latin, and that to him belongs the praise of having abolished this ancient usage, and ordered that *doresnavent tous arrets soient prononcés, enregistrés et délivrés aux parties en langage maternel François, et non aultrement.* This elevated the character of the language, and gave a new impulse to its progress. The new encouragement given to literature, and the new honors paid to literary men, seconded this impulse; and dur-

*L'Art Poëtique. Chant. I. Œuv. de Boileau. T. I. p. 249.

ing the single reign of this munificent prince, the French language made as much progress in ease and refinement, as it has made from that day to the present. Pre-eminent among the names of those authors, who were instrumental in effecting the improvement, stands that of Clement Marot, the most celebrated of all the ancient worthies of French poetry. Surrounded by the elegance and refinement of the French court, and guided by the counsels of his friend and preceptor Jehan Lemaire, he applied himself assiduously to the cultivation of his native tongue, and to establishing for it those rules and principles, which would give it permanence and precision, but which all previous writers had entirely disregarded. 'Marot,' says M. Augius, in his Discourse upon the Origin and Progress of the poetic language of France, 'had but one course to pursue; to leave the imitation of every other language, and seek for the genius of our own within itself: and this he did. The asperity of its terminations and connexions was the fatal quick-sand of our grammar; he adhered to those words and turns of expression, which had been smoothed by the constant attrition of good usage. He treasured up and employed every pleasing rhyme, and easy-flowing phrase, which by chance had fallen from the pens of more ancient writers; but it was in the cultivated and refined conversation of ladies of high rank, that he acquired the most delicate perception of the true harmony of language; it was from the natural beauty of their expressions, and the vivacity, clearness, and melody of their periods, that he drew his own honied sweetness, and learned the true character of our language. This was all, which at that period could be done; and it was doing much, to teach the future scholar, that the genius of the French language consists in its ease, its vivacity, its precision, and above all, in its perspicuity and directness.'*

The poetry of Marot was the delight of the court of Francis. In the opinion of La Harpe, though by the way we do not always pay unqualified respect to his opinions in matters of taste, his talent was infinitely superior to that of any who preceded him, or came after him, till the days of Malherbe. The following ballad will suffice as a specimen of Marot's versification, and his satiric vein.

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*Bibliothèque Choisie des Poëtes François. Discours Préliminaire. T. I. p. 20.

LE FRERE LUBIN.—BALLADE.

'Pour courir en post à la ville,
Vingt fois, cent fois, ne sçais combien;
Pour faire quelque chose vile,
Frère Lubin le fera bien.
Mais d'avoir honneste entretien,
Ou mener vie salutaire,
C'est affaire à un bon chrétien;
Frère Lubin ne le peut faire.

'Pour mettre, comme un homme habile,
Le bien d' autrui avec le sien,
Et vous laisser sans croix, ni pile,
Frère Lubin le fera bien.
On a beau dire je le tien,
Et le presser de satisfaire,
Jamais il ne vous rendra rien;
Frère Lubin ne le peut faire.

'Pour débaucher, par un doux style,
Quelque fille de bon maintien,
Point ne faut de vieille subtile,
Frère Lubin le fera bien.
Il presche en théologien;
Mais pour boire de belle eau claire,
Faites la boire à votre chien;
Frère Lubin ne le peut faire.'

ENVOI.

'Pour faire putost mal que bien,
Frère Lubin le fera bien;
Mais si c'est quelque bonne affaire,
Frère Lubin ne le peut faire.'*

FRIAR LUBIN.

'To gallop off to town post haste,
So oft, the times I cannot tell;
To do vile deed, nor feel disgraced,
Friar Lubin will do it well.
But a sober life to lead,
To honor virtue, and pursue it,
That 's a pious christian deed;
Friar Lubin cannot do it.

* Bibliothèque Choisie des Poetes François. Tome III. p. 56.

'To mingle, with a knowing smile,
The goods of others with his own,
And leave you without cross or pile,
Friar Lubin stands alone.
To say 't is yours, is all in vain,
If once he lays his finger to it;
For as to giving back again,
Friar Lubin cannot do it.

'With flattering words, and gentle tone,
To seduce the guileless maid,
Cunning pander need you none,
Friar Lubin knows the trade.
Loud preacheth he sobriety,
But as for water, doth eschew it;
Your dog may drink it—but not he;
Friar Lubin cannot do it.

ENVOY.

'When an evil deed 's to do,
Friar Lubin is stout and true;
Glimmers a ray of goodness through it?
Friar Lubin cannot do it.'

We have thus brought the poetic language down to the sixteenth century, the first truly remarkable epoch in its history. About the middle of the same century, it seemed to be fast relapsing into barbarism. Ronsard, a celebrated poet of the age, thinking the language poor and feeble, conceived the project of enriching it, by giving it the forms and phraseology of the Greek and Latin:

Et sa muse, en François, parla Grec et Latin.

This was like arraying the graceful limbs of a ballet-dancer in gyves and cuishes, or rather like equipping them with a ponderous suit of antique armor. The grace of the French language began to yield beneath the weight of a scholastic jargon and a cumbersome and pedantic erudition.*

* Montaigne, speaking of these innovators, says, 'Ils sont assez hardis et desdaigneux pour ne suivre la route commune; mais faute d' invention et de discretion les perd. Il ne s' y veoid qu' une miserable affectation d'estrangieté, des desguisements froids et absurdes, qui au lieu d' esleiver, abbattent la matiere. Pourvu qu' ils se gorgiassent en la nouvellet, il ne leur importe de l' efficace, pour saisir un nouveau mot; ils quittent l' ordinaire, souvent plus fort et plus nerveux.' Essais de Montaigne. Liv. III. Chap. 5.

Fortunately for the welfare of the French language and literature, a superior genius appeared to rescue them from the corruption of perverted taste. This was Malherbe. Endowed by nature with peculiar energy of mind and brilliancy of imagination, he so strenuously asserted the rights of his native tongue against all foreign usurpation, that he gained at court the appellation of the *Tyrant of words and syllables.* It is related of him, that but an hour before his death, his father-confessor speaking to him of the felicity of the life beyond the grave, expressed himself in language so vulgar and incorrect, that the dying poet exclaimed, 'Say no more of it; your pitiful style will disgust me with it.'

Malherbe is regarded by the French as the father of their poetry. To him belongs the glory of having first developed the full power of the French language in many of the various branches of poetic composition. 'Beauty of expression and imagery,' says a French writer, 'rapidity of movement and sublimity of ideas, enthusiasm, number, cadence, all are to be found in his beautiful odes. No one knew better than he the effects of harmony; no one possessed a more exquisite taste, or a more delicate ear. Grief and sensibility find beneath his pen expressions *naïves* and pathetic, and the form of versification follows naturally the emotions of the soul. We are filled with astonishment and admiration, when we compare his noble language with the barbarous style of the disciples of Ronsard. Thus was ushered in the brilliant age of Louis XIV.'

In the mean time, French prose remained uncultivated, and in a state of comparative barbarism, until the days of Montaigne, who flourished in the last half of the sixteenth century. Even Clement Marot is crude and obscure as a prose writer, and Rabelais,* his contemporary, soon fatigues even the most quaint and curious. The following extract is from a letter of François I. to Mademoiselle d'Heilli.

'Ayant perdu l' occasion de plaisante escripture, et acquis oubliance de tout contentement, n'est demouré riens vivant en ma mémoire que la souvenance de votre heureuse bonne grace, qui en moy a la seulle puissance de tenir vif le reste de mon ingrate fortune; et pourceque l' occasion, le lieu, le temps et commodité

* 'Ceux que rebutait son langage bizarre et obscur ont laissé là Rabelais comme un insensé; ceux qui ont trávaillé à la déchiffrer, ont exalté son mérite en raison de ce qu'il leur avait coûté d' entendre.' La Harpe; Cours de Littérature. T. II. Introduction.

me sont rudes par triste prison, vous plaira excuser le fruict qu' a meuri mon esperit en ce pénible lieu, et entendre que, en quelque peine, tourment, garde que puisse estre le corps, la volunté ne cherchera que la doulce occasion de faire chose qui vous puisse donner congnoissance que ce qui est demouré en lui libre et non mort n' est desdyé que à vous faire service : par quoy cest indigne présent de votre honneste veue sera, s' il vous plaist, recueilly, non comme son imperfection mérite, mais comme tribut de ma pensée : laquelle seulle, pour la nécessité de ma liberté, a considéré ne vous povoir faire autre service que vous rendre compte de ma misérable calamité, affin de vous convertir en autant de piteuse souvenance, comme a d' affection de vous servir, celui qui va dire :

> Triste penser et prison trop obscure,
> L' honneur, le soing, etc. etc.'
>
> Poët. Franç. T. III. p. 9.

The following passage is quoted by Bouterwek* from the writings of Rabelais, in illustration of the attempts to introduce into the French language the pedantic phraseology of scholastic learning, to which we have alluded above.

'Quelque jour, je ne sçay quand, Pantagruel se pourmenoit apres soupper avecques ses compaignons par la porte dont l'on va à Paris, la rencontra ung escholier tout joliet, qui venoit par icelluy chemin; et après qu' ils se feurent salüez, luy demanda; mon amy, dont viens tu à ceste heure ? L' escholier luy repondit : De *l' alme inclyte* et celebre academie, que l' on *vocite Lutece.* Qu' est-ce à dire ? dist Pantagruel, à ung de ses gents. C' est (respondit il) de Paris. Tu viens donc de Paris ? dist il. Et à quoi passez-vous le temps, vous aultres Messieurs estudians au dict Paris ? Respondit l' escholier : Nous *transfretons* la *Sequane* au *dilucule*, et *crepuscule:* nous *deambulons* par les *compites* et *quadrivies* de *l' urbe*, nous *despumons* la *verbocination Latiale:* et comme *verisimiles amorabons*, captons la benivolence de *l' omnijuge*, *omniforme* et *omnigene* sexe feminin, certaines *diecules.*'

A few years later, Montaigne became to French prose what Marot had been to French poetry. He did much to give energy and stability to what had before been vague, fluctuating and uncertain. Speaking of the language of his age, he observes :

'J' escris mon livre à peu d' hommes et à peu d' années. Si c' eust esté une matiere de durée, il l' eust fallu commettre à un

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* Geschichte der Poesie und Beredsam-Keit. Band V. S. 291.

langage plus ferme : selon la variation continuelle, qui a suivy le nostre jusques à cett' heure, qui peut esperer que sa forme presente soit en usage d' icy à cinquante ans ? Il escoule tous les jours de nos mains : et depuis que je vis, il s' est alteré de moitié. Nous disons, qu' il est à cett' heure parfaict. Aultant en dict du sien chaque siecle. Je n'ay garde de l' en tenir là tant qu' il fuira, et s' ira difformant comme il faict. C' est aux bons et utiles esprits de le cloüer à eulx ; et ira son credit, selon la fortune de nostre estat.'*

In another place, he speaks thus of his own language, and of the several dialects around him.

'Mon langage François est alteré, et en la prononciation et ailleurs, par la barbarie de mon creu. Je ne vy jamais homme des contrées de deçà,† que ne sentist bien evidemment son ramage, et qui ne blessast les aureilles qui sont pures françoises. Si n' est-ce par pour estre fort entendu de mon Perigourdin ; car je n'en ay non plus d' usage que de l' Allemand, et ne m' en chault guere. C' est un langage, comme sont autour de moy d'une bande et d' aultre, le *Poitevin, Xaintongeois, Angoulemosin, Lymosin, Auvergnat ;* brode, trainant, esfoiré. Il y a bien au dessus de nous, vers les montaignes, un *Gascon*, que je trouve singulierement beau, sec, bref, signifiant, et à la verité un langage masle et militaire, plus qu' aulcun aultre, que j' entende : aultant nerveux et puissant, et pertinent, comme le François est gracieux, delicat et abondant.'‡

In a third passage, he thus expresses himself upon the subject of his native language.

'En nostre language je trouve assez d'estoffe, mais un peu faute de façon. Car il n'est rien qu' on ne feit du jargon de nos chasses, et de nostre guerre, qui est un genereux terrein à emprunter. Et les formes de parler, comme les herbes s' ammendent et fortifient en les transplantant. Je le trouve suffisamment abondant, mais non pas maniant et vigoreux suffisamment. Il succombe ordinairement à une puissante conception. Si vous allez tendu, vous sentez souvent qu'il languit soubs vous, et fleschit : et qu'à son deffaut le latin se presente au secours, et le grec à d'aultres.'§

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* Essais de Montaigne. Liv. III. Chap. 9.

† Montaigne was born at Périgord ; consequently the *contrées de deçà* refer to the provinces south of the Loire.

‡ Essais de Montaigne. Liv. II. Chap. 17.

§ Essais, Liv. III. Chap. 5.

This opinion of the merits and defects of the French language as it existed in the days of Montaigne, is to a certain extent just, when applied to its present character. Its chief characteristics, as has been before remarked, are ease, vivacity, precision, perspicuity and directness. It is superior to all the other modern languages in colloquial elegance; and all who are conversant with the genteel comedy of the French stage, or have ever attended the theatrical exhibitions of the French metropolis, must have been struck with the vast superiority of the French language to the English in its adaptation to the purposes of conversation and the refinement of its familiar dialogue.* It possesses a peculiar point and antithesis in the epigram, a spirited ease in songs, and a most plaintive sweetness and simple pathos in ballad-writing. But in the higher walks of tragic and epic poetry it but feebly seconds the high-aspiring mind. The sound but faintly echoes to the sublime harmony of thought; the glorious conceptions of genius fall almost lifeless from the lips of the poet; and the imagination, instead of being borne onward and upward, on sounding wings, stoops to the long accustomed rhyme like a tired falcon to the hood and jesses on a lady's wrist.

It is not our purpose to inquire into the changes which have taken place in the French language since the days of Malherbe. They consist less in innovations and the introduction of new words, than in giving to words and forms of expression long in use their full force and appropriate signification, adapting them to new and striking uses, and, in a word, in bringing forward and displaying in proper light the treasures of the language. This change in the use of words may be shown by a familiar illustration, taken from the Psalms of Jean Baptiste Chassignet, a writer of the sixteenth century. His paraphrase of the XCII. Psalm commences thus:

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* The familiar and colloquial character of the French language is thus finely ridiculed by Voltaire, in his *Discours aux Velches:*

'Ne trouvez-vous pas que les noms de vos portes, de vos rues, de vos temples feraient un bel effet dans un poëme épique? On aime à voir Hector courir du temple de Pallas à la porte de Scée. L'oreille est aussi flattée que l'imagination amusée, quand les Grecs avancent de Ténédos aux rivages de Troye sur les rives du Simois et du Scamandre: mais, en vérité, pourrait-on peindre vos héros partant de l'église de *Saint-Pierre-aux-Bœufs* ou de *Saint-Jacques-du-haut- pas*, avançant fièrement par la rue du *Pet-au-Diable*, et par la rue *Trousse-vache*, s' embarquant sur la galiote de *Saint-Cloud*, et allant combattre dans la place de *Long Jumeau?*'

'Soit que du beau soleil *la perruque* empourprée
Redore de ses rais cette basse contrée; etc.'

Now in the modern acceptation of these words, what a ludicrous metaphor have we here! The sun in a *purple periwig* makes rather a queer figure amid the splendid imagery of the Hebrew Psalmist. But in Chassignet's day the word *perruque* was synonymous with *chevelure*, and the *perruque du soleil* was consequently a form of expression analogous to that of *La Chevelure de Bérénice*, or Berenice's Hair, deemed so poetical in modern usage.

But enough. We have thus taken a rapid, and in some respects a superficial view of the origin and progress of the French language. We have purposely confined ourselves to the general outline of the subject, rather than to seeking derivations, and tracing out analogies. When Ménage published his learned and critical work upon this subject, it was said of him, 'Ménage is the most troublesome man in the world; he cannot let a single word go, without a passport; he must know whence it comes, the road it has pursued, and whither it is going.' We have no fears of falling under an imputation of such rigid scrutiny. The increasing attention paid to the study of the French throughout this section of our country, and its importance as a branch of elementary and liberal education, sufficiently warrant us to devote a few pages of our Journal to this subject; and in so doing, we have dealt largely in extracts and illustrations, and have avoided trespassing on the precincts of etymology, in order to give the subject a more agreeable aspect in the eyes of our readers.

Art. II.—*Foreign Relations of Mexico.*

1. *Memoria de la Secretaria de Estado y del Despacho de Relaciones Interiores y Exteriores, leida por el Secretario del ramo el dia* 13 *de febrero de* 1830. Mexico, 1830.
2. *Memoria del Secretario de Estado y del Despacho universal de Justicia y Negocios Eclesiasticos el dia* 22 *de Marzo de* 1830. Mexico, 1830.

In a recent number of this Journal, we invited the attention of our readers to the domestic politics of the Republic of Mexico. It was a subject full of peculiar interest, and one to which we felt great diffidence of our ability to do justice. We

have no reason to retract any of the opinions we then advanced, whether relating to men or measures, or to believe, that in a very wide range of remarks we bestowed one word of unmerited praise or censure. The effect, however, of the scenes we endeavored to describe, on the opinions and affections of the rest of the world, involves questions wholly distinct from the judgment to be pronounced on the merits of party contests. In the narrative of the revolution, from its commencement to a period so recent as the elevation of Iturbide in 1821, when active warfare ceased, there is much pleasing matter for contemplation. Heroism and self-devotion worthy of a more romantic age, distinguished the patriot soldiers of Mexico. The annals of her peaceful times have no such honorable distinction, and have of late recorded little beside the convulsions of anarchy and faction. Bitter political resentments, productive of political persecutions of the most repulsive character, have stained the fair fame of our republican sister. Varied as the scene has been, the citizens of this country have derived much substantial benefit from the results which have been presented to their view; and now that the period of enthusiasm and fanciful sympathy is past, we may draw more than one salutary moral from the alternations of fortune which our fellow freemen have experienced. We may realize our obligations to our national ancestry. We may justly estimate the benefit of the severity of discipline which the settlers of this continent underwent, and which has produced the vigor of constitution and purity of moral temperament that make us what we are. We may thank a kind Providence for our free infancy, and last of all, we may find in the contrast another source of unlimited gratitude, in the perpetuation amongst us of a system of pure and rational religion, which has placed us at that point on the scale of intellectual being, where devout humility and aspiring reason blend, and where we may adore the God of revelation, without discarding the use of the high faculties he has bestowed on us.

Other more practical advantages have resulted from the observation of the irregularities and peculiarities of our fellow republicans' course. It has, we hope, enabled our statesmen to know the suitable relations of the American communities, and the conduct which, in our diplomatic intercourse, it is proper for us to pursue. On the minds of those who have had commercial experience, a more severe process has produced

the same salutary effect. In all, there was perhaps equal enthusiasm, and the same joyous anticipation when the curtain was first drawn, and the magnificent scene of a world, enjoying all the freshness of new born liberty, was presented to their view. The plain of Mexico, with its placid lakes reposing beneath the tranquillity of a tropical sky, its snowy hills, its palaces glittering in the morning beams, and all the smiling beauty of its peculiar scenery, was not a more exciting spectacle, when first viewed by the soldiers of Cortez, than was the moral scene thus developed to admiring man. 'The exultation of unfettered earth' was heard with unqualified delight, and awakened all the varied illusions of selfish enterprise and romance. The sphere of diplomacy and political influence was immeasurably enlarged. To the commercial speculator, there was opened a wide and unexplored wilderness for adventure. The perfect fabrics of the nineteenth century were to be as profitable, as were the glass beads, and tinsel of the first Spanish settlers. The regular channel of supply had been cut off by rebellion; and by the increased wants of the emancipated colonists, and their limited internal means of subsistence, a market was opened for foreign produce, which, in extent and probable durability, had never been equalled in the history of commercial enterprise. The population of Spanish America at the period of the revolution may be safely estimated at twenty millions, all thrown for support and wholly dependent on the world of merchants. The history of what ensued would fill an instructive volume. Those nations which were most liable to the inducements, as well from their situation and resources as from their powerful commercial marine, were Great Britain and the United States. On both, though in different degrees, the same results were produced, and each has acquired an amount of experimental knowledge, which may be useful in seasons of similar temptation.

In England, where the amount of available capital afforded the means of any investment, however insecure, a wildness of speculation ensued, to which we know of no parallel. It was not ordinary mercantile hazard, which in point of relative risk, is identical with the most regular of the doubtful pursuits of humanity. It was betting against the field on an untried horse; it was gambling, for aught that was known to the contrary, with sharpers and false dice; it was a lottery without a scheme, and of which nothing was known, but that on former

occasions rich prizes had fallen from the wheels. Of the blanks no record had survived. The history of the English Joint Stock Mining Companies, is curious and perfectly characteristic of the adventurous and credulous times in which our lot is cast. It is not consistent with the specific objects we now have in view, to dwell particularly on the origin and event of these speculations, to which we only refer as illustrative of the painful experience which the world has recently acquired; but as they form a prominent feature in the history of commercial intercourse with the Spanish American nations, we will bestow on them a hasty and passing remark.

All the mines worked by foreign capital have not utterly failed. So far, the persevering enthusiasts on this subject are justified in their constancy. But when the immense amount of foreign investment is, as it easily may be, ascertained, it will be seen how slight a qualification of actual and extensive ruin this partial success affords. It is but a drop of water on the feverish tongue. To take a single instance. The capital of the mining Leviathan at Real del Monte was four hundred thousand pounds; and if to this be added the premium of fourteen hundred pounds per share, which it attained in 1824, we may form something like an estimate of the amount which this experiment alone has cost the British public, without any tangible equivalent in the product of the mines. We have not at this time the means of ascertaining the actual receipts; but no safer guide is requisite than the fluctuation of the stock, and no more satisfactory proof of the failure of the scheme than the fact, that within two years the value of a share has sunk from the enormous advance to which we have referred, to a discount. An examination of such materials as recent publications on this subject have afforded, justifies the assertion that there is no substantial difference in the career and prospects of the foreign mining corporations in New Spain. '*Bonanzas*,' to use a technical phrase, there doubtless have been; but specious as are the descriptions of them, they have been really ineffectual in enabling the shattered hulks to stem the silent and powerful current which has been setting against them. The study of a London price current and the quotations of mining shares would be essentially instructive to any one afflicted with speculating propensities. From the immense amount of British investment, in Mexico particularly, one consequence has resulted. To this hour and amid all circum-

stances of despondency, there is a strong and natural reluctance to abandon the speculations. In 1828, Mr. Ward estimated the English investment alone at twelve millions sterling; a stake, it will be admitted, too large to be hastily and inconsiderately sacrificed; and the manifest object of his elaborate work, is to induce a renewal of confidence on the part of the stockholders, and to persuade them to make further advances to save what has already been spent. Such an effort may be natural, but will, we suspect, be unsuccessful. Had the political tranquillity of Mexico been uninterrupted, and had her rulers evinced a disposition to act with justice in their intercourse with foreign residents, the actual failure of the experiment, even though temporary, must have occasioned a panic; and panic, with or without cause, among capitalists and speculators, is contagious and fatal. To attempt to draw from men smarting under disappointment and confessed imposture, more supplies to arrive at a contingent result, or by any process of reasoning or array of facts to convince them, that the only real disappointment has been in the period of success, and that by dropping the line a little deeper, all the sunken and all expected treasures will be obtained, is idle and irrational in the extreme. Those who have so severely suffered are apt to construe such kindness into insult. When, as at present, mining shares are consigned to the same pigeonholes as South Sea bonds, and like our continental certificates, have become only historically valuable, it is beneath the dignity of sober counsel to endeavor to induce a resumption of confidence. The more manly, and we cannot but believe the more politic course, would be to advise the mining capitalists to wind up their ruinous schemes, to squander no more money in the hope of recovering what is irretrievably gone, to leave the wrecks of their speculations for the benefit of the Mexican proprietors, into whose hands by the terms of their contracts they must eventually fall, and to turn their experience to the best account, by deriving from it a stock of prudence, which will save them from future mischief. The unsettled state of the countries where their interests lie, the frequent revolutions which the administration of the government has undergone, the want of security which the legislative tactics, especially of Mexico, have occasioned, are all additional inducements of strong efficacy.

The policy of the Spanish rulers with regard to the mining interests was that of judicious liberality. While every other

branch of the colonial administration was directed by the spirit of narrow prejudice and false calculation, every facility which their peculiar system would permit, was afforded to those who were engaged in working the mines. It was the only relaxation which was allowed in a system of rigid monopoly and prohibition. On the organization of the new government a similarly beneficial course was pursued, and the foreign companies commenced their operations under auspices, so far as the local authorities were concerned, as favorable as they could wish. Along with other propitious symptoms, this protecting policy has now ceased to afford encouragement. No one can pretend to say how long it will continue, nor to how slight an impulse of mistaken interest it may yield. A new duty on the import of quicksilver, or on the export of coined or uncoined silver, in the event of a sudden receipt from the mines, may, to the anxious mind of the disappointed and irritated adventurer, be not less improbable than an instantaneous change in the valuation of foreign manufactures on the arrival of a number of valuable cargoes. Let us not be misunderstood. It is not our wish to detract from the credit which the government of republican Mexico has so deservedly acquired by the policy it has pursued in the cultivation of its mineral resources. In an early number of our Journal, will be found a cordial expression of opinion on this very point. We refer now to motives and suspicions likely to operate on the minds of the British capitalists, and of which the certain consequence will and ought to be the utter abandonment, sooner or later, of all the mining experiments, at least by those with whom they originated. The individuals who have had the largest stake in these enterprises, and those public censors who have thought it their duty to trace the progress of the disease, to ascertain its cause, and to fix the mark of reprobation somewhere, have emptied the vials of their resentment indiscriminately on all who, from any impulse, however honorable and natural, have contributed to the delusion; and, apparently unwilling to account for the wild aberrations of their countrymen, by attributing them to the influence of stock-jobbers and adventurers, have freely thrown the blame on travellers, whose motives are unimpeachable, and whose descriptions, though highly colored, have never been falsified. It has been a favorite theory with the leading journalists of Great Britain, to attribute the *mania* to unbounded reliance on the statements by Humboldt of the

mineral wealth of New Spain. We have always regarded this as eminently unjust. That illustrious man stands above the charge of wilful misrepresentation; and if unqualified faith in such of his minute statements as were accidentally incorrect have occasioned injury, the fault is not his. Reject, if necessary, all allowance for the influence of favorable circumstances, and a sense of obligation in biassing his judgment, and put him on a level with other travellers in unexplored and interesting countries, and it is impossible to make his accidental inaccuracies the legitimate subject of complaint or censure. Vast changes too have occurred since the period when he wrote. When the traveller who now visits Mexico walks through the principal street of the capital, the *Calle de Plateros*, and contrasts the deserted and paltry workshops with the magnificent deposits of plate and jewelry described by Humboldt, he will doubtless be disappointed, as must he be, who, with the recollection of the glowing description of the flourishing condition of many of their mining establishments, sees their present dilapidation. But there is no reason to believe, that in either case, his brilliant descriptions, made under a grateful sense of the unwonted privilege conferred on him by the Spanish court, were substantially incorrect. For a long series of years prior to the Revolution, the annual product of the mines averaged twenty-four millions of dollars, and the circulating medium regularly increased. Private fortunes were immense, the display of wealth incredible, and we cannot but think it unfair to join in denouncing a traveller as culpably unfaithful, because his descriptions, made in the midst of this season of prosperity, do not correspond with the realities of the present distress and embarrassment. Had Humboldt, however, never written a line upon the subject of the Mexican mines, the same state of things would have occurred. Enough was known to justify adventure, and had nothing been known, the very darkness and uncertainty would have been a sufficient incentive. Man has been called a gambling animal, and there are periods of national existence when the liability to this kind of hereditary disease seems to be materially increased, and when the latent propensity is actively developed. Commercial speculation would afford a worthy theme for the philosophical historian. When that record shall be made up, the mining *mania* of the nineteenth century will be the appropriate successor of the South Sea and Mississippi delusions; and we may draw from all

one inference, that nations, like individuals, will, when tempted, prefer lottery risks to wholesome industry, and that ruin and disgrace are marked on the tickets which fall from the pernicious wheels of chance.

But mining operations do not constitute the only mode of experience with regard to Mexico, which our transatlantic brethren have had. Loans to the new governments of America were equally abundant sources of speculation. In relation to the investments made by the British public on the confessedly contingent security of the mines, we are disposed to speak more in the tone of pity than rebuke; and while the feeling which the perception of such facility produces is almost that of contempt, it has no resemblance to that severe reprobation which every one ought to express at the deliberate swindling of the loan speculations. In the latter, there were two objects of injury; the governments to whom the apparent favor was done, and the purchasers of the debt, on whom the bankruptcy of the debtors has been directly visited. The process was a simple one. The moment when the necessity of the new community was the greatest, was cautiously watched; and when its agents were willing to accede to any terms to procure aliment to preserve its frail existence, a loan was offered at a heavy discount and with high interest. Any proposal, however exorbitant, was gladly received, and the usurious contract ratified. Here was the injury to the debtors. The bargain once completed, and the money advanced, the domestic operation commenced. The enthusiasm of the public, already and by causes of natural influence excited, was dexterously promoted; strained analogies, such, for instance, as the prosperity and financial fidelity of our government afforded, were resorted to; sources of confidence were discovered by the acute vision of the original creditors, the existence of which it was as difficult to disprove as to establish; the advantageous terms of the contracts were candidly exposed as in themselves authorizing the certainty of a vast eventual profit; the probable abundance of the mines, as increasing the pecuniary resources of the government, was collaterally brought to bear; in short, every inducement of possible efficacy was studiously developed, and the credulous and innocent were persuaded to become purchasers of the stock, and to regard the really worthless certificates as faithful symbols of substantial wealth. No casuistry can deny that this was actual fraud,—fraud, not of one expert

rogue upon another, but of which the helpless and innocent were the victims. The two great Mexican loans were those negotiated in London with the houses of Goldschmidt and Barclay. They are fair samples of their brethren. The amount of the liability of the young republic to the former house was sixteen millions of dollars at five per cent., for which, after deducting a discount of nearly sixty per cent., and an allowance for *commissions*, and an advance of interest equivalent to thirteen per cent., it received the meagre sum of five million nine hundred thousand dollars. The terms of the second, negotiated in 1824 with the house of Barclay & Co., were apparently more favorable, though in fact equally disadvantageous to the debtors, the discount and allowances being more reasonable, while the proceeds amounted, in consequence of accident, to less. It was nominally a loan of sixteen millions, the avails, so far as they can be ascertained, being not more than five million three hundred thousand dollars. Such, then, was the bounty of the British monied community to the struggling republics of America. The process of ruin, as affecting the purchasers of the debt, may be traced in the fluctuations of the stock from its original and factitious elevation, to its present low level; and the effect of republican bankruptcy has been visited with unmitigated and unmerited severity on the numerous holders of the transferred certificates. Every part of this operation seems to have been directed to one of two objects, extravagant profits on the original transaction, or the immediate transfer of the stock. Permanent security, it may be inferred, was never seriously contemplated; and the regularity, or even the certainty of payment, either of principal or interest, seem to have been lightly considered. In 1823, when the first loan was negotiated, who could pretend to calculate the chances of reimbursement, or ascertain results of any kind with even ordinary precision? The Spanish power had been overthrown, but the prostrate tyrant, though sorely wounded, was not yet dead. The experiment of self-government had not been made with perfect success. Iturbide's rise and temporary ascendency had been an ominous sign. The convulsions of intestine war had not subsided, nor the factious spirit of a revolutionary contest been subdued. A constitutional government could not be said to exist. All was dim uncertainty; and if the avowal of distrust might have been regarded as unkind, confidence, such as the English loan-

jobbers professed, was eminently absurd. Rational confidence is not however requisite to ensure the success of speculation; and all that is wanting, is the undefined enthusiasm which such a spectacle as the Spanish American revolution was calculated to excite. By those who felt the impulse of honest sympathy, no calculation was made. By those who did make the calculation, the result of the investment was supposed to depend wholly on the ultimate success of the political experiment; and the chances of wilful or involuntary abandonment of public faith, or of the accidental destruction of national credit by civil commotion, were never counted.

Such is the painful experience of Great Britain; and if we have omitted any notice of her direct commercial intercourse with New Spain and the other republics, it is because even the great benefits which she has thence derived, scarcely afford an equivalent for the injury and disgrace which have resulted from her other connexions with them.

The intercourse of this country with Mexico has been purely of a commercial character; and if there be a qualification of the favor with which we once regarded our neighbor, it has been produced by no such discreditable causes as have operated on the British public. We may state our complaints without a blush. With a single exception, no mining experiment originated in the United States; and in that instance, the event has been in perfect keeping with the failures abroad. The humble attempt of the Baltimore company to work a few of the silver veins at Temascaltepec scarcely deserves to be mentioned in the same breath with the gigantic schemes of the foreign capitalists. Yet humble as was the attempt, and complete as has been its failure, it is worthy of a passing remark, that from its progress, those who still have an interest in similar projects may derive a salutary lesson. In the English mining companies, an immense amount of money has been sunk by the profligate extravagance of the subordinate agents; who, both in their personal and official disbursements, seem to have been influenced by a conviction of certain remuneration. If ever a mining company deserved success, the American one did. On the part of the company, there was judicious confidence in its agents; on the part of the agents, conscientious and habitual economy and a sacrifice of personal convenience, which employers far more parsimonious would not have ventured to exact. It is with sincere pleasure that we pay this deserved tribute to the

disinterested and honorable conduct of the gentleman, who, for several years, was at the head of the only American mining company in New Spain; and that we express the conviction, that, had success depended on the ability or fidelity of the individuals to whom the execution of the scheme was intrusted, it would in this instance have been attained. But in games like these, the most that economy and fidelity can do, is to diminish the loss in case of failure. Success is far beyond the control of such incidents. It is in no spirit of unkind exultation or offensive pity, that we unequivocally express the opinion, that the actual failure of this isolated experiment has been fortunate even for the individuals concerned, and certainly for the community at large. There is enough of the morbid principle of speculation in this country to operate most perniciously, and its activity might easily be developed. Had the Baltimore company been enabled to declare a dividend, or made the slightest demonstration of even temporary success, the flame of mining adventure would have spread rapidly, and we might have seen, on a smaller stage and with less gorgeous apparatus, the same drama that was acted abroad. During the years 1826 and 1827, travelling agents were actively engaged in propagating the preliminary doctrines, and exhibiting encouraging specimens in one hand and flattering certificates (equally infallible testimonials) in the other. In each of the large cities of the Union, schemes were quietly preparing, which only waited for a shadow of encouragement to spring forth and solicit the credulous patronage of the public. There is surely no excess of severity in the opinion, that the partial success of such hazardous investments would have been essentially injurious, and that the still-born death of this deformed project is a result on which we may reasonably congratulate our fellow citizens. There are legitimate modes of investment which are entitled to preference;—experiments which, even in case of failure, operate beneficially on the community in which they originate, and in their progress develope some practical advantage, in the form either of scientific discovery or local improvement, which ultimately compensates for public disappointment. While on the other hand, an outlay in foreign countries, if unsuccessful, carries with it no consolation, but is attended with an aggravation of disappointment proportionate to the distance of the scene of action, and the amount of the means employed.

With this exception, the intercourse between the citizens of

this country and those of Spanish America, has generally been entirely of a commercial character. In the course of this association, many points of collision arising from difference of national character and education have been developed, and the opinions of individuals have varied with the variety of company, into which each one has been thrown. So far as the governments were concerned, there was originally on the part of our merchants little complaint of interference, there being too many sources of exclusive occupation to allow any time for commercial legislation. During the war, commerce was unrestrained adventure. So important were foreign supplies and foreign intercourse to the revolutionary party, that they had no inclination to devise obstructions; and it was not until after the turmoil of actual conflict had in great measure subsided, that the suggestion seems to have occurred, that commerce was a legitimate object of taxation; and that the foreign adventurers became aware of the existence in the government of a new party beside themselves, and those with whom they traded. Since that intervention, there has been a series of annoyances and embarrassments experienced by foreign merchants generally, and those of this country in particular, which would of itself be sufficient to account for the alteration of feeling to which we have referred.

We do not mean to say, that the grievances of a few merchants are in themselves sufficient to stifle natural sympathy, or induce national antipathy. In most instances, merchants have their own successful mode of redress, and commercial embarrassment of this kind will often fail to light the fires of public resentment. But it is when the perception of wilful injustice on the part of a government, both in doing wrong and refusing redress is forced upon us, and when national character is painfully illustrated in the course of commercial intimacy, that disappointment ceases to be unreasonable; and that we may so far forget our romance as to admit, that, although in theory, we ought to be enthusiastic friends, we have seen enough to put an end to the confidence of cordial association. The fact cannot be disputed, that in relation to the Spanish American nations, there has been a universal and unfavorable change of feeling. That with regard to Mexico, our neighbor and most natural friend, the abatement of affection in this country has been most sensible, is equally true. The history of our relations, commercial and diplomatic, conclusively es-

tablishes this position; and it is with no diminution of kind feeling, so far as abstract principles are involved, but with an earnest wish, that a candid exposition of opinion on these points may have a decided and beneficial effect both at home and abroad, that we refer to this matter now, with the intention of incidentally illustrating it.

It is not our design to present to our readers a detailed exposition of the injuries of which this country and its citizens have a right to complain. We could not do the subject justice, within the limits which are assigned to us. The claims on republican Mexico, though inferior in amount and actual pecuniary importance, involve as much flagrant injustice as ever exasperated the victims of imperial decrees or orders in council. There are many, the narrative of which would be deemed unworthy of credit. They have all, we presume, been made the subject of complaint and intercession on the part of our diplomatic agents, and all, so far as we are informed, are to this hour unsatisfied. We shall not open the account, to call the attention of our readers to the items. It is enough for the specific object we have in view, to point out less selfish sources of disappointment and dislike, and to trace their progress through the domestic history of the republic, and its diplomatic intercourse with us. The state of feeling in this country towards Mexico is peculiar, and more resembles the sadness of wounded affection, than the irritation of wanton or jealous resentment. It has more of sorrow in it than of anger. Such a relation, however contradictory to theory and romance, may easily be accounted for; and, by a reference to recent experience and the results of dispassionate observation, may be proved to be perfectly reasonable. It is with this view, that we refer to the foreign relations of our immediate neighbor, and to the extensive circumstances which have contributed to qualify the feelings of the rest of their fellow men. We do it, and we say this to silence the enthusiast who may cavil at our motives, with a sincere regret, that such a result should have been produced, and with perfect faith in the abstract and practical beauty of a system of distinctive Americanism, raised on the foundation of republican institutions, and cemented by national kindness and good will.

The radical causes of this unfortunate state of feeling on our part, are to be found on every page of the civil history of the new republic. Some of them are interwoven with the defec-

tive principles of her political institutions; some arise from the moral constitution of the people; some, of a more tangible, though not more effective character, are to be discerned, as we have already intimated, in the occasional collision of the members of the two communities, in the injuries to commercial interests, and in perverse disregard of diplomatic courtesy and national friendliness. To the anomalies in the political institutions of Mexico we had occasion formerly to refer; and slight as some of them apparently are, they constitute a fund of unpleasant objects for the contemplation of their fellow republicans, which has been of great efficacy in producing the change of feeling we have described. The sympathies of the mass of the people of the United States were awakened and kept in activity less by the positive and essential merits of the patriot cause, than by the analogy which was so easily traced between their revolutionary struggle and ours. It may now be a question, whether there was not more poetry than truth in the theory of resemblance; but in the season of enthusiasm, of natural and honorable enthusiasm, the accuracy of the likeness was not material. We saw an indignant people breaking the fetters of colonial tyranny, and it required no wonderful activity of imagination, and implied no extravagance of national vanity to believe, that the example which our ancestors had set was the exciting cause and guiding principle of our Spanish American brethren.

> ———Parvam Trojam, simulataque magnis
> Pergama, et arentem Xanthi cognomine rivum
> Agnosco, Scææque amplector limina portæ.

In the delusion which the sight of this partial similitude produced, the points of difference were forgotten, and all the repulsive features of the drama were lost sight of. We did not recollect the accidental impulse given to the revolutionary spirit by events in Europe; the horrors of the conflict, stained by excesses and barbarities unheard of in civilised warfare; the comparative degradation of the patriot cause for a long series of years; we put out of view the irregular character of the contest, rarely rising above the level of *guerilla* combat, and conducted generally without any indication of military ability; we forgot that the scene was one exclusively of war and desolation, and that civil distinction, such as illumined the characters of our Morris and our Franklin, had no existence

in the dark atmosphere of this wild conflict. There was no one man, raised like the Father of our country, above reproach; no object, like the beautiful peak of Orizava, of untainted and unvarying lustre, for elevated and unwearying contemplation. These were points of dissimilarity, which, though plain enough now, were not seen then, and the resemblance being once believed to be perfect, the sympathy was complete. When the war ceased and independence was acquired, we were further gratified by the avowed imitation of our example in the adoption of a federal form of government, and we all recollect the glow of pleasure and pride which every one felt and acknowledged, when it was ascertained that this course would be adopted by our neighbors. But here the resemblance ceased, and from this period the tide of approving sympathy began to ebb.

Among the incidents of the kind we have alluded to, the anomalous recognition of an exclusive ecclesiastical establishment is unquestionably the most prominent. Of the iron net, with which the energies of this portion of humanity were enveloped, the surest thread was that which ecclesiastical tyranny had woven. It was strengthened by obdurate prejudice, and had become by habit and early education, matter of conscientious obligation. The Viceroy, the Intendant, or any subordinate member of the secular government might forfeit, by acts of folly or oppression, all deference and regard on the part of the colonist; but the priest, as the minister of divine authority and its unquestioned agent to control and absolve, could not. Not only was the clerical domination sustained by the sanction of reward and punishment in a world to come, enforced by solemn pageantry and awful ceremonial, but by the more palpable efficacy of immediate retribution here. The fires of the Inquisition have not been long extinguished in our hemisphere. The ashes are scarcely cold. As long as the unity of despotism was preserved by the concurrent and harmonious operation of secular and ecclesiastical control, so long did the structure of European power stand in unshaken security; but the moment that the affection of the clergy for existing institutions was withdrawn, the gloomy fabric tottered to its fall. The erection of an independent ecclesiastical interest was the most ominous symptom in the revolutionary disease; and as soon as the alliance of the clergy with the patriotic party was ascertained, the catastrophe was within the

scope of a limited foresight. Unnatural as was this connexion in point of principle, it was most beneficial in its immediate results. The sacred banner of the Virgin, which had led the soldiers of Cortez to conquest, and had floated over many a scene of slaughter and persecution, was for once displayed in a holy cause, and the principles of truth and liberty were proclaimed by intolerance itself. When the conquest was achieved, and the merits of the conquerors were to be graduated, the clergy were unwilling to resign their claim for gratitude, or the influence it necessarily gave them; and their rights, extravagant and pernicious as they are now thought, were tacitly, perhaps willingly, recognised. The equally singular spectacle was then exhibited, of the promulgation of the vital principles of bigotry and conscientious despotism by the neophytes of freedom. The inconsistency gave a jar to the even course of our enthusiastic sympathy, from which it has never recovered. By the third article of the Federal Constitution, the Roman Catholic religion is to be the established religion of the State; and by the hundred and seventy-first article, as if from the apprehension of an unpropitious change of sentiment, it is declared that the former provision is *unalterable.*

The influence of this recognition of hierarchical authority on the condition of the citizens of the Republic, presents an object of most interesting speculation. We believe that it has tended more than any other circumstance, to degrade and to disgrace it; and that religious innovation, had it been contemporaneous with political enfranchisement, would have produced the happiest results. Sound religious sentiment, and we are aware that we utter an opinion far from acceptable in these days of liberalism, operating through individuals on the conduct of government, is an element of national honor and prosperity. But it must be religion 'pure and undefiled.' Our theory rests on the old fashioned doctrines, that humanity needs every mode of control to keep it in the path of moral rectitude, and that the government which is administered by those who acknowledge the obligation of religious duty, and are actuated by no other motives, is the best, and will eventually be the most successful. When the first pacific lawgiver of Rome feigned a heavenly origin for his laws, and divine sanction for their continuance, he manifested a spirit of pure and profound philosophy; and history tells us, that the aspect of a community operated on by religious impulses, and devoted to the performance

of religious duty, impressed the surrounding barbarians with salutary awe. The classical student will recollect the passage of the most eloquent of Roman annalists, where this effect is described.* Feeble and uncertain as was the religious feeling of antiquity, when contrasted with that which has been developed by the genial influence of revealed truth, it depended on the same principle of human nature,—the sense of dependence on a superintending power. It is a principle far beyond the sneer and sarcasm of infidelity. It is developed in the hymn of the Scottish soldiers on the eve of battle, and in the devotion of the Syrian warriors, who, in the heat of conflict, kneeled and adored the rising sun. Dogmatic theology and religious persecution were alike unknown to the ancient world; and it has been reserved for modern and more enlightened times, to exhibit pure religion deformed by bigotry and intolerance. In republican Mexico, this unhallowed alliance has been attended with its natural consequences, and the essence of Christianity seems to have been sublimed and past away. It might be thought an excess of illiberality, and would unquestionably be unjust, were we to say without qualification, that no such thing as religion is to be found in our sister republic; but we think it would be difficult for the most sagacious enthusiast in the cause of the new communities, to separate from the overwhelming masses of fanaticism and infidelity, more than a very minute portion of pure Christian sentiment. The outward signs are abundant. In 1826, on the festival of San Felipe, the national saint, canonized by act of Congress, the President walked in solemn procession, in company with a gigantic effigy of the Devil; and long since that time, the attention of a stranger was painfully attracted by a human hand exposed at the corner of one of the most crowded streets of Mexico, which had been cut off for sacrilege, and was festering in the public gaze. Religion, purifying and elevating public opinion, may emphatically be said not to exist.

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*'Ad hæc consultanda procurandaque, multitudine omni a vi et armis conversa, et animi aliquid agendo occupati erant, et Deorum assidua insidens cura, cum interesse rebus humanis cœleste numen videretur, eâ pietate omnium imbuerat, ut fides ac jusjurandum, proximo legum ac pœnarum metu, civitatem regerent: et cum ipsi se homines in regis, velut unici exempli, mores formarent, tum finitimi etiam populi, qui ante, castra, non urbem, positam in medio ad sollicitandam omnium pacem, crediderant, in eam verecundiam adducti sunt, ut civitatem, totam in cultum versam Deorum, violari ducerent nefas.' Liv. I. 21.

The direct influence of the clergy rests, however, on constitutional privilege; and the period is yet remote, when that privilege is to be withdrawn. The absolute and relative condition of ecclesiastical authority, appears from a statement in one of the official papers, the title of which we have affixed to this article. In 1827, according to the Report of Don Miguel Ramos de Arispe, there were in orders about eight thousand one hundred and fifty individuals, including both the regular and secular clergy. In 1830, the present Minister of Ecclesiastical Affairs estimated the clergy at seven thousand four hundred, who, according to his classification, were divided as follows: three thousand two hundred parish clergy, six hundred attached to the colleges and schools, one thousand seven hundred friars, and about one thousand nine hundred nuns. In the report the secretary says, that the number had been very much diminished during the preceding year, in consequence of the vacancy of nearly all the episcopal sees, and the difficulty of procuring regular investiture. The small difference between the numbers at the two periods to which we have referred, has been to us a matter of surprise; as in the interval, the expatriation of the Spanish residents occurred, of whom a large portion were attached to some one or other of the orders of monks and parish priests. It never, however, has been asserted that the ascendency of the clergy is to be mainly attributed to their numerical strength; for by a comparison with any one of the exclusively Catholic countries of Europe, and especially with Spain, it is evident that in this respect Mexico is in a far better condition than has been generally supposed. In 1820, the population of Spain was estimated at twelve millions; of whom about one hundred and sixty thousand were devoted to the church. In Mexico, a vast influence is indirectly exercised by means of the great amount of landed property held in mortmain; and it is that influence, sustained by gorgeous and imposing ceremonial and sacred pageants, daily and hourly exhibited, by the control of auricular confession and other assumed attributes of the church, operating on a great and unenlightened population, which degrades and dishonors it. By assuming the direction of conscience, it seems to have destroyed the moral tone of the community; and by usurped powers of absolution and remission, has given a different and local direction to individual responsibility. By its continuance, dependent on the partial illumination of those over whom it is extended, intellect-

ual as well as moral improvement is retarded, and by its fatal tendency, it deadens the purest and holiest of human impulses, and covers with its pestilential waves, a soil destined for noble and beneficial culture. On the part of those who advocate as a point of expediency, this strict ecclesiastical control, the only practical suggestion which is made, is, that the interests of education are promoted exclusively by the clergy in the seminaries under their superintendence; and that public charity, and the encouragement and support of asylums and hospitals, depend wholly on them. That in the former particular, the exclusive interests of the clergy in Spanish America deserve consideration, we have already incidentally denied. We freely admit, that in the cause of charity and benevolence, and in ministering to the necessities of their fellow men, the Catholic monks and secular priests have been active laborers. In every city of the Republic, the traveller finds noble institutions, endowed by clerical munificence, for the reception of the sick and employment of the poor; and he will see the aged and venerable friars performing the humble duties of hospital attendants, with anxious and honorable assiduity. But after all, the promotion of such objects is far from being an equivalent for the other incidents to hierarchical thraldom; and the partial alleviation of the occasional sufferings of humanity, but slightly compensates for the general torpor of religious servitude. It is besides, incompetent for the zealous advocates of intolerance, and in a measure, persecution, to take credit for charity and good will to their fellow men. They belong not to the same dispensation. Beautiful as is the theory of the ministration of the special agents of the Almighty, in the work of charity, and great as may have been the benefits secured in former times, in this particular, by the monasteries and convents in Mexico, the practical advantage is now, we believe, far from considerable. In the city of Puebla, the second in the Republic, (we now speak from actual observation,) in the year 1827, in two of the largest and most commodious of the public hospitals, under the care of the Franciscan Monks, where every convenience and comfort were gratuitously supplied by the directors, not a single inmate was to be found, while the streets of the city and suburbs were swarming with squalid wretches, deformed with every variety of loathsome disease, and depending for subsistence on the *limosna*, which their unceasing supplications could procure. It is idle and irrational, therefore, to

pretend, that the sole remedy for pauperism and misery is to be supplied by the ecclesiastical institutions.

Before leaving this topic, we will avail ourselves of the opportunity of paying a just tribute to the clergy of Mexico, for what in one particular they have done. During the horrors of the Revolution, whenever the storm of war, impelled by either party, approached the large cities of the Republic, and threatened them with pillage and desolation, and the noble institutions they contained with destruction, the powerful arm of the church was stretched forth, and its irresistible influence exerted to preserve them. No considerable city, except Guanajuato in 1810, and then the assailants were led by one claiming clerical authority, was violated during twelve years of civil war. This honorable result is due, as we have intimated, to the exertions of the clergy; and we cheerfully consent to allow all possible qualification of hostility to ecclesiastical supremacy which it can effect. Besides this isolated circumstance, we know of nothing in the least calculated to reconcile us to the consequence we have deplored. It has always struck us as remarkable, that as a body of men, the regular clergy of New Spain should have had so little honorable distinction of any kind. Devoted to seclusion and solitary occupation, it would seem reasonable, that there should be found among them men of extensive and profound learning, and scholars, in the most elevated acceptation of the word. And yet we never remember to have heard or read of one. In walking through the beautiful gardens and dim corridors of the great Mexican convents, where the voice of the surrounding world is effectually excluded, where no sound is heard but the murmuring of the fountains, and where every object reposing in undisturbed serenity is consecrated to private and solemn meditation, the first and most natural suggestion is,—how fit a place for study!—how suitable a spot for profound and undisturbed reflection!—and yet of the thousands who have lived and died within these walls, there is no one who has left a trace of intellectual exertion, or a vestige of useful labor for the benefit of the world. In one monastery, where, on crossing the threshold, the guide in a whisper informs the stranger, that within its limits the human voice is never heard, and the pious monks worship God in silence, as no sound arises but the echo of occasional footsteps, who can refrain from thinking how useless has all this seclusion proved, and how little consistent with christian usefulness and

christian piety is this unnatural solitude; how much gloom must hang round the cell of the devout, and how much bitter disappointment and passion must agitate the bosom of him who from his solitude looks back wistfully on the world? Fancy has hallowed the cell of the anchorite, but in sober truth no one will deny, that piety loses its fairest charms by seclusion. It is a principle intended for wide and extensive influence, to be seen, to be felt, to be loved, not like the beautiful orange groves of the convent gardens, to be planted remote from the gaze and admiration of mankind. Monachism in its least repulsive form, where it is adorned by scholarship and intellectual accomplishments, is not an agreeable object of contemplation, but where, as in Mexico, it presents a wide field of utter desolation, it is sad and melancholy beyond expression.

In religion so illustrated and so administered, the impartial world will never find that element of national prosperity and honor, which the framers of the Mexican constitution seem to have had in view. When a purer religious feeling will be generated, we will not pretend even to conjecture. A painful process must first be undergone. The work of spiritual emancipation has begun and is now going on, and is characterized by the usual gradations of feeling and opinion. Unmitigated superstition is yielding to general infidelity, and in the conflict between the bigot and the freethinker, morality is forgotten, and the beneficent spirit of our religion is forced to suspend its sway. The change cannot be sudden, and how gradual it will be, it is impossible to say. The ecclesiastical domination must be broken, the indirect influence of the clergy qualified, and at last we shall see the force of public opinion in the form of religious licentiousness, or in some less repulsive guise, operating on the legislation of the Republic, and compelling an alteration of the unalterable clause of her charter.

We have occupied too much space with our cursory observations on this source of foreign disaffection, to say more than a passing word on the moral condition of the community, as illustrated by those who have had an opportunity of becoming acquainted with it. It is a subject on which we have no inclination to dilate. We do not believe there is a capital of equal size in the world, entitled to more ignominious distinction in point of general immorality, than the city of Mexico. Public opinion, so far from checking, encourages license. Domestic

virtue in high society is a flower which rarely blooms; gallantry is systematized; every lady of rank has her regular and avowed admirer, and conjugal infidelity finds excuse and provocation in libertinism and neglect. Of the varied checks imposed by Providence upon the degrading passions of our nature, the highest in the scale is religion, the next is female influence. It was their combination which gave to chivalry its poetical, and which gives to true civilization its actual grace. As a chastener of the morbid propensities of humanity, the love of woman, using the word in its most exalted sense, is a moral agent of surpassing power; and as it often exists without the other element of our constitution to which we have just referred, so it may often without its aid effect the most salutary restraint. The lover who invests his mistress, if not with the attributes of perfection, at least with the charms which approach nearest to them, and who looks to the forfeiture of her pure affection as the severest of misfortunes, has a motive to virtue which rarely fails. The husband who regards the wife of his bosom, not only with love but with pride, has the same impulse in a different, but not less persuasive form. Where the level of female influence is low, where it is acknowledged only as a minister of sensual appetite, and where the female character is divested of the romantic purity which belongs to it, and made like Don Juan's successive heroines, only the object of licentious passion, we despair of witnessing moral beauty in any form. Domestic society has been beautifully described by a contemporary writer,* as 'the seminary of social affections, the cradle of sensibility, where the first elements are acquired of that tenderness and humanity which cement mankind together;' without female ascendency, this pure association can have no existence, and in its absence, we discern one of the darkest moral blemishes of the Mexican community. Besides this general tinge, there are various shades in the picture to which we can merely allude. Gambling is the peculiar and besetting sin, and is practised to an extent and with a refinement scarcely conceivable. From the humblest *rancho* to the largest city of the Republic, the ruling passion is developed in one form or another. '*Mother Monte*' reigns a monarch over willing sub-

* Rev. Robert Hall, of Bristol, England, whose eloquent works have recently, and for the first time, been collected and published at Andover, Massachusetts.

jects, and through every gradation, from the paltry *quartillo* lottery hawked about the squares and *portales* of the capital to the magnificent gambling houses and cock-pits of San Augustin, we may trace this corroding poison, destroying the very elements of public virtue and happiness. Some idea of the extent of this mode of licentiousness may be formed, when we are told, that immediately before the great festival which is annually celebrated at San Augustin de las Cuevas, the price of doubloons is considerably enhanced; and we are sustained in our assertion in regard to the misdirection of public opinion by the notorious fact, that the most distinguished men in the nation, some of them high in office, the prominent candidates for the most important offices, are to be seen participating in the brutal excitement of the 'Plaza de Gallos.' It is a question which we will leave to the enthusiast to answer as he pleases, whether individuals tainted with such propensities and addicted to such pursuits can be the safe depositaries of public trusts; whether the failure of the political experiment, made with such instruments is to be wondered at; and whether disgust or disappointment on the part of the rest of the world, is matter of reasonable complaint. It is a trite but instructive truth, sanctioned by all experience, that private and public virtue are inseparable, and the question long since asked by the poet has been fully answered;

> 'When was public virtue to be found,
> Where private was not? Can he love the whole,
> Who loves not part? He be the nation's friend,
> Who is, in truth, the friend of no man there?
> Can he be strenuous in his country's cause,
> Who slights the charities, for whose dear sake
> That country, if at all, must be beloved?'

For ourselves, we trust no morality that is not founded on a stern sense of religious obligation; and we deny the possibility of permanent political prosperity, unsustained by individual integrity in every relation, private as well as public, familiar as well as general. That there are in Mexico many individuals of high moral worth and unblemished domestic character, it is not our wish nor intention to deny. Our remarks are of course general in their application, and our theory, founded on an attentive consideration of the whole subject, is, that, with the numerous examples of virtue that may be pointed out, and with all the qualification which they may afford, there is a radical

defect in the moral constitution of the community, which we most cordially lament. It is their supposed superiority in this respect, that has occasioned our earnest wishes for the permanent success of the present dominant party in Mexico. We believe the moral strength of the party which have administered the government since the revolution of Jalapa in 1829, to be unquestionably greater than that of their opponents, and we rely on that powerful agent to secure their ultimate triumph.

It is to the concurrent operation of all these causes, with many others of less importance, that we attribute the diminution of good will to our sister republic on the part of the great body of our fellow citizens. In the dark blemishes of religious intolerance and moral debasement, the one necessarily blending with the other, our neighbors may find the secret of that estrangement, of which they sometimes so bitterly complain. We hope that in each particular the hour of change is at hand, and, though the dawn but glimmers, we indulge the pleasure of tracing in these the faint streaks of light, the approaching day of genuine religion and morality. Our business, however, is rather to dwell on the present and the past than to speculate on the possibility and probable period of future improvement; and we hope we have sustained our assertion, that the unfavorable judgment which the world generally, and our countrymen especially, have been compelled to form, is neither unkind nor unjust.

We have time to say but a word on the diplomatic relations of this country with Mexico. It is a subject of great and increasing interest, and one to which on some future occasion we may call the attention of our readers in all its detail. We refer to it now, having already transgressed our limits, merely with a view to remove a false impression, which has been generally made. Our diplomatic intercourse with Spanish America has unquestionably been unfortunate; and the facts are strongly contradictory of theory, that with but one, and that a second rate republic, which has since been awfully convulsed by intestine feuds, have the agents of our government been able easily to negotiate treaties; and that the great project of promoting harmony of feeling and action on points of common interest, proved utterly abortive through the enmity of some, and the lukewarmness of all the Spanish American authorities. It is, we are aware, a common opinion that this estrangement is to be attributed to the intrigues and machinations of European

and especially British agents; and that there is a certain ill-defined foreign influence unceasingly working to our injury, which affords a convenient explanation of all international difficulties. We deny the facts on which this theory is founded. On the minds of inexperienced men, like those who have directed the administration of affairs in the new republics, the influence of a great community like Great Britain necessarily and naturally operates, and we have no doubt, that its agents for obvious reasons have endeavored to maintain it; but we have yet to be convinced, that the diplomatic representatives of our great rival carry general instructions to foment discord and foster jealousy, and that the first and great object of their missions is to make the new governments believe, that their prosperity depends on their persevering hatred to their elder republican sister. We say this in no excess of favor towards British tactics, but in the absence of all evidence to support the opposite theory.

If the British government have acquired great or even unbounded influence on the affairs of Spanish America, it is a result so natural, that we are not disposed to complain of it; and it by no means follows, that it is an exclusive, or, as respects ourselves, an injurious influence. So far as we are informed, it has been the means of gaining no important preference in negotiation. It has effected no exclusion; it has wrought no exemption on one side, or imposition on the other; it has secured no substantial benefit to a Briton, which an American has lost. When our late Minister to Columbia was involved in difficulty at the capital of that Republic, the British *Chargé d'Affaires* fell under an equal weight of suspicion and displeasure; and with less apparent provocation, was the object of as much aggravated and deliberate insult. When Mr. Poinsett, in the early part of his negotiations at Mexico, urged the signature of a commercial treaty on principles of reciprocity between the contracting parties, and equality of privilege with regard to the rest of the world, the only obstacle was a preference, which it was desired to give, not to Great Britain, but to the republics of Spanish origin. In the treaty signed previously by the British Ministers, a provision to this effect had been admitted, and the only subject of complaint on our part was the reluctance expressed by the Mexican negotiators to give us a preference over England, whom they naturally regarded as a useful ally, and from whom they had received substantial favors. When in the year 1826, the executive

authority of Mexico, by an act of as high-handed tyranny as the annals of commercial grievance record, suddenly raised the valuation of *mantas*, or coarse cotton goods, so as to impose an additional duty of fifty per cent., the injury affected with equal severity the European and American merchants, and the remonstrances of the British diplomatic agent were more than moderately indignant. In short, we have never been able to define to our minds this unbounded transatlantic control, which has been supposed to exist, or to trace it in any substantive benefit or privilege, that it has secured. When we read in the journals of the day, that on the occasion of the death of the late Duke of York, the Mexican public authorities clad themselves in mourning and commemorated the event with every sign of national woe, we smile at the absurdity and bad taste of the exhibition, but we do not see in it an omen of pernicious foreign ascendency. Those who for want of more appropriate subjects of speculation, harass themselves by turning such mole-hills into mountains, might be reminded, that in one of our own commercial cities, on the death of the King of England, a number of newspaper printers and ship-masters paid a public tribute of respect to the consular representative of the British government in that place, and incidentally, of regret for the loss he was bound to deplore. We presume an inference of baneful foreign influence would be as fair in one case as in the other.

Let us not be misunderstood. We do not mean to say that Great Britain has no decided influence in Mexican affairs. We are ready to concede, that she has more than any other nation, and that were the allies of the new republic to be graduated, England would stand higher on the scale than we do. We are even willing to go one step further, and to say, that because, on account of circumstances with which our readers are well acquainted, such as the loans and mining investments, it is natural, therefore, it ought to be so. But we do not believe that all or any of our difficulties with the new States of America, are to be attributed to the machinations of European agents, and are disposed to give some credit to the friendly expressions more than once used in Parliament, by distinguished members of the late British ministry.*

* We particularly refer to the speech of Sir R. Peel, in the debate of the 20th of May, 1830, on the petition of the merchants of Liverpool.

We have thus endeavored to define our feelings towards our sister republic, and to indicate the causes which have produced them. Points of essential dissimilarity resulting from peculiarities of education and discipline, dark blemishes on their political charters, subjects of accidental collision, have all combined to produce the abatement of affection on our part which we now deplore. Much as we regret the state of feeling we have described, and widely as it differs from the cordial sympathy we once hoped to feel, it is highly important that those who have the guidance of our foreign policy should fully realize it. Let our agents to the Spanish American governments be directed to attend exclusively to the legitimate objects of their missions, and to act upon the safe principles of ordinary and honest negotiation, without reliance upon sympathies and affections which, as they will discover, have no existence. What they have a right to claim, let them demand with the decision and dignity suited to the country they represent, and to the justice of the cause they advocate. Let there be no diplomatic affectation of manœuvre and intrigue. We are inclined to think that technical diplomacy, with all its tricks and subtleties, has gone out of fashion all over the world. We are certain, that it will disgracefully fail if it should be attempted in our intercourse with the American communities. If our influence in Mexico, for instance, be small, it is little worth the sacrifice to attempt to increase it by associations with partisans of any class, or by useless meddling in the turmoils of local politics. We may hope, not unreasonably, that fairer seasons are approaching, when prejudice and error will be removed, genuine national friendship appreciated, and proper national associations formed ;— when our neighbors of Mexico will cease to view the equipment of an additional frigate with alarm, and a military movement on our Indian frontier with jealousy. They may be assured, that there is yet much latent good-will which can easily be developed. Let their moral and intellectual improvement be such as in times of permanent tranquillity we hope it will be, let the odious features of their constitution be obliterated, and let their statesmen evince a disposition to act on the principles of ordinary justice and national comity, and they will find in their northern neighbors sincere and zealous friends. The despised and rejected theory of republican co-operation may then be realized. We may not see that consummation, but we hope that the belief is not unreasonable, that it will be seen by those who are to come after us.

ART. III.—*Economy of Athens.*

1. *Die Staatshaushaltung der Athener, vier Bücher.* Von AUGUST BOECKH. *Mit einundzwanzig Inschriften.*
2. *The Public Economy of the Athenians. Four Books.* By AUGUSTUS BOECKH. In two volumes. Berlin.

The careful contemplation of antiquity awakens a sentiment of admiration, that so much was accomplished under the imperfect forms of the early republics. Time can never efface the interest which mankind will take in the history of the nation, which first conceived the idea of intrusting the supreme power to the people. The democracy of Athens, with all the imperfections of every part of its public service, with the gross abuses attending its finances, and the reckless corruption which finally turned the elective franchise into a source of personal revenue, yet maintains its dignity in the eyes of the world; for it was there, that the elements of civil liberty were first called into successful and honorable action.

We are not the blind admirers of the Athenian commonwealth. No tongue can adequately praise many of the results of that State; and it would also be difficult fitly to display the deficiencies in its organization, and the gross injustice of its foreign policy. Our own confederacy does not more surpass the Grecian in the extent of territory, over which its liberties are diffused, than it does in the excellence of the details of its laws. The tendency of our institutions is to leave every thing to find its natural level, to throw no obstacles in the way of the free progress of honest industry, to melt all the various classes of society into one mass, to extend the rights of equal citizenship with unqualified liberality, and to break down every thing like a privileged order in the State. The Athenian commonwealth was, on the contrary, eminently artificial in its character; it conceded with a chary hand the advantages of citizenship to the strangers resident on its soil. The franchise of the State was, mainly, an inherited dignity; the government was after all a species of multitudinous aristocracy, where the legislators by birth-right, though numerous, were yet limited, and political power was in truth vested in the hands of a privileged order, which consumed what it did not produce. To this circumstance are to be attributed the greatest abuses in ancient Attica. The self-same principles in human nature, which in England protect the hierarchy and the nobility, pro-

duced in Athens the public festivals at the common cost, and led the multitude to get their living by enacting laws in the assembly, or interpreting them in the halls of judicature.

The student, who attempts to look minutely into the secrets of the classic world, is baffled at every effort. The accounts are almost always imperfect, sometimes contradictory; and the ignorance of the inquirer can often be exchanged only for doubt. He listens to an echo, that comes but faintly from centuries so remote. Though many parts of Grecian history are preserved in the clearest and most graphic sketches, yet the interior of a Grecian State can only be described in its leading features. The picture is exhibited in a dim and wavering light; and can we wonder, that so different views have been taken of it? Is it strange, that the scholar has invested Greece with all the most brilliant colors which imagination can lend? That the glories of Marathon and Platææ have shed a lustre over centuries, when patriotism was nearly extinct, and devotedness to the country had given way to an engrossing selfishness? The mind has been so filled with the sublime productions of Grecian genius in the arts, that attention has been diverted from the consideration of the ordinary concerns of life.

To this cause, may in part be referred the remarkable fact, that while the world is full of books upon ancient Greece, its history, as a whole, has never yet been worthily told. Winckelman has, indeed, in his great work, embodied almost all that can be gleaned, respecting the history of its fine arts; but the history of the literature of Greece remains yet to be written; and the infinite number of volumes, which have been published respecting it, have done no more than furnish materials, which yet remain to be united. May we not say the same of its political history? Men have hitherto made ancient history the vehicle of communicating useful lessons to despots, or inculcating a superficial knowledge of national revolutions upon the young. By far the most elaborate English work on Grecian history, is that of Mitford; but unfortunately Mitford wrote as a partisan. We do not blame him, for exhibiting the Athenian multitude in such attitudes as it had chosen for itself; but we censure him, because he systematically misrepresents the personal characters of its leaders. The heroes and statesmen of the democracy, the favorites of the multitude, are always painted by him in the worst

colors, for which any pretence can be found in the slander of their enemies; while he is ever ready to invent excuses for the leaders of the aristocracy. There was evil enough at Athens, and truth demands its exposure; but, after all, virtue is a quality, which belongs to no particular party exclusively; and we confess, that in reading Mitford, our indignation is often excited, and our wonder also, that the bitterness of party prejudice should still prevail in the delineations of antiquity; that the fires of the ancient factions, which have been slumbering in the ashes of centuries, should in this distant age blaze up anew under the tread of the historian.

The work of which we purpose to give some account, merits in a high degree the praise of impartiality. Its author was neither dazzled by the splendors, nor deluded by the factions of Attica; and the contributions which he has made to the stock of knowledge on the subjects, which he has discussed, have been highly valued in Europe. The French already have a translation; and there is also an English version by a member of Christ Church, Cambridge.

Indeed Mr. Boeckh has displayed immense erudition and care in this elaborate treatise on the Athenian finances. It is one of those works, which best illustrate the peculiar excellence of the Germans in critical researches. There is not a word of vague declamation from beginning to end. No subject is avoided because it is difficult, nor neglected because it is minute. Instead of theories we have a series of facts, selected from the whole circle of classic literature. Almost every author is made to contribute something; the orators most of all; and in this way, the author succeeds in throwing light upon many subjects which have hitherto been avoided as impracticable. Nothing seems to have escaped the patient labors of this distinguished Hellenist. Every hint, from which information could be extracted, every passage, from which an inference could be wrung, is made the subject of consideration; and in this way, a vast deal of information is collected, illustrating the ordinary concerns of business in the best days of Athens.

Yet with all Mr. Boeckh's assiduous industry, we cannot conceal, that his researches have often been baffled by the want of sufficient exact *data*. He has done all that was possible; but to represent life, as it was in the best days of the city of Minerva, imagination has yet to fill up many an outline; and the jests of the comic writers, and the anecdotes of the lovers

of marvels, though fruitful sources of inference, tempt curiosity without fully satisfying it.

A reference to Attica, recalls all our classic associations. Attention is at once directed

> 'Where on the Ægean shore a city stands,
> Built nobly; pure the air, and light the soil;
> Athens, the eye of Greece, mother of arts
> And eloquence.'

It would seem to us, as if there the passion for gain had been lost in the strife for glory; as though no avarice but that of praise had been there domesticated. Who asks, out of what fund the Parthenon was built? Who inquires into the cost of its sculptures? Who is curious to know the income of Socrates, and at what rates of interest his little patrimony may have been lent? Who demands, if the Athenians too had a tariff? Who wishes to ascertain how much would have constituted an independent fortune in the days of Lycurgus, the Athenian financier?

And yet in Athens, as in Boston, commerce was active, and manufactures not neglected; houses were built to let; and though there were no joint-stock companies, yet insurance was not unknown; and though there were no banks of circulation, yet money-lenders abounded. Following the guidance of Boeckh, we intend to enter into some homely statements respecting life and business at Athens. Our inquiries are not now into the eloquence of Demosthenes or the bravery of Phocion; neither into the productions of the Grecian fine arts, nor the monuments of Grecian intelligence. We enter rather upon such minute inquiries, as can neither bridle the imagination, nor refine the taste, but may yet throw some light on an important chapter in the history of the human race. Contentment with our own political condition will certainly be increased by a near contemplation of the condition of the free States of antiquity.

Financial skill is reckoned among the moderns as a great and necessary accomplishment in a statesman; and the science of political economy has swallowed up almost every thing besides. The ancients did not make of it a separate science. Their treatises upon politics touch upon it but incidentally; and therefore information respecting the condition of ancient finances must be gathered piecemeal, and by inductions. Little direct information has been preserved.

The resources of Athens in its earlier days can scarcely merit attention; and after the loss of its independence, the inquiry would be less productive of interest or profitable instruction. Our views will chiefly have reference to the time following the Persian wars, and before the aggrandizement of Alexander.

Silver and gold furnish the criterion, by which the price of commodities is estimated. Previously to entering upon any details, it is desirable to form some idea of the abundance of the precious metals in Greece.

In the early period of Grecian history, the quantity of the precious metals increased but slowly. But between the age of Solon and Demosthenes, such a change was wrought, and the value of money had diminished so much, that prices were affected in proportion of one to five; a change, rapid beyond any thing in modern history.

The amount of the circulating medium of Greece increased with her connection with the East. Gold was rare in the earlier periods; and in the days of Crœsus, could hardly be purchased anywhere in Hellas. It was more abundant in Africa and in Asia. Who has not heard of the golden sands of Colchis, and the glittering streams of Pactolus? Who remains ignorant of the fables respecting Midas, and the amiable liberality as well as the hoarded treasures of Crœsus? The master of Celænæ, a town near the sources of the Mæander, himself possessed about fifteen millions of dollars in gold. The booty of Cyrus in Asia Minor, was incalculably great. The revenues of Darius, after defraying all the expenses of the provinces and their satraps, amounted annually to $12,191,400. India was ever famous for its wealth in valuable ores; and the story of the busy ants, that dug for gold, is but an allegory, that proves the productiveness of her mines.

The circulating medium did not increase in proportion with the quantity of bullion. The royal treasury was filled with massive bars; the temples and the public coffers were provided by a prudent superstition or the grasping nature of despotism with immense treasures in the precious metals, either unwrought or formed into splendid works of art. The coinage was limited by the sums, which the habit of commerce seemed to require for its purposes. Even in Greece immense sums lay in deposite. The citadel of Athens had a strong box with 87,300 dollars in cash, besides many vessels of silver and gold. The treasures of Delphi are notorious.

Every one has heard of the pious offerings of Crœsus. The rapacity of a later age could withstand the temptation no longer; and when the hands of sacrilege were laid upon the treasures of Delphi, the offerings of Crœsus alone yielded $3,600,000.

The Persian king entered on the invasion of Greece with one thousand two hundred camels laden with money and precious things. These of course became the prey of the victors. The Phocians, as we have already hinted, seized on the wealth of Delphi, and coined from it $9,000,000.

The amount of the currency of Greece received further additions from the system of bribery practised by Philip; but after the conquest of Asia by Alexander, coin flowed in upon Europe in still broader channels. The treasures which he found collected in the Persian empire were very considerable. The amount taken at Susa and Persis was $45,000,000, at Pasargada $5,400,000, and at Persepolis $108,000,000. The whole sum collected at Ecbatana, is said by Strabo, no contemptible authority, to have amounted to $162,000,000.

Alexander's liberality corresponded with this immense wealth. The expenses of his table were $1,500 daily; and he paid the debts of his soldiers, amounting to about $8,883,000. The funeral ceremonies of Hephæstion are said to have cost $10,800,000. The grateful monarch deemed $720,000 no unreasonable appropriation to further the investigations of Aristotle in Natural History; and it was an offer of $900,000, which Phocion refused. His yearly revenue from Asia was $27,000,000; and he left a treasure of no more than $45,000,000.

His satraps must have been very rich. Harpalus, who fled to Athens, was estimated to have amassed $4,500,000, though he declared in Greece, that he had but $674,000.

The wealth of the successors of Alexander was equally extraordinary. A single festival of the Ptolemies cost $2,000,000; and, at the lowest computation, the treasure left by Ptolemy Philadelphus amounted to the enormous sum of $166,000,000. Some estimate it four times as high. It is difficult to believe the account, but not impossible. Egypt was at that time the richest country in the world; and had almost a monopoly of the commerce with the East. Nor is it half so strange, as that the debt of a modern nation should have reached the immense sum of four thousand millions of dollars. The revenue from the customs in Egypt was $13,000,000 annually. The

annual taxes in Cœlo-Syria, Phenicia, Judea, and Samaria, were farmed out for more than $14,000,000.

These general statements* tend to show, that the precious metals existed in very great abundance in the Levant. It is to be remembered, however, that the custom of collecting great masses of these treasures, tended to prevent the proportionate increase of the circulating medium. So many temples, so many cities, so many provincial satraps, so many despotic princes withdrew the coin from circulation to hoard it in deposits, that prices were not reduced in the degree, which we might have inferred from the mention of such enormous sums. Great quantities also existed in the shape of works of art; and the shrines of many a Grecian Deity were adorned with images and costly vessels wrought out of 'barbaric gold.'

The amount of the coinage of Athens has been variously estimated. The basis of calculation is the weight of such pieces of money as have been preserved. We find that as near an approximation as we can make, gives fifteen cents for the *drachma*, and of course for the *mina* $15, and $900 for the *talent*. This is the basis, which we follow. It is a little more than the one usually given in the English school-books; yet a little less than the calculations of Barthelemy would authorize. An *obolus* is of course taken to be two cents and a half.

The Greeks reckoned according to *drachmas;* as the French according to *francs*. The usual idea has been, as to the difference between ancient and modern prices, that one dollar was worth in the best days of Athens what ten dollars are now. Boeckh makes the difference no greater than as one to three. We confess, we think that he has not reduced it unreasonably. If prices at modern Athens or at Naples are compared with the statement, which we shall presently give, the view of our Hellenist will probably be confirmed.

The Athenian coinage, to which we have alluded, was the one established by Solon. Before his time the *drachma* was worth more. Out of seventy-two and a half *drachmas* of the old coin, he made one hundred. In this change, creditors as well as debtors acquiesced. By the way, Solon was the first, who

* In the West, the silver mines near Carthagena in Spain employed forty thousand hands, in mining and smelting, and yielded about $2,625 daily. Lusitania and the Asturias yielded 20,000 pounds of gold annually in good years. The gold mines of Dalmatia, in the time of Nero, produced fifty pounds daily.

proposed the abolition of imprisonment for debt. He carried the measure too. Many years passed, before the same improvement was introduced in the Roman State. At length the Roman legislation also was reformed. Our modern codes have long retained a feature, wholly at variance with the justice and philanthropy, which ought to be the basis of popular institutions. It would seem, that all the lessons, which may be learned of the ancient commonwealth, have not yet been exhausted.

The value of gold is more liable to change than that of silver. Its ancient worth, as compared with silver, varied with times and places. The relative value was usually considered to be as ten to one. This proportion is surprisingly low; and other more exact statements are given. In the time of Plato, gold, compared with silver, was as twelve to one; Herodotus says as thirteen to one. In the Bosphorus, in the age of Demosthenes it was as fourteen to one. Among the Romans, in the year 564 of Rome, that is, 190 years before Christ, one third of a sum of money paid by the Ætolians was taken in gold, at the rate of one for ten, to the grievance of the Ætolians. Under Cæsar, the gold from Gaul reduced the rate to one eight and thirteen-fourteenths; while in the fifth century of the Christian era, it was as high as one to eighteen.

The price of gold advanced in Greece with the progress of business. It was much used in making remittances. Soldiers were paid in it; and Sparta hoarded vast sums of gold, never to be expended but for warlike purposes.

Gold coin was early in use. Crœsus coined the golden *stater*. Darius, the son of Hystaspis, coined *darics* of pure gold, equal in weight to thirty cents in silver, and current for three dollars. Five therefore made a *mina;* three hundred a *talent*. The golden *darics* were favorite coins in Hellas.

Some of the Grecian States had a debased coinage for domestic circulation. Even the Athenians once engaged in that unholy process, but it was soon put down by public opinion; and the coin of Athens maintained in commerce its high character for intrinsic value.

The nearest approximation we have been able to make to the square contents of Attica, would allow to that country, including Salamis and Helena, no more than from 640 to 656 square geographical miles. The ancients called Athens the most populous city of Greece; it is interesting to inquire what was the number of the inhabitants of the district.

The population was composed of three separate classes; citizens, resident strangers, and slaves. Of the former, the average number was 20,000; who had the franchise of citizens. Allowing the proportion of 4½ to include the women and minors, we shall have 90,000 as the number of the free population of Attica. A similar mode of calculation gives 45,000 for the number of free strangers, whom business or pleasure had domiciliated at Athens. The census taken by Demetrius gives 400,000 slaves. As we can aim only at an approximation, and as the round number shows a want of strict exactness, we may call the number of slaves 365,000. Thus 90,000 citizens, 45,000 sojourners, and 365,000 slaves, in all 500,000 souls, occupied the soil of Attica.

The free population was to the slave about as one to four. And in this fact we have the key to the very singular phenomena exhibited in Athenian history. The public affairs of Athens were managed by the majority of the citizens. The aristocracy became at last very unwilling to appear in the popular assemblies, and were voted down whenever they did appear. In this way, some six or eight thousand very poor men came to exercise the control over Athenian affairs. Masters of the public treasury and of the power of levying taxes, they voted to themselves what sums they could; till at last every poor citizen made politics his trade; and deemed it but fair to be compensated for participating in legislation. As there was no representation, and business was conducted as in our town meetings, the plausible idea of paying for legislation opened the way to a support for every citizen; the rich naturally declined the service, and made no claim to the emoluments. The poor citizens, though very numerous, yet still a limited number in comparison with the whole population of Athens, obtained a monopoly of the legislation and its wages. There is nothing like this in the annals of any other country.

The great disproportion between the free and the slave population in Attica is surprising; but is corroborated by circumstantial as well as direct evidence. Every body was served by slaves in Attica; even the poorer citizens owned some miserable drudge. The manufactories were supplied by them; the rich had throngs of attendants; even some philosophers were not content with less than ten. The father of Demosthenes employed more than fifty in his business, besides

the female slaves of his house. Plato says expressly, that rich men often had fifty slaves.

It was this immense number of slaves, which left the free citizens of Attica no possible occupation but politics. They were literally crowded out of every other pursuit. Thus the Athenians lived either on the revenues derived from their possessions, or by serving in the courts and popular assemblies, or by pursuing some of those noble arts, by which genius was exercised, and the popular pride cultivated and gratified.

But how were these 500,000 souls distributed over the soil of Attica? Athens had 10,000 houses. Fourteen souls to a house would seem too large an allowance; and yet many of the houses were built on purpose to be occupied by several families. The mining district was also very populous. The harbor of the Piræus was likewise crowded with tenements. Allow then for the mining district 20,000, for the city 140,000, for the harbor 40,000, and we shall have left for the country 300,000 souls; or about 500 to the square geographical mile. The number seems incredibly large; it is still more difficult to disbelieve the estimate. We must remember, that Attica was the head of a number of States, the mistress of the sea, and the territory in which wealth, manufactures and business were concentrated.

The soil of Attica was not unproductive. The mild climate ripened all excellent fruits; the arts of agriculture were greatly advanced; the oil of Attica is famous even to this day; and its classic hills, of which every peak has been the favorite haunt of a God, or the chosen theme of a poet, are still crowned with the circling rows of olives;

'And still his honied wealth Hymettus yields.'

Attica did not abound in horses. At the battle of Marathon there was no cavalry. The fisheries were good; the mines of silver productive; the quarries of marble, which the poet describes as still gleaming in the glare of the long days of summer, were even then so highly esteemed as to constitute an important article of export.

The mechanic arts were originally in low repute. None of the ancient nobility were willing to engage in them; but the mechanics afterwards often gained great power in the commonwealth, and Cleon the tanner was among the favored successors of Pericles. Yet manufactures were liberally encouraged. The greatest freedom of competition was permitted;

strangers thronged to Attica to engage in business, and their industry at length furnished a large amount of exports. Prices were kept up by the great foreign demand, and the high rates of interest exacted by the capitalist rendered large profits necessary. Arms, various kinds of cutlery, lamps and cloths were largely exported.

Attica was thus enabled to procure from abroad the products, which her own soil could not furnish in sufficient abundance. There was no law to prohibit the exportation of specie. On the contrary, the exceeding purity of the Attic coinage made it often useful; the want of bills of exchange frequently made it necessary. The harbor of Athens was doubtless very much such a busy place as the harbor of New-York. In the Piræus, as in the harbor of our own splendid commercial emporium, the produce of every clime was to be found. The dominion of the sea, says Xenophon, secured to the Athenians the sweets of the world. Nor would the Athenian ships in point of size have suffered from a comparison with the New-York packets. Demosthenes speaks of one, which carried three hundred men, besides its cargo, slaves, and complement of sailors.

That honorable employment, which has such an absorbing charm to the lovers of intelligence, that trade, which is emphatically THE TRADE, did not flourish in the days of yore in the city of Minerva; and a *good* book was a thing utterly unknown to those who wept over the sad story of Thucydides, or exulted in the narrative of the Father of History. There was indeed a book-maker in Athens; and books were exported even across the Euxine; but they were chiefly *blank books;* the day of glory did not dawn on the trade, till the reign of Augustus. The sale of books for profit was so uncommon in the days of Plato, that Hermodorus, the oldest bookseller of whom we read, and who sold the writings of Plato in Sicily, came to be a proverb. In the youth of Zeno, however, there were some incipient establishments for the sale of books in Athens.

The credit system, so important in modern commerce, was but partially understood by the ancients. Hence there were none of those commotions and pressures in the money-market, to which our cities are exposed. Yet there were some houses, which could always find money. The endorser was bound for a year. The laws for collecting debts were very rigid; and

the rights of capitalists were guarded with great strictness. The rich were taxed, and taxed heavily; but they were well protected. There was one class of frauds on the creditor, in which the deception was punished with death. When money was lent, and the proceeds of a voyage pledged as collateral security, if the debtor secretly disposed of them, to the injury of his creditor, life was forfeited.

Commerce was suspended, or was at least inactive in the winter season. That, therefore, was the time for the sessions of the court, which had maritime jurisdiction. If a cause was not brought to an issue, it lay over to the next winter. But at a later time, the law assigned a month as the period, within which an action was required to be decided.

Commercial agents or consuls were not unknown. The Athenians hardly had a systematized tariff; or rather their position was such, as to render the adoption of a protecting system wholly useless. The chief commercial regulations related to the importation of corn; of which great supplies were annually required from abroad. There also occurred cases, where the sale of a monopoly was made an expedient for obtaining revenue. But if Athens had no prohibitory duties, because the first manufacturing district could defy competition, it was not so with her neighbors. Ægina and Argos both became jealous of the wealth of Athens, and the introduction of Attic manufactures was prohibited by their laws.

The dominion of the sea was converted by Athens into a commercial despotism. She understood too, no less than modern England, the dismal doctrines of blockade; and submission was almost the only security for a commercial city. If a ship hoisted an independent flag, it was sure to be pillaged by the Athenian corsairs. Her maritime courts were as ready as the English to sustain the claim of the privateer; and it was equally difficult to get a decree reversed, after a ship had been once condemned.

In the domestic market, the retail-trade was open to all citizens; foreigners might also come into competition; though of them a tax, or caution-money, was exacted.

The gains of mercantile operations were far greater than at present. Thirty per cent. was an ordinary rate of interest, where the collateral security was the return cargo; and where a charge of insurance was of course included. Yet it was unusual for a ship to return with its capital doubled; a re-

sult not at all uncommon in the early stages of our own national republic. A Samian ship, which made for its owners a gain of $54,000 in one voyage, was considered by Herodotus something so extraordinary, that he has embalmed the memory of it in his works.

The productiveness of the southern regions and the difficulty attending the exports to remote nations, operated to reduce the price of many articles of easy production. Wine, for example, was produced in profusion in the southern countries generally; and its use was chiefly confined to the South. Prices were of course low. In upper Italy, in seasons of plenty, a bushel of wheat may have been worth ten cents; while a gallon of wine cost less than one. But Athens was a city, in which living was regarded as expensive. We shall give some *data* by which this opinion is confirmed. But the low price of some articles, as compared with present prices, is often to be attributed to a change in the state of the markets, and not to a change in the value of money merely.

The nearest possible approximation gives thirty dollars as the average price of an acre of good land in Attica. In this computation, we allow four *plethra* to the acre; which nearly accords with the fact. Yet landed estates were small and were greatly subdivided. Alcibiades inherited no more than seventy acres; and Phænippus, who owned three hundred and sixty acres, was esteemed an immense land-holder.

There were in Athens more than 10,000 houses; yet in consequence of the great extent of the city, all the land was not occupied. The houses were unsightly; the streets narrow and crooked; and the Piræus was the only regularly built part of the city. The upper stories often overhung the street; and stair-cases were very generally on the outside. Private houses were often built of unburnt brick. The whole expense of building was inconsiderable. The prices of houses varied from forty-five to one thousand eight hundred dollars, according to their size, situation, and quality. The latter price was unusually high; half the sum would purchase a very decent dwelling-house.

An able-bodied slave, not possessed of any peculiar skill, was worth not far from twenty dollars. The price varied of course, according to his health and age; the variation was from seven to thirty dollars. This proves how absurd, to say nothing of its immorality, is the use of slave-labor in

a temperate clime. The labor of the slave would, as the price proves, do but little more than yield his own support. Yet a good mechanic was worth much more. The better slaves, employed by the father of Demosthenes in the manufacture of swords, were worth on an average about seventy-five dollars; and that sum was no unusual price for a skilful workman. The dividends on the establishment of Demosthenes, amounted to a little less than sixteen per cent. annually; but another branch of his business yielded him an annual profit of thirty per cent.

A good, serviceable horse, was worth about forty-five dollars; but a handsome saddle, or carriage horse, would very readily command one hundred and eighty dollars. Yet who can set a limit to luxury in horses? It may be said of human nature, as of youth, *gaudet equis*. Bucephalus brought nearly twelve thousand dollars. The price of a pair of mules was from eighty to a hundred and twenty dollars. In the good days of the admirable Solon, before the precious metals were plenty, the pious devotee could purchase an ox for the altar at the moderate price of seventy-five cents. But when Athens had grown rich, the price of the best beeves varied from seven and a half to eleven and a half dollars. A hecatomb cost in one instance, seven hundred and sixty-seven dollars; in another, eleven thousand and fifty-eight dollars. It is mentioned as one of the expensive fooleries of Alcibiades, that he gave one thousand and fifty dollars for a dog.

But corn and the corn laws—these involve a great question in the politics of Athens. Attica was by no means able to supply its own demands for domestic consumption. The residue was received partly from the Thracian Chersonesus, partly from Pontus. Hence we see, how important was the possession of Byzantium to Athens. There is reason to believe, that the annual importation of bread-stuffs equalled one and a half million of bushels.* Mr. Boeckh thinks, that the

* The inquiry into the corn trade requires an exact idea of the capacity of the Attic *medimnus*. The uninitiated may think it very easy to ascertain this. We consulted Donnegan's Greek Lexicon; we would not believe our eyes, as we read that it was equal to twelve bushels. To twelve bushels! We might here indulge in a little triumph at detecting so egregious an error; but in our charity we believe it to be a misprint for gallons. In Pickering's Lexicon, the *medimnus* is said to be equal to five pecks. It is nearer six. In the text we have allowed

soil of Attica was made to produce three million bushels besides. This we doubt. It is certainly stated in the authorities, that a quart measure of wheat daily, say twelve bushels annually, was the allowance of a slave. Suppose there were three hundred and sixty-five thousand slaves; let us deduct twenty-five thousand for children, and we shall have four million two hundred and eighty thousand bushels for the use of the slaves only. The basis of the computation is according to ancient authorities; but the quantity seems to us much too considerable. It is not probable, that every slave was so well provided, or that the women received always an equal quantity with the men.

Be that as it may; the soil of Attica was made to produce a great deal, and yet vast quantities were still needed from abroad. No corn was allowed to be exported; no ship laden with it could touch at an Attic port, without selling at least two-thirds of its corn. The laws threw hindrances in the way of buying up all that was in the market; the quantity which might be purchased at once was limited, and the retailer was restricted to a profit of less than two cents on a bushel. All attempts to forestall and monopolize were prohibited, under the penalty of death. Yet the oppression of the corn merchants was very great, in spite of the severity of the laws.

As to prices—under Solon a bushel of wheat was worth ten cents; from 390 to 380 years before Christ, about thirty cents; in the age of Demosthenes, half a dollar was esteemed a moderate demand.

The bakers of Athens carried their art to a high degree of perfection; but we have no direct criterion to decide on the prices, which the good house-keepers of classic name were obliged to pay. The price of corn furnishes some means of judging; the disproportion, however, between the price of wheat and of bread must have been greater than at present, in consequence of the high rates of interest.

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one and a half bushels for a *medimnus*. The English bushel contains 2150 2-5 cubic inches; the *medimnus* contains 3150 5926-100,000 cubic inches. Having alluded to Pickering's Greek and English Lexicon, we take this occasion to say, that in the new edition, the American scholar, relying manfully and properly on his own researches, has made many valuable additions, many judicious omissions, and many well-founded alterations in Schrevelius. In its new form, it is the most convenient and trust-worthy Greek and English Lexicon for schools.

The *metretes* of wine held about thirty-five quarts, or, (we pique ourselves on exactness) 35 1452-10,000 quarts. The low price of wine in the ancient world is astonishing. Native wine of Attica sold for less than two cents a quart; and very tolerable wine was often sold for half that sum. This low price proves, also, that in the main the Athenians were not an intemperate race. The Chian wine was worth forty-five cents a quart.

Sweet oil was worth a little more than sixty cents a gallon. Salt was easily imported into Athens; it was also manufactured. Of its price nothing is known. Timber for building was imported; but coals and fire-wood were sent into the city on asses. The quantity, which an ass would carry, was worth thirty cents.

The cost of living was as unequal as were the degrees of wealth and extravagance. Alexander's table cost for himself and his suite $1,500 daily, and the miser in Theophrastus allowed his wife but nine mills. The term *opson* embraced every thing but bread; and seven or eight cents were considered a small provision for it. Yet a slave in Terence buys a meal for his old master for two and a half cents; and the lawyer Lysias complains of the guardian, who charged for the *opson* of two boys and a little girl, the extravagant sum of a New-York shilling. The Athenians were very fond of fish; and a great deal of salt-fish was imported from Pontus and even from Cadiz.

The ancient world was ruled by the same human nature as the modern. The Wellington boots of modern days remind us of the Alcibiades boots, and the Iphicrates shoes of antiquity. A good cloak might cost one dollar and eighty cents; and a dandy was willing to give three dollars for a coat; evidently, however, from a fashionable tailor. A good pair of woman's shoes cost no more than thirty cents. A very showy pair of men's shoes may have cost one dollar and twenty cents. Ointments were exceedingly expensive. The more precious kinds were sold for from fifty dollars to one hundred dollars for a gill.

There are no sufficient data, on which to estimate the cost of a ship. As to productiveness, we find that the corn ship, Isis, of immense burden, yielded annually for freight, $10,800.

The amount necessary for the maintenance of a family, is not easily established. Socrates is supposed to have lived upon an income of seventy-five dollars; but then, his manner of living

was inferior to that of the slaves. His coat was old and shabby, and he wore the same garment both winter and summer; he went barefoot; his chief food was bread and water; and as he engaged in no kind of business to mend his estate or increase his income, it is not wonderful that his wife scolded often. Demosthenes, his sister, and their mother, paid for their board $105 for a year; and paid the house rent, or rather provided the house into the bargain. A young man, Mantitheus, could be educated and supported, for $108 annually. The accounts furnish no means of arriving at a definite decision. Who would limit at the present day the sum, with which it would be possible to preserve life?

Death brought heavy expenses in its train. A piety, more disinterested than wise, lavished the income of years upon the expenses of a funeral; which amounted to a sum varying from $45 to $1800.

The working classes received but moderate compensation. The great number of slaves, who came into competition for labor, reduced the price exceedingly. Mere manual labor could be procured for ten cents a day; that seems to have been the lowest rate, and is not lower than the present price of labor in many parts of Europe.

The fares in travelling were very small. From Ægina to the Piræus, a distance of sixteen miles, the fare was but five cents. From Egypt or Pontus, not more than thirty cents. This price is inexplicably low. A soldier in the infantry received for pay and rations for himself and attendant, thirty cents daily; the officers twice, and the generals only four times as much. Here is a great contrast with modern usage. The wages of the highest officer, equal only to four times the wages of the private! What would our major-generals say to this?

Physicians were sometimes appointed by the State for the public. Hippocrates is said to have received a stipend from Athens, and to have been physician to the State. Democedes in the 60th Olympiad, about 538 years before Christ, received at Ægina $900. He was invited to Athens with a salary of $1,500; but Polycrates of Samos secured him for $1,800. In those days money was still scarce.

The *stars* at the theatres received enormous compensation. The highest sum mentioned, is $900 for two days; which would satisfy our most popular players.

Protagoras, the Abderite, began teaching for money. He demanded for a complete course, $1,500. Gorgias demanded as much, yet died poor. Some, finding the prices high, used to cheapen the wisdom of the philosopher; just as now, copy-rights are a subject of discussion. But competition reduced prices. Evenus demanded only $150, in the age of Socrates; and at the same price, Isocrates taught the whole art of rhetoric. Prodicus used to sell tickets for separate lectures.

One per cent. a month, was the usual rate of interest; yet there was no legal restriction of usury. The trade in money, like every thing else, was left wholly free, and the rates varied from ten to thirty-six per cent. In cases of bottomry, this last rate was the highest. It is plain, that insurance was in such cases paid for, not less than the use of capital. The high rates may be ascribed to the insecurity of the times; the imperfect developement of sound legislation; the difficulty of pursuing a claim in a foreign State; and the faulty administration of justice.

The brokers made their gain partly by exchanging coins at a premium, but far more by receiving deposits and lending them again at a higher rate than they themselves agreed to pay. The credit of some of them became very great; and money and notes of hand were frequently deposited with them. Pasion, at once a banker and a broker, used to make a clear profit of $1,500 annually. Bankruptcies among the brokers, were of course, not unknown.

Imprisonment for debt was not allowed. The code of Solon, as we have stated above, five hundred years before Christ, terminated at Athens that mortgaging of the body, which has so long deformed the codes of modern States.

It seems doubtful, whether investments in real estate were profitable ones. In the cases of which accounts are preserved, the returns seem hardly to have exceeded eight or nine per cent. Yet the number of those, who lived in hired houses, was very great, hardly less than 45,000, with a proportionate number of slaves.

Before the present movement in the civilized world in favor of constitutional liberty, modern revolutions were usually the result of financial difficulties. In a democracy, there can be no distinction between the interests of the government and the people; we, therefore, find the civil commotions in the ancient States to have resulted from these causes. Money was as

highly valued and the expenses of Athens were proportionally as great, as those of modern governments; but the ancients had no public debt, and therefore no tendency to bankruptcy. They were often in distress for funds; but violent remedies were applied; and the oppression did not remain as a permanent and increasing burden on succeeding generations.

After the system of oppressing the allies was well understood at Athens, money became the chief lever in public affairs; and of course the decline of the State was at hand. Yet pride of character, ambition, and the hope of plunder after victory, still preserved the spirit of liberty in the nation. The true policy of a popular State should be, to diminish the public expenses; in Athens, on the contrary, to the great detriment of the people, new wants were continually invented; new sources of prodigal expenditure were devised; and of course the finances kept constantly increasing in importance.

A regular estimate of the public revenue and expenditure seems never to have been made in Athens. Such annual estimates seem not to have been usual in antiquity. The regular expenses of Athens were for public buildings, public festivals, distributions and wages to the people for legislative and judicial services, pay of the troops, poor rates, public rewards, purchases of arms, ships and cavalry horses. The extraordinary expenses in wars cannot be estimated.

The public buildings of Athens were, as all the world knows, numerous, costly, and splendid. The most opulent monarchs, the haughtiest princes, have not been able to surpass or to equal, what the energies of the Athenian multitude called into existence. The Romans could do no more than imitate; and when quite recently Prussia desired, that the principal entrance into its royal city might be worthy of the pride of a rising power, its artists could propose nothing better than to reproduce the Propylæa of Athens. The dockyard of Athens alone cost $900,000. The fortifications were on a gigantic scale. The city and its harbors were protected by walls sixty feet five inches high, and broad enough for two wagons to pass conveniently; of faced stone, bound by iron bolts. The city and the harbor were connected by walls, one side of which measured more than four and a half, the other nearly four, miles. These were of course originally very expensive, and constantly required large expenditures for repairs. The Propylæa cost five years' labor, and $1,810,800 in money. Add to these the Odeon,

the hippodromes, the aqueducts, the fountains, the public baths, the ornaments of the citadel, the temples of victory, of Neptune, of Minerva, all adorned with the costliest works of art, the pavements of the streets, the public road to Eleusis, the numerous altars, which pious superstition prodigally erected and endowed; and it will be evident, that a State of but half a million souls must have practised personal self-denial for the sake of public display. Time and the violence of man have indeed swept away most of these monuments of the inventive genius of Greece, these visible representations of the power, piety, taste, and luxury of the Attic democracy. Yet the ruins, which remain, are the admiration of all beholders. A few weather beaten-statues, a few mangled and broken bas-reliefs, torn from Athens by the rapacity of a British nobleman, now constitute the chief wealth in sculpture, which the British empire contains. Let two thousand years of adversity pass over the decline of London, and what monuments would survive to tell the future inquirers, that it had been the wealthiest metropolis of this age, and had claimed the first rank also for intelligence as well as for thrift? The private warehouses of London are the admiration of the observer; but except St. Paul's (which, after all, has not the stamp of eternity upon it like the Parthenon,) and the Waterloo bridge, there is nothing, which would bid defiance to time, and bear testimony to the latest generation, of the grandeur of British power. The chief city of the little democracy of Attica contained within its precincts far more of those manifestations of human ability, which elevate the soul above the ordinary details of life, stimulate the imagination, and quicken the creative faculties.

The police of Athens seems to have been limited to a patrol of armed watchmen, whose duty it was to preserve the tranquillity of the streets, and to afford protection to persons and property.

The festivals were a great source of extravagance. The Athenians, in the early days of the republic, sacrificed liberally, to display their reverence for the gods; afterwards prodigally, that the people might riot on the offerings of religion. In the splendor and in the number of her festivals, Athens surpassed all other Grecian States. The poets were invited to produce their magnificent dramas; tragedy was evoked with its splendid pall and its recollections of the days of demigods; the youthful beauty of the city appeared in the choirs; music

lent its attractions to heighten the vivid interest of the stage; and splendid processions, with their glittering pageantry and solemn train, assisted in filling up a holiday with spectacles, that might attract and astonish the rest of Greece. 'You never postpone your festivals,' says Demosthenes, 'and you lavish on them larger sums than you expend for the naval service; but your fleets always arrive too late.' 'Count the cost of their tragedies,' says Plutarch, 'you will find that their Œdipuses and Antigones, and Medeas, and Electras, cost more than their wars for supremacy with the other Greeks, and their struggles for freedom against the barbarians.'

But a still greater abuse consisted in the direct distribution of money to the people. The money, levied from the allies, was divided among the poorer citizens, whole talents at a time. Confiscated estates were their plunder. The poor helped themselves out of the public chest, and sometimes dined and always went to the theatres at the cost of the State. Strange system of political ethics! where a ticket for the play was made a public concern.

We pay our legislators, courts, and justices; the ancient Athenians went further; they paid themselves for attending the town meetings. The whole number of voters may have been 20,000, but the rich and the busy did not usually make their appearance; the poor citizens never failed. Seven and a half cents was the liberal compensation, which an Athenian citizen received for acting in the supreme legislature of the State. We have reason to suppose, that 8,000 usually attended. Suppose 8,000 at seven and a half cents a piece; and we see that each Athenian town-meeting cost the State $600. There were forty regular meetings in the year; the annual charge was therefore $24,000. The daily and the annual cost of our representative General Court, is far greater than that of the general sessions of Attica.

The Council of Five Hundred, were paid fifteen cents each a day, for every day of actual service. We see in this, the views of the Athenians in regard to the compensation of public officers. They paid them but little more than the wages of a laborer. The relative value of money we have stated to be as three to one. Our House of Representatives would be as well paid as the Athenian senate, if their pay were fixed at forty-five cents a day. This may appear strange; but it is in conformity with the Grecian policy. The commander-in-chief of

an army received, as we have seen, but four times the wages of a private. High salaries are not at all classic.

Athens was the great shire-town, in which all the courts of Attica were held, and where the causes of the allies also were tried. There was more law business done at Athens, than in all Greece besides. Nearly one third of the whole number of citizens sat daily,* as judges. Hence it was, that Athens swarmed with half-bred lawyers, pettifoggers, quarrelsome, litigious sophists. The daily pay of a judge was seven and a half cents. Every one, on entering, received a ticket and a judge's staff. When the day's work was done, he returned the ticket and received his emolument. There were ten courts, each composed of five hundred, and one regularly in session. Mention is also made of larger courts, composed of ten, fifteen, and even twenty hundred. Allowing 6,000 as the average daily number of judges in Athens, it is plain, that the title must have been more common than it is even in Vermont, and must have cost the State $135,000 annually.

The public orators, advocates, and lawyers, employed by the people, were ten in number. Their pay, like that of the senators, was fifteen cents for each day's service. Ambassadors were paid with equal frugality; though permanent embassies were unknown. Poets even received a public stipend. No person could draw double pay for different service; as, for example, no one could claim a compensation as present at the town meeting, and as judge, or orator, or senator, on the same day. The travelling expenses of the embassies were also publicly defrayed.

In spite of the doctrines which Mr. Malthus attempts to deduce from the conditions of mortal being, the weak, the unfortunate, all those incapable of earning a living, were sustained by the eleemosynary munificence of the State. In this exercise of public philanthropy, the Athenians were not imitated by the other Greeks; to them exclusively belongs the honor of providing for the poor, the helpless, and the aged, at the common charge. The Athenian State also supported and educated the children of those who fell in battle. Those who were crippled in war received a pension. Pisistratus established a military hospital. As to the provision for the poor, none could receive the benefit of it, except they had less than forty-five

*That is, except on such days as were appropriated to religion or to general assemblies.

dollars. Yet this restriction was liberally interpreted. The assistance which was afforded, varied from two and a half to five cents daily.

Public rewards and honors formed a small charge upon the State. Golden crowns were sometimes awarded, or public statues erected. The dowry paid to each of the daughters of Aristides, amounted to more than $450.

That the Athenians were at considerable expense in times of peace to collect warlike stores, is in itself evident. But into these discussions, as well as the charges of war, we cannot enter. The revenue of Athens, in its days of prosperity, was $1,800,000; a large income for so small a State, and which could not have been collected, except by the consent of the allies to oppression.

The statements, which we have already given, are derived chiefly from the two first books of the work, of which the title is prefixed to this article. In the third book, Mr. Boeckh proceeds to investigate with great minuteness the sources of the Athenian revenue. His work transcends every thing, which has hitherto been written on the subject. The fourth book is devoted to a discussion of the extraordinary income of the Athenian State, and to the special financial regulations of the Greeks. If we cannot write *most eloquent*, or *most beautiful* under every page, we may at least pronounce them most minute, most exact, most elaborately and unaffectedly learned. We have seen in a foreign journal, the objection, that Mr. Boeckh descends into the consideration of too small and particular circumstances. A most strange objection! It is this circumstantial exactness, which must ever be the despair of vain declaimers, and the envy of superficial scholars. In his particularity consists his chief merit, and the trust-worthiness of his general inferences.

On the whole, we cannot but feel a strong partiality for the Athenian democracy. It was very far removed from that perfect liberty, which is enjoyed in our confederacy; the democracy of Vermont, for example, is an incomparably fuller practical developement of the principle of civil equality. Citizenship in Athens was an inheritance, and the government was in the hands of a minority; yet it was the nearest approximation to a perfectly popular State, of which ancient history furnishes the example. Our own revolution formed a new era in political history; and however we may regret the arts of

Greece, and the general thirst for glory, which so remarkably characterised the Athenians, we shall find, as the result of every examination, that our own constitutions do not contain within themselves the seeds of evil, which wrought the ruin of the ancient States. With us, government is the protector of personal industry, talent, and happiness; and we are firmly persuaded, that however luxury may, with the increase of wealth, diffuse itself among private individuals, frugality is the true policy of the State. A portion of a people, whether it be an aristocracy, as in Venice or in England, or a separate multitude, like the rulers of Attica, may, and probably will become corrupt and unjust; a great nation, which acknowledges no political distinctions, can never be blind to the principles of equity. Justice is there the evident and permanent interest of all. With us, the great body of the citizens is sure of remaining uncontaminated; we have far more to apprehend from the headlong ambition or downright corruption of those, who are the depositaries of power.

ART. IV.—*Character and Abuses of the Medical Profession. Rules and Regulations of the Boston Medical Association.*

The influence of the several professions upon the character, moral, as well as intellectual and physical, of their members, would furnish us with a subject of inquiry not a little curious and interesting. There may be much exaggeration in the proverbial characteristics of each profession; but there can hardly fail to be some foundation for impressions so general, either in the past history, or the present condition of each community. The progress of society may have softened down the distinctions of those who have shared its improvements, or the character of individuals may have outstripped that of the particular community to which they belong; nevertheless, we apprehend it will still in general hold true, that the lawyer will acquire some peculiar habits by arguing for the fame or the rewards of victory, the clergyman by arguing where he does not expect, and cannot receive an answer, and the physician, by being accustomed to *prescribe* without either arguing, or being argued with, at all. In the other departments of life, too, the peculiar customs and habits of each exert a permanent influence upon the character of the individuals who compose it.

These peculiarities are more or less distinctive, according as each community, or each individual, has partaken more or less of the improvements and refinements of cultivated society. The liberal and educated merchant of our country and our own day is a very different being from the narrow-minded calculating tradesman of other times; but we fear it will be long before the proverbial appellation of *shoe-maker's promise* will cease to be significant of faithless delay.

We propose to pursue the inquiry at this time only in reference to the medical profession. The relation in which this profession stands to society at large, and the estimation in which it is held, are in some respects peculiar to it. As a community, physicians are, more than most classes of men, made the butt of ridicule, and not unfrequently the subjects of sweeping and unsparing censure, while as individuals, no class of men are more honored and trusted. Ignorance, conceit, or bigoted devotion to visionary theories, indifference to human life, and a sacrilegious disrespect to the dead, are freely and generally charged upon them as a body; but individually, they are as generally esteemed, each in his own particular circle, with peculiar affection and regard. Happily for the profession, every man excepts his own personal physician from the suspicions with which he views the rest of his fraternity, and then, as if to make amends for his injustice to others, tacitly, and perhaps unconsciously, attributes to him the distinguishing excellence of having resisted peculiar temptations, to which most others in his situation have yielded. Now, as a man's character among those to whom he is personally known, is of incomparably more consequence to him than his general standing with the world at large as a member of a particular community, it follows that this general prejudice against physicians in its practical operation, is in some respects rather beneficial than injurious to them individually. It fixes a lower standard of merit, by comparison with which each physician is judged; and, consequently, it requires less absolute merit to obtain for him among his acquaintances the reputation of pre-eminent worth. Nor does the general prejudice against the profession take away the disposition to apply to a physician in case of need. It is almost always found, that those who when in health are the loudest and most ready in their censure of physicians, are the most prompt in seeking their assistance in sickness; and if they are sometimes troublesome patients, it is not from an unwillingness to trust themselves to professional skill.

But if the primary effects of this prejudice are in some respects favorable to individual physicians, it does not thence follow, that its influence on the whole is either salutary or unimportant. On the contrary, it is obvious, that whatever diminishes the confidence of the public in the profession, takes something from the respectability and influence, and consequently from the means of usefulness of each member. The evil may be in a great measure counteracted by the predilection for particular physicians, of which we have just spoken, and there may be individuals, who will entirely surmount it by the elevation of their own character; but in an extended view of the whole subject it cannot be doubted, that both the profession and the public must suffer from an unworthy estimation of physicians, whether there be just cause for it in the condition and character of the profession or not.

We do not mean to intimate, that there is in this community at the present time, any especial danger of undervaluing the services of medical men; far from it. We believe that there never was a time, when they were held in so high respect and confidence as at the present day; and probably in no part of the world is this confidence more generally felt by all classes of people, than among us. Much of the distrust which now exists, is the remains of former prejudice, the causes of which have mostly passed away; and hence perhaps it is, that it attaches less to physicians, as individuals, than to the whole body collectively.

The principal effects, unfavorable to character, which have been attributed to the influence of the medical profession, may be resolved into the two following, viz., a bigoted attachment to authorized modes of practice, and a peculiar sensitiveness of feeling, or readiness to take offence for slight causes. The former renders physicians unwilling to receive information, or to adopt improvements in practice, however valuable, unless they come through the regular channels of scientific investigation, or established theories; the other disposes them to frequent jealousies and quarrels among themselves. There is, indeed, a third, which charges the profession with a want of scrupulousness in regard to the means of acquiring some kinds of knowledge; but of this we do not propose to speak at present.

Every one must have observed, how frequently remedies are introduced by men who can make no pretensions to regu-

lar professional knowledge, for diseases which often baffle the science and skill of educated physicians. We speak not of the infallible, universal remedies, the panaceas, and the catholicons, which are blazoned forth by deception and falsehood, to impose only on the ignorant and credulous. We refer to the more modest discoveries of the means of curing particular diseases, which have obtained the confidence, sometimes founded upon an experience of their benefits, of intelligent and educated men. The effects which sometimes follow the use of such remedies, are not a little surprising; and occasionally they bring no small share of reproach and ridicule upon the profession and its regular practitioners. The lame man, whom a long attendance of the most skilful surgeons has failed to cure, is made to walk by a few applications from the hands of a blacksmith; and a bookseller, by a single word, can teach the dyspeptic to forget his indigestion, laugh at the doctor, and throw away his physic.

Physicians it is true, give little credit to all these things. They rarely adopt remedies thus irregularly introduced, and still less frequently do they acknowledge their efficacy. This incredulity of the faculty, however, does little to diminish the confidence of the public. It rather gives point to their sarcasms upon the profession. If discoveries are made in the art of curing diseases, which physicians with all their learning have not the sagacity to make, (and we hear little of discoveries of this kind by regular members of the profession,) it argues little for their candor or liberality, that they can perceive no merit in them.

Such is the view which many intelligent and educated men take of the conduct of the medical profession towards irregular practitioners, and their irregular practices; and to such an extent has the feeling prevailed, that we have seen some of them petitioning our Legislature for a modification of the laws in favor of such practitioners. Now, we do not for ourselves object to any alteration of the laws, which shall place all practitioners of the healing art, whether regular or irregular, upon an equal footing, in regard to privileges. And in saying this, we make no claim to extraordinary liberality; for it is our belief, that the distinction made by the present law operates unfavorably both upon the profession and upon the public, and is advantageous only to irregular practitioners. But we cannot so readily acquiesce in the cor-

rectness or justice of this view of the conduct of the profession.

We do not deny, that remedies are often introduced by men who are not physicians, which acquire no small share of popular confidence. Neither will we deny, that such remedies are sometimes signally efficacious. So frequently is this the case, that some remedy of this sort is almost constantly before the public, and those who pay little attention to the matter, are hardly aware that they do not obtain a permanent reputation. Hence, they are ready to believe, that there may be some complaints, which quacks can cure better than physicians. It is worthy of remark, however, that the particular remedy in favor, is never for any considerable length of time the same. At one time it is a cure for consumption, at another for rheumatism, at another for dyspepsia, or it is a panacea, and cures every thing. Each has its day, and passes by and is forgotten; or else like a worn-out fashion, it descends from the higher to the humbler walks of life, to struggle on, by the aid of interested puffs and forged certificates, a little time longer. Whether it be that the cures which give it celebrity result only in temporary relief, or that its failures, or its injurious effects, as well as its cures, at length creep into notice, or that the mystery which attended its introduction being dissipated, it proves to be but an old remedy with new pretensions, we stop not now to inquire. The truth of the remark itself will not be disputed by any who have made themselves at all conversant with the subject. This circumstance alone is enough to show what degree of importance is to be attached to remedies the reputation of which is so evanescent, and to free the physician from any just imputation if he is not in great haste to adopt them before their merits are tested, notwithstanding the high-sounding promises with which they are introduced to notice.

It were easy to explain, how it may happen that a remedy shall acquire for a time a high reputation, which it does not possess merit enough to sustain. This circumstance is by no means peculiar to the remedies of irregular practitioners. The whole history of the medical profession is full of analogous instances. The habits of rigorous investigation which prevail at the present day in all the sciences, do not indeed now suffer inefficient medicines to acquire a very general reputation. But there have been times, when medicines have been in very

extensive use, which are now universally regarded as nearly or quite inert.

No one but a physician (and it is scarcely possible even for him) can sufficiently appreciate the difficulty of discriminating between the effects of remedies upon a disease, and the spontaneous changes of the disease itself. Most diseases have a natural tendency to disappear, sooner or later, of themselves, if not improperly interfered with; and those which have not this tendency often undergo changes, which are unexpected, and for which no specific cause can be assigned. Hence it happens, that the reputation of curing a disease, or of making a great impression upon it, is ascribed to a medicine simply because its use had preceded one of these spontaneous changes. Often, while a physician is congratulating himself upon a successful prescription, he finds that although his patient is cured, his medicine, from some accident, was not administered.

How, then, it will be asked, are we to judge of the value of remedies, if not by their effects? Certainly from their effects; —but not as they are observed in a solitary case, and in a general manner, in reference only to a final result. There must be a series of observations in which the phenomena are compared in the several cases, and the influence of each remedy observed, upon the particular symptoms, as well as its general effect upon the disease as a whole. And before the evidence can be regarded as complete, these observations must have been repeated by different persons, in order that allowances may be made for the influence of a natural partiality for a newly discovered or favorite remedy.

Few, if any, empirical remedies are ever subjected to a trial like this. The secrecy which is observed in regard to their true character, and which is secured, or aimed at, by oaths and subscriptions in some cases, and by variations in the composition of the medicine, to elude the results of analysis, in others, necessarily prevents a full investigation of their real merits. It is a fair inference, that the authors of these remedies are not unconscious that such an investigation would not enhance their reputation. Undoubtedly they act wisely, in respect to the accomplishment of their purposes, in insisting upon this secrecy, notwithstanding the unfavorable inferences to which it subjects them. The mystery, which attends the concealment, forms no small part of the causes of their suc-

cess. Some years ago, the Parliament of Great Britain gave a Miss Stevens five thousand pounds to make public the composition of her remedy for the stone; and within a few years the Legislature of one of our sister States gave an empiric ten thousand dollars for a specific for hydrophobia. Yet neither of these remedies has probably ever been used, either by physicians or by empirics, since its contents were made known; although it cannot be doubted, that those learned bodies took care to obtain, what seemed to them good evidence of their efficacy, before they agreed to pay so liberally for them.

In the profession, no such concealments are practised or permitted. The whole profession and the public are considered as fairly entitled to the fruits of the knowledge of all its members; and if valuable observations or discoveries are made by any, they are freely communicated for the general good. Their knowledge is thrown into one common stock, from which each may draw according to the wants of his patients, and his own skill in applying it; but which no one is permitted to appropriate exclusively to himself. The profession does not recognize the right of any individual member to hoard up his discoveries, whether real or pretended, for his own private emolument. Among liberal, educated men, it is not to be supposed that any such attempt will be made. But if any one should act so unworthily, he would be at once excluded from the profession. Hence the reason, that none of the boasted discoveries of universal or specific remedies are made by physicians. The name of some distinguished physician is indeed often attached to them; but it is done without his consent or approbation.

Whenever the composition of a secret medicine has been made known, it has almost always turned out, that it contained no agents, which had not been before known and in use among physicians. Some unimportant modification of their composition, and a general and confident administration of them without regard to the particular character of the disease, constitute its only peculiarity. The same thing is nearly true, in regard to all the external remedies, the different modes of applying friction and fermentations, which have of late become so fashionable. Physicians do not rely upon these so *exclusively*, as do some empirics, and as they cannot generally go through the mechanical operation them-

selves, they may not always give the full effect to their application of which it is capable; but there never has been a time, from the age of Hippocrates to the present day, when they have not been regarded as important auxiliaries in the cure of diseases.

In chronic complaints, remedies lose much of their efficacy when the system has become accustomed to their action, so that almost any change, or even leaving off medicine altogether, will many times produce some degree of improvement, which is indeed often only temporary. Practitioners of experience are well aware of this, and regulate their practice accordingly; but we have not unfrequently seen a young physician elated with the expectation of accomplishing a cure where older men have failed, because his first prescriptions have produced such an alleviation of the disease. Many of the cures supposed to be effected by newly-discovered remedies may be accounted for in this manner. While the application is recent, it is extensively spoken of, and reported as an effectual cure; at length the system becomes accustomed to the remedy, and its effect ceases. But in the mean time the novelty of the subject has passed away, and the ultimate failure of the remedy is little known. An attentive observer may remark, however, that it is in general the same individuals who are cured, over and over, by the succession of new remedies which are from time to time in vogue.

These different considerations will sufficiently explain why it is, that physicians are habitually incredulous in regard to the wonderful healing powers, so often ascribed to accidental discoveries in medicine. They have so much occasion to know (and this knowledge is but too often taught them by disappointments in their own practice) the difficulty of applying a remedy suited to the peculiar state of the system in each stage of a protracted and complicated disease, with all the advantages that science and experience can afford, that it cannot be supposed, that they will place much confidence in the chance operations of ignorant and presumptuous empirics. It may be, that this incredulity, and the contempt for quacks and quackery, which it involves, is sometimes carried to an extreme. It is not our purpose to defend or apologize for physicians; but to trace out the causes of some of the peculiarities of character which the profession exhibits. We may remark, however, that it demands no great stretch of charity to find some bet-

ter motive for the repugnance of physicians to countenance uneducated practitioners, and their remedies, than the illiberal selfishness not unfrequently imputed to them.*

We wish we might hope to come to a result equally favorable to the character of the Medical Profession, in regard to the other point which we noticed. But it cannot be denied, that physicians exhibit a sensitiveness and jealousy of temper, especially in their intercourse with each other, far greater than is met with among other educated men. However amiable they may be in every other respect, and they have perhaps a full proportion of amiable qualities in general, if we touch them on a point of professional etiquette, we find ourselves treading upon corns. In many places, this *noli me tangere* sensitiveness embitters the happiness of medical men, and not unfrequently impairs their usefulness. Among ourselves, in this immediate community, it is restrained from breaking out into open quarrels by the excellence of our institutions of medical polity. But in some parts of our country, the profession is divided into factions, which abuse each other with unsparing violence; and in England, there seems to be no restraint of decency or decorum upon the virulence with which medical men satirize and slander each other.

The conduct of individuals in every department and rank in the profession, is there scrutinized and commented upon with unsparing severity; and every mistake in practice, whether real or imaginary, which jealousy or malevolence can discover, is published with exultation, as proof of the ignorance of some of the first physicians and surgeons of the age. All this is done in language, not merely dishonorable to a learned profession, but which would disgrace the lowest departments of

* If it had been more the object of this article to defend the conduct of the Medical Profession in regard to their treatment of irregular practitioners, it would have been easy to show, that in respect to pecuniary profit, they are a positive benefit to physicians; the amount of disease which is removed by their means being much less than the increase occasioned by their mismanagement, and by the neglect of proper remedies, caused by them. We might in that case, too, have taken notice of the very common impression, that to use *external* remedies only, the same extent of knowledge is not requisite, as to prescribe internal medicines. It is often as difficult to decide when medicines are necessary, as to determine what they shall be; and it is not easy to conceive of a case, in which any treatment is required, where this question will not arise.

society. To the readers of at least one of the London weekly medical publications, and one that has a very extensive circulation, Sir Astley Cooper, Mr. Abernethy, Mr. Brodie, Sir Henry Earle, and their associates and friends, are as familiarly known by the detracting epithets habitually applied to them, as nicknames, as they are to the rest of the world by the names, which their standing in the profession has distinguished. Nor is this slander confined to a few individuals, or a particular class of men, towards whom the editors may be supposed to feel a peculiar dislike. The example thus set is followed by others, and under the pretence of correcting abuses, the same publication has become the vehicle of the jealousies, resentments, and malevolence of discontented physicians, surgeons, apothecaries, and students through the whole kingdom.

How little regard is paid to the proprieties of time and circumstances, was shown during the sickness of the late King. It is painful enough to the physician to watch the progress of a fatal disease, with little power even of alleviating the sufferings of his patient, in the seclusion of private life. To do this in public, as it were, with the eyes of a nation fixed upon him, is incomparably worse. That any man, especially any medical man, under such circumstances, when the feelings of a whole people were excited with anxious solicitude, could look on, without any sympathy either for the patient or his physicians, only to censure and vilify, exhibits a malevolence of character, not easily acquired but by habitual detraction. The state of public feeling too, both in the profession and in the community at large, cannot be very sound, which can tolerate such things and encourage them by an extensive patronage. Indeed, it is one of the most mortifying circumstances of all, that these ill-natured contentions have brought the profession into such contempt, that the characters of physicians seem hardly to enjoy the protection of the laws. We know not how else to account for it, that in several cases where medical men in England have appealed to the law for defence against the most atrocious libels, juries have awarded damages so low as to operate as an encouragement to the libeller, rather than a punishment.

We have said that it is not so among ourselves; and happy are we that it is not. There is probably no part of the world where the state of the profession is more harmonious and peaceable than in Massachusetts. But although we have less open collision, the profession is not even here altogether free

from jealousies and a sensitive regard to etiquette among its members. In the smaller towns, which support but two or three physicians, the intercourse between them is but too often disturbed by personal rivalry, if it be not even wholly interrupted by feelings of actual hostility; and in the larger towns, we see them carefully attentive to professional etiquette, lest they should either give or receive offence. It is well that it is so, if contention be the only alternative, as the experience of other communities indicates; but the fact itself shows a consciousness of danger.

The causes of this peculiarity are to be found in the nature of the relation between the physician and his patient. This relation is founded altogether upon the confidence which the patient places in the general character and faithfulness of his physician. No man attempts to form an opinion of the wisdom or skill of the prescription in any given case. To the entire public, learned and unlearned, the whole art of prescribing for disease is a mystery, which none but professional men attempt to penetrate. They see no part of the process in the physician's mind, by which he infers the character of the disease from the nature of the symptoms, and therefore they have no power to judge, whether the remedies selected are the deductions of reason, or the mere chance operations of ignorance. Even the result, in any given case, becomes no sure indication of the skill of the physician. We have already seen how many things influence the course of disease, besides the remedies which are applied to it; and if it be difficult for the physician to determine how much influence the remedy had upon the disease, it is impossible for the patient to judge how far the skill of the physician controlled it. It hardly need be said, how much less stable is a confidence thus circumstanced, than if it were founded upon some adequate knowledge of the physician's learning and intelligence.

But this is only a part of the case. The intercourse of the physician with his patient is not a mere cold, business matter, but is connected with some of the strongest and tenderest feelings of the human heart. And if there be something like affection in the feelings of the sick towards their physicians, there is often, by a natural consequence, not a little proneness to jealousy. The excited state of mind, produced by sickness and suffering, while it increases the susceptibility to the attentions and sympathy of the physician, adds also to the sensitive-

ness to any omission, whether real or apparent, and opens the ear to any unfavorable suggestion, however slight.

All this takes place in seclusion and privacy. If any coldness or distrust have arisen, it is unknown to the physician, until he finds that another is called in his room. Hence he watches with anxiety every thing that looks like an indication of it, and becomes apprehensive of every thing that may tend to produce it; so it is also in the intercourse between physicians themselves. If they were brought into frequent and open contact, whatever jealousies might arise would be exposed and removed. If quarrels sometimes grew out of them, they would neither be rancorous nor lasting. But in the secluded manner in which they, in most instances, necessarily live in regard to each other, the whisperings of jealousy operate secretly for a time, and then, like the smothered fire, burst forth with greater violence.

There is one circumstance in the state of the profession in this country, which is peculiar to us, and which, if it were not counteracted either by the excellence of our institutions or the good sense of its members, would greatly endanger its peace and harmony. In other places, whenever the profession is divided into separate departments, the division is complete. The surgeon does not practise physic, any more than the physician operates as a surgeon; the oculist confines himself to the eyes, and the chiropodist to the feet. With us, on the contrary, although we have those who profess a peculiar skill in the several departments, yet they all claim, notwithstanding, an equal share of confidence in the general practice of the profession. It is sufficiently obvious, that a partial attendance may give occasion for attentions and sympathies, which will sometimes afford the opportunity to convert the *particular* practitioner into the family physician. Such a state of things demands a degree of delicacy of deportment on the part of those who act in this two-fold capacity, which the selfishness of human nature does not often permit us to witness, or a degree of forbearance in the rest of the profession, which, we are sorry to say, the profession has not often exhibited, or else an unusually favorable state of medical polity, to preserve the balance between them.

Having said thus much of those traits in the character of medical men, which are not always the most amiable, it is but justice to the profession, that we should notice, although we

must do it briefly, one which is in every point of view creditable to them. Whatever faults or follies may be attributed to them, it is, we believe, universally allowed, that they are distinguished for their beneficence to the poor. This is not merely the character of distinguished individuals in the profession, or of a considerable number, or a majority of individuals; but of the profession as a body; insomuch, that any physician, who should not partake of it, or at least assume it, would lose his reputation and standing. The poor man, however destitute of the means of making compensation, calls for medical aid, with the same confidence that his call will be answered, as the richest man among us. He may go hungry, or ragged, or cold, because he has not the means to purchase food, and clothing, and fuel, or is unwilling to beg them; but if he be sick, he calls a physician, and feels that he is conferring patronage rather than soliciting charity. Neither is this gratuitous attendance limited to those who are in other respects dependent upon charity. In this good city of Boston, where there is comparatively little abject poverty, there are some thousands, who never dream of such a thing as a physician's fee, but who exercise their full privilege of being sick. Boerhaave is said to have called the poor his 'best patients.' Happy the young physician who can now so regard them!

It may be said, that there is little merit in a benevolence, which is thus rather forced upon the profession by circumstances, than sought by their own choice. This may be in a degree true in regard to individuals; although the habitual performance of benevolent deeds, from whatever motive they may have originally proceeded, can hardly fail eventually to excite some corresponding affections in the temper and disposition of the mind. But in respect to the profession as a whole, no such compulsion has ever been, or ever could be exerted upon it, from any circumstance external to it. The custom of attending the poor gratuitously, has now grown, by long usage, into a sort of common law, which the whole profession combined, if ever so much disposed, could hardly abrogate. But it has grown out of the character of the profession itself, and of that of its members. If, therefore, physicians are bound to take shame to themselves for the jealous disposition towards each other, which the circumstances and habits of their profession have entailed upon them, they may well be allowed to offset against their mortification, some pride in their cheerful

compliance with the benevolent customs which they have inherited with it.

If it be true, as we have stated, and as we most assuredly believe, that the condition of the Medical Profession is better among us than in any other part of the world, it is not that the individuals of whom it is composed are more amiable or less sensitive in their dispositions here than elsewhere ; but because our institutions are more favorable to the cultivation of a good understanding among them. We have before compared the medical institutions of our own Commonwealth with those of Great Britain, in reference to their power of protecting the public interests from the dangers and deceptions of quackery ;* and we were led to the conclusion, that ours are not only incomparably more simple and more consistent with the just rights of all parties, but also much the more effective. A similar comparison in reference to the subject of our present inquiry, would, we are fully persuaded, exhibit an equal advantage in favor of our own institutions.

In England, and so far as we know, in the other nations of Europe, and in most of the States of our own country, the chief reliance for the regulation of the profession, is upon the direct provisions of the laws, enforced by penalties, which, in some instances, are severe ; in this State, it is upon a sort of concentrated influence of public opinion. The design of the chartered privileges is to secure the community against the ignorance and impositions of empirics. But in attempting this, they have in effect established a difference of rank and of privileges in the profession itself ; and this is not always conformed to the distinctions of scientific and professional merit. The London College of Physicians, for example, whose powers and privileges, as granted by charter, are exceedingly ample, have established it as a by-law, which no force either of persuasion or compulsion has been sufficient to induce them to relax, that no physician shall be elected a Fellow of the College, who has not taken a Doctor's degree at one of the English Universities, Oxford or Cambridge. This same College has the power (a power which it has on several occasions shown itself sufficiently disposed to exercise) to punish by fine and *imprisonment*, any man who shall attempt to practise medicine in London, or within seven miles of it, without a license from its own

* See North American Review, for July, 1828.

Board of Censors. The law, however, compels them to grant the license upon receiving proof of a sufficient education, at whatever school it may have been obtained. The advantages for a medical education at the universities are incomparably less than they are in London and Edinburgh, and in some of the schools on the Continent, to which many English students resort. As those who have the greatest portion of enterprise and ambition will resort to those schools which offer the greatest advantages, it follows, that a large proportion of the Licentiates in practice, must be men of a higher character and a better education, than those who hold the higher title, and enjoy the extended privileges of Fellows. Still more inevitably does it follow, that there must be perpetual jealousies and collisions between the two classes of physicians. But this is not all. There is still another class of practitioners more numerous than either of these. By the charter of the College of Physicians, as we have said, none but a Licentiate of that College is permitted to practise medicine. More than a hundred years ago, the College attempted to enforce the law against an apothecary, who had visited a sick man, and given him medicine, by which he was cured, without charging a fee. The House of Lords, on an appeal from the King's Bench, decided that this was not practising physic, within the meaning of the charter, and thus opened the door for all apothecaries to follow the example. They were of course not slow to avail themselves of the privilege; and in a short time, a very large proportion of the medical practice passed into their hands, while that of the regular physicians declined to little more than consultation.

The whole history of this change is curious and instructive; and singularly illustrates the effect of relying upon legal protection in disregard to the influence of public opinion. It needs no detailed history of the transaction, to show, that at the time when it took place, there was a demand on the part of the community for a more popular class of practitioners, which the law itself could not resist. Whether it was, that the number of physicians was too small, or what is more probable, that relying upon their legal privileges, they demanded more compensation or deference in return for the exercise of their profession, than the public were willing to concede, is of little moment. Nothing but such a necessity as we have supposed, could have induced the House of Lords, by its decision, and

the public by submitting to it, to do away by a mere fiction of law, with the express stipulations of the royal charter, sanctioned as they were by an act of Parliament. That it was no better than a fiction, is shown both by the nature of the question, and by the subsequent events. For more than a hundred years, the apothecaries in England have performed the duties, which in other countries are performed by physicians. The apothecary visits the patient, and determines what his case requires; and the only real distinction between him and the physician is, that instead of writing his prescription and sending it to a shop, he supplies the medicine himself, and then, by a degrading subterfuge, evades the law, by charging for medicine only, and obtains compensation for his personal attendance, either by an enormous charge for his medicines, or by a sort of voluntary contribution, which custom has rendered legal. Even this yoke of humiliation is now taken from the necks of the apothecaries. As they have provided for the education of the members of their company, the court the last winter decided, that it is absurd to regard them as mere mechanists, and that they have the right to *demand* a fee for the mental labor of prescribing the medicine, as well as for the mechanical labor of preparing it.

What are the precise distinctions in the legal rights of this department of the profession, we do not exactly know. But it will readily appear, that here is a third rank in the profession, entitled to, and aiming at, and not unfrequently obtaining, general confidence and employment, as practitioners of medicine. It is sometimes not a little amusing, to witness the struggle between them and their more privileged and higher-titled brethren. While the physicians uniformly speak of them as an inferior class, they seem disposed to forget their origin. They have dropped the name of apothecaries, and commonly style themselves *general practitioners*. It is curious, too, to observe how each successive race of practitioners, like the earlier nations of modern Europe, drives most of its predecessors before it, or subjugates them, and occupies their places. If we may believe one of the London medical journals, the late King, in his extremity, insisted upon having his apothecary called to the consultations upon his case; and although this statement has been contradicted, the fact of its being made, shows at least, that the standing of the apothecaries with the community is such as to give some degree of probability to it, even if it be a false-

hood. On the other hand, although they have thus brought themselves into notice and favor, not only without, but in defiance of, the provisions of charters and statutes, we find them no less than their older brethren, relying upon such provisions, for the defence of the privileges they have obtained. They, too, have now their chartered company; and we find by some of the late journals, that the complaint is already made, that *druggists* are presuming to prescribe in contravention of the rights and privileges of the apothecaries. In twenty years, we shall probably see these same druggists treading in the steps of their predecessors, and exalted by some new legal fiction into acknowledged, if not privileged practitioners. In the ultimate result they, too, may become educated and competent physicians. But in the interim, while the process of transformation is going on, the kingdom is filled with ignorant and unskilful practitioners, and new elements of discord and discussion are introduced into a profession already sufficiently divided.

Let us now suppose, that instead of the immense powers conferred on the College of Physicians, by its charter, that body had only received such privileges as are commonly bestowed at the present day on similar corporations, the right to elect its own members, and to regulate their conduct by its by-laws. This we regard as the legitimate, and the only proper means, of combining the influence of individual character and conduct, so as to produce a united effect on public opinion. Had this been the only power of the College of Physicians, the first effect must have been to prevent the division between the Fellows and Licentiates. The Fellows would have perceived, that the value of the distinction which they enjoyed as such, could only be maintained by the same professional merit, by which it was first acquired; and, consequently, instead of framing their by-laws so as to exclude those, whose education and character equally entitle them to the same privileges, they would have taken care so to frame them, that the line of distinction should correspond with that of desert. Had they done otherwise, those who were excluded, no matter by what name they were called, would soon have become the most honorable body.

This has been the result in our own State. The Massachusetts Medical Society was originally limited by its act of incorporation, to seventy members. After an experience of

more than twenty years, it was found that the purposes of its institution, either as it respected the profession, or the public, were not, and could not be accomplished by such an organization. A new application was made to the Legislature, and authority was obtained to elect into the Society all the respectable practitioners in the State; giving the right to all the Licentiates of the Society to *claim* admission, upon presenting evidence of reputable conduct and character, after three years' practice. Even this limitation is now regarded as injurious, inasmuch as it divides the profession into two classes; although the distinction between them is slight and temporary, and there is now pending before the Legislature, a petition for permission to remove it.

Another effect of such a limitation of the powers of the College of Physicians as we have supposed, would have been to prevent the introduction of the apothecaries into practice as physicians, in 1704. Whatever was the cause of the necessity for additional practitioners of medicine, whether it arose from a deficiency in their number, or the want of a different class, with lower attainments and lower fees, the College of Physicians might easily have prevented or removed it, by diminishing the obstacles to obtaining a license. No one can doubt that they would have done this, if instead of relying upon the arbitrary privileges vested in them by the charter, they had felt that their power was derived from the confidence of the public. By this means, the apothecaries would still have been excluded from practising a profession for which they were not educated. At the same time they would have suffered no hardship, because although *as apothecaries* they might not practise physic, yet the individuals among them who were in any good degree qualified, would have been admitted to practise, *as physicians*. The necessity for a greater number, or a different class of practitioners, would have been provided for, without the enormous evil, which we formerly considered,* of introducing a great body of unqualified practitioners of medicine; and without the additional evil, which it is more particularly our present object to notice, of entailing perpetual discord and contention upon the profession. That such has been the result of the present institution in England, is sufficiently apparent from what we have already said; and to such

* N. A. Review, for July, 1828.

an extent have these contentions proceeded, that it is not easy to see how society can much longer endure them, or what remedy can be devised for them.

We can hardly too much felicitate ourselves, that we have an institution so simple and powerless, as to be scarcely capable of oppressing any one, and yet so powerful as to be able to restrain, if it cannot eradicate, the contentious propensities, which, as we have conceded, prevail too much among physicians. Our Massachusetts Medical Society does this effectually on a large scale. In a smaller sphere, where physicians are brought frequently into close contact with each other, as in one large town, it is necessary that the same system should be carried more into detail, by a more particular code of regulations. This is done for our own city, by the rules of the Boston Medical Association, which direct the course of conduct to be observed by its members, in their professional intercourse. This association has nothing to do with the qualifications of candidates for the profession. It receives for members all within its limits, who are acknowledged by the Massachusetts Medical Society as competent practitioners, and no others. The principle upon which it is founded, is precisely the same with that of the general society. It has no power to compel any one to belong to it, or to force a member to conform to its regulations, but simply the right of requiring its members to withhold their assistance from him, if he do not. Nor does it need any other power; for so long as its requirements are reasonable and proper, the community will not place confidence, to any considerable extent, in any physician who has not the confidence of the profession. There is not a man among us so powerful, that he can withstand its regulations, without suffering materially, not only in his feelings and his respectability, but also in his business and emoluments.

It is true that these regulations are often disregarded; and there are those, who aim at their own advancement by breaking them. But although they may gain some temporary advantages by thus showing that they are under fewer restraints than others, yet in the result, it has always proved injurious to their personal interests. The loss of their own self-respect, by the violation of the obligations of honor and duty, into which they have voluntarily entered, is necessarily followed by a diminution of the respect and confidence of others. Thus it has turned out, that those who have sought to advance themselves

in this way, have in the end attained a less favorable standing than they would have acquired by a more honorable course.

Art. V.—*Waverley Novels.*

Waverley Novels; Revised and Corrected, with General Prefaces, and Notes, Historical and Illustrative, by the Author. Boston. S. H. Parker. 12mo. 1829–1831.

The present century has no name in its annals of more enviable distinction than that of Walter Scott; the victories of Napoleon were not so wide, nor his monuments so likely to endure. The works of his fine imagination have not only found, but created readers in regions where nothing in the form of a book had ever found its way before. Many sagacious persons, like the countryman by the river-side, have been waiting for this tide of popularity to run by; so far from this, it seems to grow broader and deeper, and bids fair to disappoint all calculations founded upon the usual changes of taste and time. No better test can be given to try the excellence of a work of fancy, than a second reading; if the interest abate, alas for the writer's fame! It indicates a decline, which will go on from year to year, till the star, however brilliant in its season, will sink beneath the horizon, never to rise again. But if, on the contrary, new beauties appear, and the work is laid down the second time with an impression as deep if not as stirring as at first, the author's fame is secured. Our readers of mature age may apply this to the fame of writers much distinguished in their day. We can remember when the whole reading world shivered by reason of Mrs. Radcliffe's fearful mysteries; but a second reading, like the crowing of a cock, drove all her ghosts to their graves. When her gloomy procession had gone by, thousands of readers were surprised by the day-break, as they were devouring the Scottish Chiefs or Thaddeus of Warsaw; but a second reading served only to destroy all the charm of the first. This is true even of Miss Edgeworth in a measure; her Lord Oldborough, a character which undoubtedly made more impression than any other which she ever drew, will not bear a second reading; but her substantial merits have secured for her a desirable and lasting fame. Now, the excellence of Scott appears in the fact, that his writings not only bear, but require a second reading; without it, we cannot realize the

wealth of his imagination, nor the reach and majesty of his power.

The reputation of Scott is built upon his works of fancy. He has labored in other departments of literature with great vigor and success. His biographical sketches, particularly, have been distinguished by their manliness and candor, though, with the exception of Napoleon, they were written without much exertion of his strength. That great work has not satisfied the demands of the world, but we presume that no living writer could have given equal satisfaction; and the truth is, that the gigantic character he describes is still too near us to be painted; we must wait till the lights and shadows are blended into their right proportions by the effect of distance and time. There are those who are disposed to regret, that so great a character can be earned by one who, as they say, does nothing more than amuse the world, which they consider the highest aim and effect of Scott's imaginative writings; but let them vary their language a little,—let them call it giving happiness to the world,—and we hardly know how he could propose to himself a higher and happier end for the exertion of his splendid powers. We think that whatever makes men happier is apt to make them better; and the union of these two purposes being the glory of divine inspiration, we know not why human inspiration should be ashamed to follow the example. Let any one point out a work of Scott in which moral sentiment and character are perverted as in the mighty Corsair of Byron, or the paltry pick-pocket Paul Clifford, and we will take down his statue at once from the high niche in which it stands; but we cannot find in all Scott's writings a single page, nor a single character, in which shame is made glory, or glory shame, or in which any thing more is given to guilt, than the compassion united with aversion, which it ought always to inspire. We are confident, that if ever the mind can safely surrender itself to this enchantment, it is when the power is lodged in a conscientious hand like his.

It is too late in the day to question whether works of imagination can be safely read; read they certainly will be, and safely, by those who do not go to excess. Scott has done much to guard against this danger; for with one sweep of his pen he has sent to forgetfulness whole armies of novels, which used to prey upon the time and feelings of the young. It is true, that some, like Bulwer's, struggle up by dint of

brazen impudence, into a temporary notoriety, which we shall be compelled to blush for in a year or two, as for the Counsellor Phillips passion, which once prevailed in our land; but this cannot be prevented;—when a tree throws a thick and deep shadow over a landscape, such pestilent weeds are most apt to grow beneath it. In this case the good is direct, and the evil incidental. And how can any object, that his writings are not true? There is such a thing as truth to nature as well as truth to fact, and it often happens that one must be observed at the expense of the other. Who ever thought of objecting to the parables of scripture, that they are not true? If instruction, information, or suggestion, can be communicated in this way more directly and impressively than in any other, it is folly not to adopt it. The work of fiction in such a case is only an extended figure, which illustrates the truth and deepens its impression. But it is only necessary to say, that the good and bad effects of such works have been greatly overrated; they affect us more like the action and imagery of a dream, than like the real experience of our lives; though we allow, that it is quite possible to become intemperately attached to this as well as to music or any other fascinating art. Any extraordinary zeal against it reminds us of John Newton's description of the singers in torment, which Cowper says made him laugh '*de profundis*' in his deepest gloom.

We consider ourselves, then, as doing no injustice to the great name of Scott, when we speak of him in reference to his Waverley Novels; or rather, we consider it but a proper tribute to one who has so delighted the world, to revive the recollections of our surprise and pleasure, when the bright visions of his imagination were first opened to our view. He has now thrown off his disguise, which was never more complete than that of a first rate actor dressed for his part, and easily known by his excellence, though his name is not in the play bill. Though there were some who, with remarkable folly, insisted upon ascribing these works to various persons, whose names were never heard of before, the world had sense enough to know, that they were written by a practised as well as an able hand. It does not readily appear, why Scott should have submitted to the inconvenience of this disguise, which every one saw through, after he had ascertained the success of his experiment upon the public taste; for besides that it protected him from no criticism, it laid him under

the necessity of denying the authorship when the question was plainly proposed. This he claimed a perfect right to do, and we shall give no opinion on the subject, further than to say, that a secret so defended ought to be well worth keeping. In the case of Junius, there was something gained by a disguise; men wondered at the extent and accuracy of his information; while his familiar knowledge of the characters and designs of men in power, and the mystery in which he wrapped himself, made his attacks appear more like the fierce vengeance of an evil spirit than the helpless rage of man. There was a reason why Junius should have made the disguise, which he wore while living, serve as a winding-sheet when dead; because, even now, if the veil should be torn away, the name of the writer would labor under a reproach, from which his ability could not redeem it. In the case of Scott, there was nothing of the kind to be gained by the disguise, nor lost by the detection; and the reason of his wearing it probably was, that after first putting it on, for which he had sufficient cause, he never found a time when he could gracefully cast it away.

He was spared this trouble by the bankruptcy of his publishers, which of course placed any longer secrecy out of his power. This event subjected him to heavy losses; but perhaps it cannot be regarded as a misfortune; for few men can submit to severe mental exertion without the impulse of necessity, or equally powerful inducements pressing upon them in one form or another; and in this point of view nothing can be regarded as a calamity, which drives men to intellectual labor. At all events, his misfortune is gain to the world, and perhaps it is owing to this, that he still perseveres in a work which he would have abandoned long ago, if he could have been wrought upon by weariness of impertinent criticism, or by satiety of fame.

We propose to take some notice of various criticisms which have been made on these remarkable novels, and we may as well say in the outset, that we consider them as poems. Many, who remembered what a charm there was in the first hearing of the words, 'The feast was over in Branksome tower,' professed to be surprised that Scott, when his peculiar style was run down by imitators, could strike out a new path for himself, and walk in it with so much grace and power. But the truth was, that he did nothing more than throw off the incumbrances of rhyme, that being all of which his readers were weary, and the natural result was, that he took a wider range, and express-

ed himself with more ease and freedom. He was still every inch a poet, and his works were as much poems as ever; his apprenticeship to his art, and the familiarity which practice bestows, were not lost; his language was as poetical as before; so that the whole change, instead of amounting to a Pythagorean transmigration, was nothing more than an alteration of dress. Though many seem hardly conscious of this fact, and various fine theories have been offered to explain, how he who succeeded so well in one department, could write so well in another, it has had an effect, which is even now more felt than seen. The moment the eminent poets of the day were convinced, that a mechanical arrangement of words was not essential to poetry, they rushed out with exultation from the circus to the broad highway. Southey, Campbell and Moore, tried their hands at prose-writing, and to many it seemed as if the whole poetical region was given over to desolation; but it soon appeared, for the consolation of the lovers of the 'Nine,' that whereas there is much prosaic verse in the world, there may be such a thing as poetical prose, of which Southey, Moore and Irving, have given sufficient examples. Scott is the author of this change, or rather, like other reformers, he has pointed out to the world what progress they had already made; for assuredly, Jeremy Taylor and Isaac Walton were poets many years ago, though they never had written a line of verse. But this is better expressed by the Antiquary. 'A man may be a poet, without measuring spondees and dactyles, like the ancients, or clashing the ends of lines into rhyme, like the moderns; as one may be an architect, though unable to labor like a stone-mason. Dost think Palladio or Vitruvius ever carried a hod?'

These novels, then, are to be regarded as poems; they have a right to the same immunities and exemptions, and are to be tried by the same laws. Their lineal descent may be easily traced from the romances of which Mr. Ellis has given so many specimens. It is not a little surprising, that so many objections should have been made to the historical form. So lately as the last year, a writer in the Edinburgh Review repeats the suggestion, that the fancy is only embarrassed by maintaining this connexion between fact and fable; and seems to think, that such works would do better without the support of history. He even refers to the historical portraits which Scott has drawn, for evidence of the truth of his assertion. But

most readers, we apprehend, will agree with us, that his adventurous and successful execution of a work so difficult, is one of the best proofs of his power, and gives an interest and charm to his writings, which mere fiction could not possess. The critic speaks of Charles Edward, compared with the Baron or Fergus; there to be sure, the Chevalier must have been over-drawn, in order to inspire interest, because his personal character was deficient in attraction. But Claverhouse, Richard, Mary and Elizabeth, all full length portraits, in which the poet, more by suggestion than enumeration, has contrived to embody all the many and various impressions of their originals, which prevail in history or imagination;—originals, too, of which every one had already a distinct idea existing in his mind, with which the new painting must agree, or be pronounced no likeness,—all these, not to speak of the inimitable James in Nigel, form a gallery of more value, than any historians, or all put together, have drawn. And we may estimate the ability with which he has removed our old impressions, and supplanted them by his own, without breaking in upon our associations, by comparing these with the attempts made by such writers as Horace Smith; or the Pelham manufacturer, attempting to raise Dr. Johnson, and seeming as much at ease as if the awful original stood before him. Both appear in as much perplexity and dismay as the witch of Endor, if the belief be true, that while she intended only an imposture, a real ghost came up from the dead. In this respect, Scott has but one rival, and if he be not inclined, as we presume he is, to yield the prize to Shakspeare, they must, as historial portrait-painters, divide the crown.

Moreover, there is an advantage in attaching the romantic narrative to real events, scenes and places; there is an air of truth about representations of real things, which mere fancy-pieces never did and never can possess. We have no doubt that the Iliad would have been set down as pure fiction, were it not for its local descriptions; and Virgil, who knew how to turn a good example to the best account, is as minute as Malte-Brun, in fixing a sufficient number of land and sea-marks on his hero's way. Traditions cling to the place where they were born; to remove or dislodge them, is like the attempt to transplant the palm-tree; the imagination cannot bear any thing Utopian in its favorite descriptions; in proportion to the reality of its visions, is the desire to attach them to some peculiar

spot; and since fortunately we can stand in fancy, as well as by travelling, on the plain of Marathon or the ruins of Iona, we are pleased to have the writer anchor his imagination to some real scene, even though it be one that we never saw. Scott was also fully aware, that truth and fiction might ally themselves with mutual advantage; while his real landscape has made us feel confidence in the reality of his persons and actions, it is equally true that the fiction has given a charm to the rocks and mountains of his native land, which will last till the mountains sink and the torrents cease to flow. It is no small distinction thus to patronize his native land, and to cast the light of his own glory on every city, castle and tower, from the Solway to the Shetland isles. A hundred years ago, the Highlands of Scotland were as little known as the Rocky Mountains, but his pen has thrown them open as completely as a thousand military roads, and travellers will wander over them in all generations to come. Like the dying Fergus, he has remembered the blue hills of his country, and they in return shall long remember him.

The historical romance, then, in our opinion, is the best form of the novel; and no serious objection can be made to it, except its difficulty, which though an objection to writers in general, is a recommendation to a man of genius; a word which we use for acquired as well as original power. If a weak hand undertake to manage this mighty enginery, it soon finds that it would have done better if it had measured its strength, and taken subjects to which it was equal; but an able hand controls it with easy and gigantic strength, and then the triumph is complete. We speak of acquired power, because it is perfectly evident that mere talent would be but a slender preparation for such a various adventure. Beside inventive faculties of the highest order, the poet must have a pervading and collected good sense, which knows how to give all subjects, and the parts of all subjects, their right place and proportion; he must be familiar with life as it is at present, and as it was in past ages; he must be as familiar with history, as with his own table—in the spirit as well as the letter; he must be familiar with the arts of life and the arts of death, known in ancient times; rivalling Meyrick in his knowledge of ancient armor, and Dugdale in his monastic learning; with these, and a hundred other preparations, he must have a strength that smiles under its heaviest burthen, and a humor that plays over all, like the sun-beam on the sea. There are

few, indeed, in whom these attributes are found, and we do not believe that Scott could have possessed as many as he does, had he not devoted the first and best years of his mature life, to preparation, contented to wait for his harvest till life should come near its close. Like Cromwell, he began late, and therefore, like that most fortunate of all usurpers, he seems likely to die in full possession of his power.

The standing objection to Scott's novels, is their want of a story consistent in all its parts; as if plots were found in nature; as if taking any passage from the history of common life, we should find all its circumstances tending to one conclusion. We have certain traditional notions of the unity required in a poem or novel, which are regularly insisted on by critics, and as often disregarded by every successful writer. In a play such unity may make the representation easier, and aid the dramatic effect; but even this seems not to be true with respect to Shakspeare; at any rate, it is a matter of choice with writers, whether they shall enslave themselves to the classical forms or not, and then success alone can determine, whether they do wisely to observe or break them. In Old Mortality, Scott, like Shakspeare in the Winter's Tale, leaps over a number of years; for this the critics reprove him, and tell him that it would have been better to bring the narrative sooner to a close, or to give the annals of the lost years. He, however, is of a different opinion, and in such a case, his opinion is at least as good as theirs. These defects are of the kind that suggest themselves to the examining critic, and not to the interested reader; and provided his readers are satisfied, we presume that he is not much oppressed by the critic's displeasure. By putting together several admissions and disclosures in this late edition, we gather a curious piece of literary history, and have no doubt, that our conjecture is true. When Guy Mannering appeared, it was reviewed in the Quarterly in the flippant and ungracious style, which was commonly reserved for American subjects. In 1817, a review of Old Mortality followed, in which allusions were made to the first, as if it were hardly just, but with a salvo for the infallibility of reviewers. This last article brought forward the passages of history on which some of his scenes and characters were founded; and it now appears, that the reviewer, Mr. Erskine, derived this information from Scott himself, who doubtless saw the paper; for no friend to the author would have published criticism so severe, without

his permission, and no author would have borne it, who felt insecure of the public favor. This article contains most of the literary censures which have been thrown upon the novelist; want of story and connexion among the rest; and thus it appears, that Scott, by connivance if not direct agency, has supplied the critics with most of their charges against himself. The reviewer has shown some art in assuming the harsh and crabbed manner which once distinguished the Quarterly;—we say once, because justice requires us to say of both the great British Reviews, that they have gained in moral loveliness what they have lost in intellectual power.

Beside the loose construction of his stories, it is objected to him, that his heroes are inefficient and uninteresting. That they are uninteresting, every reader will testify, is not true; they are certainly less marked and striking than other characters in the novel, but if this be charged upon him as a fault, then, as Johnson finely says, there is an appeal open from criticism to nature. The name *hero* usually indicates the lover of the story, and it has come down to us from the times, when want of physical force and military success was want of every thing. But in the course of ages it has been discovered, that other less brilliant qualities are quite as likely to secure the happiness of social and domestic life; and to have slain two hundred Philistines, would not be a passport to the favor of the fair of the present day. Still this impression, which is almost obliterated among the Sioux and Pawnees, and has been forgotten for centuries in every civilized land, is insisted upon as a rule essential to the interest of every perfect poem. If the hero must concentrate in his own person all the interest of the story, Achilles is not the hero of the Iliad, nor Æneas of the poem which bears his name. The Baron of Bradwardine certainly attracts more attention than Waverley, and Balfour of Burley more than Morton; but it seems to us, that neither of those worthies would have figured to advantage in the character of a lover. Meg Merrilies and Dominie Sampson inspire more interest than Bertram and Julia Mannering; so that, according to this judicious criticism, the author had no alternative, but either to substitute the elder couple for the happy pair of the novel, or to cut down the peculiarities of those remarkable characters, so that they might not eclipse the younger. In short, lovers belong to ordinary life, and if an author binds himself to any such rule, he can only ring a new change on the low life

above stairs, which forms the staple of the novels regularly imported from England, and which are enough to make the angels weep, if any there be, which have charge of the taste or morals of our country.

We shall only mention one other special charge brought against the novelist—it is, that there is a sameness in his characters—one bears too much resemblance to another—thus, Helen McGregor, Meg Merrilies, and Norna, have been called, absurdly enough, copies from the same original, and other Macedon and Monmouth resemblances have been discovered, in which it has been thought that one portrait was taken with little alteration from the other. But the author draws from nature, and there is a sameness in nature. One mountain resembles another, one valley resembles another, and we should argue ill of the success of the painter, who should endeavor to represent a hill or vale unlike any that ever existed, or were ever painted before. So the varieties of feature in the human race cannot be very great either in face or mind; the innumerable shades of difference that we see, depend upon expression; and any hasty or unobservant eye, which does not notice this expression, will think that every man bears a wonderful resemblance to every other man. The more delicate touches which make up the expression of character, will wholly escape him. It is such observers, only, who have complained of the sameness of character in the Waverley novels; the author has faults, doubtless, but this is not one of them. His later works are received with less enthusiasm, than the first; but the reason is not, that he repeats, but that he does not repeat his characters and descriptions; for the earlier scenes of Waverley, Guy Mannering, and the Antiquary, came upon us with a freshness and a surprising charm, which the author could not from the nature of things, equal or renew, even if time had doubled his ability. We cannot live upon luxuries, without losing something of our passion for them; it is quite too hard to blame the author for the liberality with which he has dealt out his treasures, and so far as we can discover, the principal reason for complaining of his later works, is, that they are not the first.

Before we dismiss this part of our subject, we must say, that nothing seems more groundless than the charge that historical romances make us indifferent to real history. This is easily answered. The introduction of real history either helps the interest of the work, or it does not. If it do not, we are in-

different to real history already, and the novel will not make us more so; if it do, history must have some charm of its own, which gives to the novel much of its attraction. The common impression seems to be, that fiction is the same with falsehood; so far from this, we apprehend that there is more truth in Scott's Old Mortality or Shakspeare's Richard III. than in so many pages of Hume. The poets choose the fiction, as the form which will give the most exact representation of the events and manners of the time; they adopt it for the sake of a nearer approach to truth;—and thus a reader of Waverley will get a far more just idea of the Pretender's inroads in 1745, than a hundred such books as Home's Rebellion would afford him; in fact all histories put together would not tell us half so much truth concerning the Highlands, a most curious and interesting subject, as we can gather in an hour from Waverley and Rob Roy. The scenes as well as the characters represent, not individuals, but classes, and therefore the fiction is less liable to error than history; still the highest praise we claim for it is, that it furnishes colors to fill up the broad outline, which the exact historian has drawn. As for its making us indifferent to history, it seems to us that ignorance is the great cause of indifference in all things. Make a man acquainted with a subject, and his indifference ends; he inevitably becomes interested, more or less, in one way or another; and we believe, that thousands who have been struck with detached portions of history, as exhibited in Scott's magic lantern, have gone to the fountains of authentic information to learn more of what had so delighted them, and thus made themselves familiar with many chronicles, to which they had lived and died strangers but for him. But allow that the charge is true; the novel is soon read—the novelist is mortal—we have evidence enough, that no living writer can make his place good, and in the natural course of things, it is not to be expected, that another of equal talent in the same department, shall rise for many generations. Then those who have read history in his writings, will be driven by their famine to the sources from which his information was drawn. The interest once excited, cannot easily go down;—but when its luxuries fail, will content itself with a meaner supply.

Having thus answered as well as we are able, the objections to the form and character of these works, we shall not feel as if we were out of place in speaking of Scott's peculiar qualifi-

cations for this kind of writing; a subject which has not been discussed in this Journal.

We should certainly mention his good sense as the most remarkable of the original elements of his intellectual character; for, improved as it has been by experience and acquaintance with human nature, he must have inherited an unusual share. We mean the power of judging, balancing and comparing; the power of fixing a steady eye, and giving a rapid decision upon the creations of his own genius; the power of holding with a firm hand the reins of a quick imagination, which, uncontrolled or misguided, whirls away its possessor to destruction; but rightly managed and governed, bears him on eagles' wings to the highest victories and glories of the mind. In the common walks of life this good sense is not uncommon, and appears in the easy confidence, with which its owner moves right onward to his object, where others hesitate and despair. But in the common walks of life there is not usually much imagination to control, and this good sense does not become a remarkable endowment, till we see its effect in ruling the fancies and passions of a gigantic mind. What such a mind will be without it, we see in Byron, whose passions, fired by imagination, were as wild and ungovernable as a rover's crew; of itself it will not make a man great; but no man can have any sure and lasting greatness without it; and it is so apt to be wanting, that we do not esteem it too highly, when we call it the chief distinction of this great author's mind. In invention, he is generally thought to be wanting, and we suspect that here the common opinion would place Miss Edgeworth before him; but without disparaging her admitted claims, we would suggest, that Homer and Virgil took advantage of national traditions; Milton borrowed much of his subject from popular theology, though very little from the Scriptures. Shakspeare, as every one knows, made use of the penny tracts and novels of his day; and if on this ground only we impeach Scott's character for invention, we must allow, that all these other great names have worn a glory not their own. The supply of materials is nothing without the power to use them. Supply two architects with marble, and while one will make a lime-kiln, the other will build a temple for the wonder of ages, lifting up a front, which harmonizes with the calm sky, as if it were sculptured from a bright evening cloud.

It is the good sense of this writer, which trims the lamp of

his imagination. Never was a fancy more fertile, various and brilliant; but there is nothing fitful about it; it spreads a steady and never-failing brightness all round, while his late rival, Byron, might have said of himself, like Mahomet: 'When the lightning flashes we go on by its light; when it vanishes into darkness, we stand still.' It is this union of sense and sensibility, which gives the charm to Scott's other writings; let his subject be Demonology, or what it may, he never plunges into profound discussion; he always keeps far within the limits of his power, and writes as if sensible remark, lively fancy, and playful humor were all that the subject required. Had he never written his poems or novels, he would have been thought too homely, and matter-of-fact for poetry; and this proves that he brings to every subject, precisely that kind and degree of power, which it requires. This is the reason, why he is thought deficient in the inventive faculty, because men do not perceive, that as he was generally writing to illustrate some portion of history, the invention of character was more wanted than facts, which were every where furnished to his hand. A story requires no great consistency; nothing can be more strange and wild than the romances, in which real life abounds; but an invented character, to have the air of life, must be consistent in every part, and under all circumstances, into which it can be thrown; and to describe it well, is one of the hardest enterprises of the mind.

The character of Sir Walter Scott's mind appears in his style, which though more careless in his later writings, is simple, expressive, and at times very eloquent in its flow. The style, where it is unborrowed, is always an index of the mind. The clearest minds express themselves most clearly; and wherever we find a dim and hazy style, like that which is coveted by some writers of the day, in which common thoughts are paraded with an outline as vast and shadowy as Ossian's ghosts, instead of puzzling over it as many do, believing that it must be very fine if one could discover its meaning, we take it for granted that the obscurity is in the writer's mind, and that no light need be expected there. There are popular writers in prose and verse, who can express themselves with force and plainness in ordinary affairs; but let philosophy or poetry be named, and, to use the words of the town clerk of Edinburgh, 'they are off and up in the air a hundred miles above common sense and comprehension.' We regard it as one of the proofs

of Scott's ability, that he never subsides into this mysticism, or if he imagine unspeakable things, does not attempt to utter them. So far from such vain attempts, he generally keeps far within the ascertained limits of his strength, and thus gives the impression, particularly in his earlier poems, that however much the present effort may surprise the world, he is capable of far higher exertions. Compare Scott's style with that of the children of the mist, Coleridge for example, and it is easy to perceive, that the superior clearness is not merely in expression, but in the mind. The fate of the 'subtle doctor,' who, when he was old, wept, because he could not understand his own books, should be a warning to all such writers.

Scott's education, as well as his natural ability, qualified him admirably well for that enterprise, on which his fame is destined to rest. He describes his course of self-education in the studies of Waverley; these were about as systematic and self-denying, as what Peter Poundtext called his studies, viz. 'reading an ancient theological treatise, with a pipe in his mouth, and a small jug of ale beside him.' It seems, that he cast himself into the sea of books without any thing but his own pleasure to guide him. He was master of Milton and Shakspeare, of the old English dramatic authors, of the descriptive and striking passages of ancient chronicles, of all manner of voyages and travels, and all the portions of literature, likely to interest a luxurious and vagrant mind. But he was not confined to the resources of his own language; beside the classical authors required by a liberal education, he was familiar with the treasures of chivalrous learning afforded by the Spanish and Italian, and the endless variety of French memoirs and romances. At the age of fifteen, he had the misfortune to break a blood-vessel, and as some compensation for a confinement and starvation of several weeks, he was permitted to read at pleasure all such works as a large circulating library supplied. Had he not possessed the good sense of which we have spoken, such early excesses would have enervated his mind; they would have entirely unfitted most men for success in literature or any profession, which requires any concentration of the intellectual powers; but with him the case was different; and to this miscellaneous reading is it owing, that he has now an anecdote or illustration at hand on all occasions. To others, such treasures would be like the rubbish of the antiquary's collections; but with him, nothing is lost;

he finds a way to convert them all into materials for the use of his mind.

With a mind thus fitted to throw a romantic coloring upon every thing, the time of Scott's youth was eminently suited to cherish his peculiar taste. Children with this disposition take pleasure in listening to narrative old age; and it so happened, that the veterans of the day were those who had been out in the 'Forty-five,' as it was called, when the Scotch, with a generous self-devotion, however mistaken the cause, made a last effort to replace their own Stuarts on the British throne. It is true, the exiled family were wholly unworthy of this attachment; but there was nothing in the characters of the Brunswick line, which could tend, by contrast, to throw them into deeper shadow; and believing, as the Highland Chieftains did, that the Stuarts were wronged, their loyalty rose into a noble feeling. We can all remember the deep interest with which we thought of the exiled Bourbon race, till they and their allies contrived to change the sympathy of the world into scorn; and may be able therefore to form some idea of the attachment of the Scotch to an unfortunate royal line, which sprang from the bosom of their own country. We learn from Scott himself, that he took every opportunity of gathering these traditions, from the actors in those scenes, or their children; and though his prejudices were all in favor of the Protestant succession, his soul must have been on fire at the recital of the brutal revenge inflicted on his native land by Cumberland, after the battle of Culloden, and William, of 'glorious and immortal memory,' at the massacre of Glencoe. The effect of this youthful influence is easily seen in his works; his politics lead him in one direction, and his sympathies in another. He is not willing to declare Mary Stuart a murderess upon the testimony of men, who united the profession of saints with the malice and cunning of evil spirits; and applies to her case the maxim of the law, which presumes her innocent, or rather reserves his judgment till she is proved guilty, which she never yet has been. He defends the memory of the unfortunate Chevalier against disappointed friends and illiberal foes, and does not think it necessary to paint him as unworthy in his youth, because desperation afterwards drove him into debasing crimes. Thus prepared to be impressed by tradition, the history of his country, from early ages down to his own time, was full of inspiration; and as Old Mortality restored the moss-

grown inscriptions on the tombs, he has engraven with 'an iron pen in the rock forever' the triumphs and sorrows of his native land. In truth, we do not know where he could have found a region more suited to his taste and talent than the Highlands. When he was young, the civil storms had just swept away the clouds which had covered them for ages, and made them a mystery even to those who dwelt in the Lowlands at their feet. To the painter, was disclosed scenery of unequalled wildness and grandeur; to the poet, a display of character equally wild and imposing; while the philosophical observer found there a social system so different from any thing modern, that to climb a few miles from the plain to the mountains, was like passing over ten centuries of time. There were gloomy and ferocious, or chivalrous and accomplished chieftains; vassals at war with all the world, except their own clan, and so faithful to each other, that 'the bands grew the tighter, the more they were wet' with blood. It seemed like a new world revealed on purpose for him to conquer; and if the maxim of the law with respect to right to property be true, he has made the whole realm of Scotland his own.

His natural good sense was enough of itself to save him from being misled in his judgments by romantic associations, but it was aided by the habits of his early life. Though descended from a family of distinguished name, he was not born to wealth, but was obliged to depend for advancement on his own exertions. He was compelled to begin the usual course of a pains-taking lawyer. Had his romantic enthusiasm been too strong, this would have been abundantly sufficient to tame it; and it gave him an acquaintance with human character and the business of life, without which he never could have written his novels; without which he would have made his Fergus like Miss Porter's Wallace; without which he would have made his heroes all virtue, and his villains all evil. Moreover, his acquaintance with the mysteries of the law has been turned to the happiest account in his novels; without it he could have drawn neither Pleydell nor Saddletree. That he never has been enslaved to it, may be seen from the many instances of good-natured satire upon its statutes and provisions, which will doubtless do more than so many motions in Parliament to produce reform. Such is the allusion in the Antiquary to the subject of imprisonment for debt, 'the fugie-warrants ye ken,' and the exultation expressed by the landlord in the same work:

"It's a beautiful thing to see how lang and carefully justice is considered in this country.' His situation in Edinburgh in early life, made him acquainted with the distinguished men who were then the boast of Scotland, and among the rest with Burns, then in the blaze of his fame, and to appearance distant from the disastrous eclipse in which he at last went down. Little did he anticipate, that the boy who gazed upon him with respectful interest, was afterwards to be a shining light, beside which all others should grow dim.

The character which was thus formed by nature, circumstances, and education, was admirably suited to the work in which he was afterwards to engage. There was not a particle of bitterness in his whole composition; but though a sly and sharp observer of men, seeing through their weaknesses with an almost unerring eye, he always looked upon the bright side when it was possible, and thus was a gainer in accuracy as well as good feeling; for certain it is, that the most charitable judgment of others is apt to be most just. Being fully conscious of possessing a giant's strength, he felt no temptation to use it like a giant; and thus was entirely free from those jealous passions, which make a literary life a life of warfare. He was also free from that nervous anxiety for the success of his productions, which often induces authors to correct and alter their works, till they have lost their peculiar beauties; of which we have an instance in Mrs. Hemans's fine lines on the death of Fergus, and Campbell's Lochiel's Warning. Without any ambition of wit, like Sheridan's, for example, which is often as ungentle and surprising as an electric shock, and which carries more blood-stain than brightness on its edge, Scott has the easy and delightful humor of a good-natured man; it reminds us of the archness of unlabored conversation; and no man can doubt that the same wit, which forms the attraction of his own table at home, lights up the great festival, which he spreads for all the nations. On the whole, as is often said of great men, he seems made for the times, and the enterprise in which he was to engage. This is not a romantic age; and the familiarity which he discovers with law, mercantile business, and the rule of three, has no doubt caused many to turn a moment from the Year-book and Ledger, who in all other cases treat the unprofitable art of poem-making, as the Scotch Presbyterians call it, with utter contempt and derision.

The works, by which he acquired his earliest popularity—a

favor which the enthusiasm for his novels hardly transcends—were writings of a kind unfitted for the display of humor; and their narrative being entirely romantic, excluded a large proportion of those characters, which he draws with most skill. Such characters as William of Deloraine, are but half revealed; and such as Robin Hood and the Holy Clerk of Copmanhurst—even such as Evan Dhu and the robber Bean Lean, though perfectly at home on romantic ground, could, for obvious reasons, have no place in such writings. Roderick Dhu and Lord Marmion might remain; but the poet was so fettered by the forms of his poem, that he could not possibly develope the character of the last, even so far as to show that his fraud and falsehood were perfectly consistent with his chivalrous character. In the novel, he writes without restraint, and tells all, or what is still better, allows his characters to tell all for themselves. He constantly seemed oppressed before, by the feeling that he was confined to a limited circle; he crowded much antiquarian information into his notes, which to many were as interesting as the poem; information, which in the novel can be wrought gracefully into the texture of the whole, instead of being trailed after it in court-dress fashion. It was to be expected, then, that after a time, those works would decline in public favor, as they did; not so much because the world grew weary of them, nor because they were travestied by a rabble of imitators, as because there was a general feeling that the employment was too youthful for a man of so much talent, and one in which he could not display to the world half the riches of his mind. No such objection could be made to the form of the novel. It will embrace all that man ever did, and all that man ever knew; nothing is above it nor beneath it; it includes with perfect ease and gracefulness all varieties of science, information, profession and character; and as it does not restrain or oppress the writer, it is not likely to change, except by improvement; an improvement which will appear, not so much in the form as in the taste, literature, and moral character of such productions.

Such a change has taken place already, and it is to Scott that we are indebted in part for the progress already made, though we would not forget Miss Edgeworth, whose well-deserved success, we are told, inspired Scott to finish Waverley, when the earliest part of the manuscript had been thrown aside for years. It seems to us, that both surpass such writers as

Fielding, as much in talent as in moral taste. The question is often asked, what rank will Scott take among our novelists, when time has set its seal upon the reputation of his works? We have no hesitation in saying, that he will stand as much above him in durable fame, as he now does in interest and attraction. Fielding, no doubt, was a great genius, and in this respect, even Scott perhaps is not before him; but native strength will go but little way in such an enterprise; and Fielding was wholly destitute of the refinement and general cultivation, which any large view of life requires. Certain aspects of human nature, can no doubt be seen in a London police-office and prison, or in the lanes and inns of that vast labyrinth of crime; but the very experience which fitted Fielding to describe these with such perfect truth and humor, not to say relish, rendered him utterly incapable of describing happy homes and hearts, or of giving any thing better than a misanthropic picture of a man. He rather describes England, than human life; his best sketches are those of individuals, not of classes; and like other painters of manners, he must give place to those who find their originals in human nature at large, rather than individual characters. We are not insensible to his grave humor; for in solemn irony, even Swift does not exceed him; nor are we sure that we do right to compare his works with those of Scott. This is a parallel like that between Hudibras and the Orlando. We are perfectly aware that Fielding was not what, with better principles and a happier destiny, he might have been; but whatever offence we may give to those who are always ready to say of every thing, 'the old is better,' we are quite resigned to the change of taste, which has removed Tom Jones and Amelia to the highest shelves. It is vain to plead the taste of the times for his indecency; we do not find it in all the works of that day, and if he thought proper thus to defile his pages, he has no one but himself to condemn. He is the suicide of his own fame.

Of Smollett, we should hardly speak in this connexion, except to express our delight that he did not carry into effect a purpose he had formed, of making his native land the scene of some of his fictitious stories. He would certainly have peopled it with strange inhabitants, and would have extracted sufficient amusement from the subject; but it would have been like Sir Roger de Coverley, in the hands of Steele; the fine simplicity which Scott and Burns have identified with the

Scotch dialect and character, would certainly have vanished under the coarse caricature of his pencil; and by thus forestalling the field, he might have prevented Scott in a later day, from spreading over it a mantle of venerable and pleasing associations. In one respect, he might perhaps have done it more ample justice than Scott; the latter, through respect to the reigning family, has passed much too lightly over the shameful cruelties committed by authority upon the Scotch nation, after their attempts to restore the Stuarts were put down; and has paraded with too much exultation, one or two of those expressions of magnanimity on the part of the Brunswick line, toward their fallen rivals, which, inasmuch as they cost nothing, the victorious party can easily afford to spare. The Scotch had undoubtedly laid themselves open to punishment, but the infliction should have been that of a civilized government, not a savage horde, such as under the authority of the Duke of Cumberland, overran the land. It is but justice to the Stuarts, and their supporters, to show that the spirit of the established succession was little, if any better, than their own.

Of the early English novelists, Richardson deserves to be placed nearest to Scott. Most readers deny the justice of Dr. Johnson's criticism, when he places him before Fielding; but Fielding has an advantage over him, in the unchangeableness of the low life and manners which he describes; they continue the same from generation to generation; no substantial change can take place in the fox-hunting squire, so long as the race endures; and originals may even now be found, to test the truth of Fielding's descriptions. On the contrary, Richardson, though he dealt much more with the human heart and character than Fielding, was minutely accurate in describing dress and manners; things which in the changes of time and fashion become so grotesque, that the bodily presence of Sir Charles Grandison, whose bow was a curvation of the spine, would not be more fatal to the pathetic and sentimental in real life, than he now is in the novel. Still, Richardson was even more than Scott the reformer of his day; he waged war upon the majestic old romances, enormous folios, any one of which might have been the book with which Dr. Johnson felled his bookseller, Osborne; and which, with their brazen clasps and dull red edging, held the same place on the drawing-room table, which a score of annuals now fill. They had an advantage over the present race of novels; now, the reader is unpleasantly brought up by the

close of the book, a few hours after its interest begins, while the old romance would entertain him from day to day, and from year to year. It was no common power which encountered this heavy artillery, and silenced it forever.

It is really surprising, that the literature of Britain should have furnished so few novels, till a very recent time, when they have broken upon us in a deluge, as if the stream had been dammed for ages. There have been very few novelists by profession, nor can the deficiency be accounted for, by saying, that they wrote in the poetical form; for of epics, how few there are which have left even a name. The Vicar of Wakefield still stands foremost in popularity; Rasselas, though the sentiments are philosophically untrue as well as depressing, is still read. It will be observed, that these two very successful works were written by poets of the first order. Goldsmith was even more at home in verse than prose; and in both expressed himself with that simple eloquence, which goes directly to the heart. Johnson, though not commonly regarded in this light, was distinguished by the poetical character of his mind; much of the power of his argument depended on the bright light of his imagination. Unfortunately, his defect of sight prevented him from enjoying the grand and beautiful in nature, and his bodily infirmities made his fancy rise, except in short flights, with a heavy and flagging wing.

We have slightly alluded to the novelists who stood before the public at the time of Scott's appearance, and who, for a time, seemed to be breathless with amazement at the sight of the new phenomenon. Their satisfaction was not increased by the voices, which they heard from all sides, saying to them, like Sieyes to his associates, when Bonaparte came forward; 'Gentlemen, you have a master.' They retired with one consent from the field, and for a time, no one even attempted to gain a hearing; at length, some solitary voice was heard between the acts; and now, novels of all descriptions swarm upon the reading world. There are few, however, of the vast numbers constantly imported from England, likely to endure; our own country gives us a better supply. Of the British novels, published within the last few years, Cyril Thornton is by far the best; it is a work of real power; in Scotch character and Scotch humor, the writer may contend with the Author of Waverley, with his foot on his native soil, while the more pathetic parts make strong appeals to the heart. Were

it not for a case of seduction, which the author ascribes to his hero, we should have read it with unmingled pleasure, and we cannot easily account for its attracting so little attention.

One word to readers of the present day. There is a power in scenes and narratives, which implies no power in the writer; and certain writers, without industry or talent, are carrying on an extensive system of imposition. They go to lunatic asylums, and note in their tablets the ravings of the maniac in chains; they study the Newgate Calendar, or write down the confession of some atrocious malefactor; and with these genuine horrors, make a deep impression on the public mind. But the business is wholly mechanical; some paltry wax-work, representing a bloody and ghastly form, may make the strong man start, and women faint away, while the pencil of Michael Angelo could not produce an effect half so striking; but no one is so absurd, as to judge of a work of art from the shock which it gives; if equal judgment were shown in respect to novels, the public taste would no longer be insulted by works, in which such narratives as any veteran knave can furnish, are paraded as splendid specimens of invention and descriptive power.

The edition of Scott's novels, which we have undertaken to notice, is one which has received the final revision of the author; and he has taken advantage of it to communicate to the world the historical facts, on which the incidents and characters in his works are founded. We can well imagine that he did this with a sort of triumph; for it shows that he drew from nothing but the ocean-spring of his own imagination. A few notes relative to matters of fact, are acceptable enough as illustrations; but the traditions which he brings forward as containing the suggestions of such characters as Meg Merrilies, Madge Wildfire, and others, evidently would not help a poor fancy, and would do little more than embarrass a strong one. Altogether we think they might as well have been reserved; for such an air of vivid reality attaches to his descriptions, that we think of all his events and characters as if they had really existed. We are rather vexed at being told, on the best authority, that they are nothing more than life-like fictions; we almost say as Bentley did of Horace, 'Yea, if he were now here and swore it, I would not believe him.'

In Waverley, there is little taken from tradition, though the whole story, otherwise loosely constructed, is held together by

that thread of history which is known to all. The Chevalier is a historical character; a young prince, who believed that his father had the same right to his kingdom that others have to their estates; and who, if he had been told at the moment of invasion that the majority of the nation had a right, and were disposed to reject him, would have replied, that this question was the one to be decided. The author has painted the character of this young prince in bright colors, and the evidence of facts bears him out in so doing. It is not surprising that a dethroned and discrowned sovereign, or one who has seen that hope, which is brighter than a crown, deferred and destroyed, should fall into excesses in exile, poverty and humiliation, to which, in better days, he was a stranger. This was evidently the case with Charles Edward. In the days of Waverley, he was a brave and romantic young adventurer, who, so long as his prosperity lasted, possessed the attachment of all about him, but who, as usual, found enough to act the hyæna as soon as he was fallen. The evidence of Dr. King against him, is that of a disappointed partisan, who deserted his cause. If he were as spiritless and enervated as he is often represented, it seems difficult to account for his return to England in 1759, which seems to have been putting his head into the lion's mouth. Historians do not mention this last and most hopeless endeavor; but Dr. King testifies, that Charles Edward actually visited London in disguise; and we remember a conversation in Boswell's Tour to the Hebrides, in which a chieftain stated to Dr. Johnson, that the Chevalier was at that time in England. The romance of Redgauntlet is founded on this incident, which involved no serious consequences. We have no doubt, then, that Charles Edward, though afterwards miserably changed, was in youth what Scott describes him.

This is the character in which the novelist was aided by the history of the times, and it strikes every reader as precisely the one in which no such aid was needed. It might have been drawn by a very inferior hand. But the Baron of Bradwardine, with his pedantry and ancestral vanity, so oddly mingled with good sense, courage, and generous feeling; Fergus, whose noble bearing on the memorable trial, makes us forget how fiery and unreasonable he had been; Evan, whose attachment to his chieftain had become a part of his nature; Baillie Macwheeble, who pauses in the moment of capture, to set down a 'sma' minute' to make matters sure; the high-souled

and lovely Flora; the equally lovely and gentle Rose, are all creations of the author's genius. It seems to us, that the want of interest complained of in the character of Waverley, arises from its truth to nature. What more natural, than that one educated as he had been, should be acted upon by the force of circumstances? They know little of human nature, who think that such a character cannot have much that is high and manly to redeem its failings and errors.

Now it is not a little singular, that the Baron's returning into danger to rescue his Titus Livius, and the stratagem by which Janet Gellatly, when on trial for witchcraft, routed her judicial persecutors, and also the stratagem, by which Davie misled the soldiers, who were in pursuit of the Baron, all which circumstances would, especially the first, be pronounced the most unnatural in the book, are incidents, which actually happened. And no doubt many a narrative might be drawn to the letter from real life, which critics would pronounce decidedly unnatural, for the same reason which makes a French connoisseur think a tragedy of Addison more natural than Shakspeare's; because he has an idea of what nature requires firmly fixed in his mind, and compares every thing with this in preference to real life, thinking that if it be not nature, it is something better than nature.

The manner in which Waverley was written, will hereafter be quoted as a curious piece of literary history. Inspired, as he tells us, by the recollections and traditions of the 'Forty-five,' the author wrote, in 1805, about one third part of the first volume of Waverley. It was advertised to be published under the title of 'Waverley, or 'tis Fifty Years Since,' the latter part of the title having been afterwards altered. The author showed the manuscript to a friend, (it had then reached the seventh chapter,) whose opinion was unfavorable, and the work was thrown by into an old writing desk, where it lay forgotten till after his removal to Abbotsford in 1811. Afterwards the fame of Miss Edgeworth, and an ambition to render Scotland as interesting as she had made her own land, induced him to search for the unfinished manuscript, which was no where to be found, till one day, in looking for some fishing-tackle, it came to light in the old desk aforesaid, which had kept Horace's advice to the letter, for the work was published in 1814. Its progress was at first slow, and its fate was the same in this country, not from want of taste in the public to discover

its merits, but from want of a name in the title-page to induce them to read it. As soon as it gained a hearing, its success was brilliant; the gale of popular favor, which has not since changed, beat upon it in a perfect storm.

Guy Mannering followed Waverley, though with a considerable interval between; for it was not till the success of Waverley was certain, that the author was induced to try his fortune again. In this new attempt he did not lean upon history, as in the other; and the consequence has been, that, although incomparably beyond Waverley in its first impression, it is now generally thought inferior; because Waverley not only abounds in historical fact, but breathes the living spirit of the times it describes; while Guy Mannering describes nature and manners without reference to any particular age. Perhaps even now, any one reading these works for the first time, would give the preference to Guy Mannering; such is the rapid flow of the narrative, the dazzling variety of character, and the strong romantic interest attached to the scenes in which the gypsies appear. The author informs us, that he began with the intention of resting the interest of the story upon the accidental correctness of an astrological prediction. This accounts for the aspect of the earliest chapters. Happily he became aware of his mistake before he had gone too far, and now the astrology of the novel, without amounting to superstition, carries with it that slight degree of mystery, which recommends itself in an unaccountable manner to the most rational minds. It is now a story not far removed from ordinary life, and is remarkable for its containing the only decided failure of the author in his attempt to draw a heroine; such is the common opinion with respect to Miss Mannering, and it is a verdict in which we entirely agree.

When these works were in their height of interest and favor, various attempts were made to show the author's want of originality, and traditions were brought forward in several journals, from which it was said that the scenes and characters were drawn. It now appears that the formidable person who brought the author to justice was no other than himself; we have already mentioned the instance in the Quarterly Review. The appearance of Guy Mannering called forth another in Blackwood's Magazine. There it was stated, that the original of Meg Merrilies was a gypsy, named Gordon, a remarkable person, who resembled the fictitious character in her energy,

fidelity, and influence with her lawless tribe. The adventure of Dinmont with the robbers, and the part borne in it by Meg, were also historically true. In this last edition, we are told that Dominie Sampson was taken from one who was an original in every sense of the word; a simple and faithful tutor, who supported his patron's daughter by his exertions, and treated her with the same affectionate respect, when her father's death had left her poor and dependent on him. We are glad of this, for the honor of human nature. The author also mentions sundry other personages, from whom his characters were taken, such as Yarskins, a Dutch smuggler; stating by way of commentary, that he has been informed of this by creditable persons, though it was unknown to him till after the work appeared. The truth is, however, that these characters develope themselves in their conversation, which could not well have been copied from the living letter; and with these few materials upon his hands, the author is like one to whom a subject is prescribed, somewhat more embarrassed than when left to choose his own.

We are told that the funeral scene described in the novel, has had the effect to produce a reform in Edinburgh, in respect to the decency of such transactions. The character of Dandie Dinmont was assigned by common consent to Mr. James Davidson of Hindlee, who besides the points of honesty, bluntness and hardihood, had a family of dogs whose generic names were Pepper and Mustard. An English lady of rank, wishing to possess some animals of this distinguished line, took the direct course of addressing a letter to Mr. Dinmont, with which direction it reached Mr. Davidson, who failed not to appropriate the name, and grant the request. Two of the dogs now reside in the family of the author, and it is to be hoped, express themselves grateful by their services, for the gift of immortality. These little incidents are interesting, and show how strong is the persuasion of the reality of the story; the historian may bless his stars, who is able to leave half as distinct an impression of the truth of his narrative on the minds of his readers, though he gives chapter and verse for every fact which he records.

The Antiquary was the immediate successor of Guy Mannering, and like Waverley, was more slow in making its way into favor; but not for the same reason. The readers of that work could not relish it at first, because the manners it de-

scribes were wholly new; they made the same mistake with Waverley himself, when, from ignorance of the Highland manners, he took the haughty Fergus for the thief-taker of the district; nor is it surprising that there was something fatal to all romance in the collectors of black-mail, and stealers of cattle; when circumstances so slight are sufficient to quench all enthusiasm in common life, it is easy to account in this instance for the holding back of general applause. But the fate of the Antiquary, which from being the least popular, is now as a whole, the favorite work of the author, is embraced in the usual destiny of great productions in all the arts; not less in music and painting than poetry; a destiny which promises the more enduring fame, to that which is less relished at first. So well is this fact established and so generally known, that we at once apprehend, that there may be more finery than real excellence, in that which charms us at the first hearing. Works of genius require study and will bear it. Sir Joshua Reynolds tells us, that he was not struck with Raphael's paintings till after long study and attention, and such a taste, like that for olives, is likely to last, when that which pleased at once is forgotten.

In admitting the public behind the curtain, we learn with respect to the Antiquary, that the character of Oldbuck was taken from real life. The original was a friend of the author's youth, who resembled the Antiquary in learning, wit and quaintness of expression; but excepting the scene with the owner of the stage-coach, nothing in the fiction bears any resemblance to the circumstances of the original. It seems that the likeness was striking enough to endanger the secret of the author; for a person who knew this original and his intimacy with the family of Scott, declared himself satisfied, that he had discovered the Great Unknown. Edie the mendicant, is the representative of a class, and was drawn from two or three originals, each of whom had something in common with the beggar of the story. Beyond this it does not appear, that any thing was supplied by history or tradition. The common impression is, that Fairport represents Aberbrothic, where are still seen the ruins of an abbey of some note in the ancient history of Scotland; but the author does not confirm this, and from his frankness in making all such admissions, we may infer, that it is not true. We believe that some regret is generally felt, that Miss Wardour was not more distinguished from other young ladies, and the false alarm at the close might have seemed a lame con-

clusion, had it not been borne out by many similar scenes in this country and Great Britain during the late war, when, as every one remembers, the mistake was ludicrous, but the excitement was sublime. There are one or two ill-managed scenes, and the German weighs somewhat heavily on many parts of the story; but what must those faults be, which the aged Elspeth and the funeral at the cottage fail to redeem?

In the preface to the Antiquary the author intimated, that his course was at an end, remembering probably, that his poetical works had declined in public favor, and wishing to halt in this new enterprise, before he should be troubled with indifference on the part of readers. But he must have soon discovered, that there was no such danger, and that there was no need of reasoning from one case to the other; for if the time were ever to come, when the world would be weary of his productions, it was then as distant as any thing human could be. His purpose of silence must have been contingent, and he did wisely to break it, for no one of his works has fixed itself more strongly on the imagination than Rob Roy. This is partly owing to Diana Vernon, a bewitching vision, whose wildness, sense and beauty, inspired more interest for the time, than even Flora Mac Ivor. There were contrasts in her character fully accounted for by her situation, but romantic in the highest degree; and similar contrasts made the ground-work of the novel. A Highland robber is brought into intimate union with the most homely and practical person who could be found in Glasgow; those who proposed to drain Loch Lomond are within sight of the wildest aspects of nature and social life. The confusion is as striking as in Mr. Stewart's congregation at the Sandwich islands, where the fashionable coat of the day stood side by side with a faded revolutionary uniform, a ruffled shirt by a frame which never felt the want of such a blessing, and a lady of rank paraded in the latest style of Broadway, fully equipped with every luxury, excepting stockings and shoes.

Here, Rob Roy, who gives the name and much of the interest to the work, is, except as far as his conversation goes, entirely drawn from history; and the same is true of his wife, whose wrongs and vengeance are not overstated; the tradition is, that she stood by his bedside when he was dying, with an exhortation similar to that of the wife of Job, and received a still sharper reply. The real history of this person is given by

Nicol Jarvie in the novel with exactness, and about the right tone of moral feeling. The knavery of Highland rovers was looked upon in that day, with the same indulgence which is now accorded to that of statesmen, and it was not to be supposed, that a desperate and broken-hearted outlaw, would become a teacher of morality and reform. If circumstances be weighed and balanced, he was no more guilty than many a citizen who passes for conscientious, because he confines his operations to that wide reach of dishonesty, which lies within the limits of the law. But we would say nothing in defence of any doubtful character, and allowing the Highlander to be as bad as the most captious critics would make him, Scott has recommended him to our compassionate respect and not as our example. It is impossible (as many moralists would have us) to pronounce the same single sentence upon character, which we do upon persons; if a criminal be brought to the bar, some traits of generosity are not allowed to excuse him, because there is no such retribution as that which Zoroaster saw, where a foot was receiving its reward in Heaven for kicking food to a starving animal, while all the rest of the owner's person was suffering in the flames. But with respect to character, there are some traits which we abhor, and others which we venerate and love, and so long as we have to do with mixed characters, we must regard them with mixed feelings. We shall not, therefore, when we pronounce Byron an unprincipled libertine, forget that he was a mighty genius and unfortunate in his early influences, nor shall we do the same with respect to fictitious character; this wholesale condemnation is, no doubt, an easy process, but beside being unjust, it throws the sympathy of the world into the wrong direction; if the guilty be punished beyond reason, men inevitably take their part.

The next work with which the author astonished the world, was the 'Tales of my Landlord, taken down by Peter Pattison, and given to the public by Jedediah Cleishbotham, after the decease of the said Peter.' These introductions showed the unbounded resources of his fancy. Of themselves, they would exhaust the invention of an ordinary mind; and the novels themselves do not contain two characters better sustained, than the gentle and simple-hearted teacher, and his consequential superior and patron. The first of these tales is the Black Dwarf, the plan of which seems to have engaged the author,

without much consideration whether it was suited to a work intended to give pleasure. The original was David Richie, who, in person, and most points of character, is exactly described, but unlike the Dwarf, was humble and poor. He was bred a brush-maker in Edinburgh; but the painful notoriety which his appearance gave him, and the insulting gaze to which he was exposed, induced him to leave the city. He found, after removing to various places, that he could not escape persecution without withdrawing from society altogether. He then built a small hut on a wild moorland, and afterwards held as little communion as possible with the world. But he could not get rid of his jealousy and wounded spirit; and any slight smile or neglect in the chance visiters of his retreat, fired him at once into insanity. It was evident, that such a story might admit of much powerful writing; but pity and horror would be the feelings most naturally excited. Such a spectre would throw a gloom over the whole narrative, which no scenes of an opposite character could entirely do away. This is felt by every reader of the Black Dwarf; and we cannot but regret, that the author should have published it in its present unfinished form. It is so short, that the Dwarf casts his shadow entirely over it; and in his character we find too little of the love of nature, which did much to soften the feelings of the original. The history is too interesting to be omitted. It seems that this attachment to the loveliness of nature sprang up in his heart like the diamond of the desert; he found friends in the silent objects about him, which, without speech or language, breathed consolation to his desolate spirit, when man had almost driven him to despair.

The author was induced to crowd into one volume a story which was meant to occupy two, by the advice of a friend, who assured him that the idea of the Dwarf was of a kind too revolting for the purposes of a novel. This was true, but the difficulty was only increased by hastening to its conclusion, and the better course would have been, either to have carried out the original plan, or not have published it at all. But when a work has become distasteful to a writer, it is hard to go on and complete it,—perhaps impossible for him to do it justice, unless he writes with all his heart; so that if some other course had been preferable, he probably took the only one which was left him; and we confess, that we should have been sorry to lose the domestic scenes of the Elliots, though the work as a whole leaves a melancholy impression.

Fortunately for the Black Dwarf, it was leagued with the story of Old Mortality, and was forgotten in the success of the latter. The name is not descriptive of a single character or circumstance in the novel; but it was borne by a person who is exactly described in the introduction to the work,—a harmless enthusiast, whose mind had been unhinged by enthusiasm in early life,—who, like David Deans, could not sit down contented with the 'carnal self-seeking times,' which had followed the days of persecution and martyrdom. The only employment that suited his sorrowing spirit, was that of travelling through Scotland, with his chisel and hammer, to build, burnish, or repair, the sepulchres of the Cameronian righteous, whose memory had passed away, like the smoke of engagement from the field of blood. Scott himself saw and conversed with this person, whose name was Robert Patterson. He died in 1801, leaving three sons, one of whom came over to Baltimore in 1776.

In this work the author is indebted to history for the main incidents with which the fiction is interwoven, such as the actions of Bothwell bridge and Loudon hill, and above all for the character of Claverhouse, which is evidently a favorite with him, and whether in history or the fiction, is a most singular specimen of human nature. No one denies, that he was brave, and at times generous, with something lofty in his ambition, which contrasted strangely enough with the savage fidelity with which he discharged a trust, that would have been more properly delegated to an executioner than to a cavalier and man of honor. He was beautiful almost to effeminacy in his person, graceful and courtly in his manners, but one of the most ferocious leaders that ever thundered in the front of war. With him is contrasted another historical personage, Balfour of Burley, a ruffian who made use of one shred of religious enthusiasm to cover a thousand sins. Both these characters, with all their seeming inconsistency, are true to fact; were it not so, critics would have long ago set them down as the most extravagant and unnatural the author's pencil ever drew. A descendant of the latter has undertaken to defend his ancestor; but where the deeds are such as can neither be denied nor defended, the advocate may as well be still.

Most of the fanatics of the novel represent a class, and those who feel an interest in the annals of that day, are indebted to Scott for presenting them in a living and breathing form. Much

fault has been found with the author for holding up the Cameronians to abhorrence and derision; but we know of no beings who ever deserved it more than a great proportion of their number. We honor their piety and self-devotion; we respect the firmness with which they maintained their rights and principles; but when enthusiasm rises to excess, it stands upon the verge of imposture, and it is wholly impossible to believe, that all, even of that which passed the furnace, was gold. We have no doubt that the author has given them credit for all they deserve, both of good and evil, though nothing which contains an admission of their infirmities can be expected to satisfy those who look upon them as saints and martyrs. There is a certain point to which we can believe that mistaken zeal may go in all sincerity; but when it begins to cry out for persecution and thirst for blood, we more than suspect, that without the enthusiast being conscious of it, his earthly passions are rising, and his religious feeling dying away. We do not believe that pure enthusiasm can lead a man to suppose himself released from the command 'thou shalt not kill;' yet the friendly historian of the Covenanters says, that Mr. Hamilton commanded at Drumclog, and 'some, contrary to his express command,' gave quarter to their enemies, and let them go. 'This greatly grieved Mr. Hamilton, when he saw Babel's brats spared, after that the Lord had delivered them into their hands, that they might dash them against the stones.' The same wretch put to death a prisoner with his own hand in cold blood, and speaking of it some time afterwards said, 'I bless the Lord for it unto this day.' Verily, such feelings are like the white ants of the West Indies, which eat into the wooden frame of houses, and as fast as they consume it, fill up the cavity with stone.

Beyond this the author is not indebted to history, though the spirit of history breathes through it all. Lauderdale indeed is described in the memoirs of those times, but the author might have invented a character for the purpose with less trouble. Serjeant Bothwell really existed—a descendant of the noble family of that name, whose habits had reduced him to the condition of a common soldier; but the fiction has borrowed from the original nothing but his name. The tower of Tillietudlem is imaginary, but somewhat resembles the ruins of Craignethan castle. The greatest objection to this work is the close, when Lord Evandale, who has interested the reader so much throughout by his generosity, is so suddenly murdered;

but estimable characters in real life are often removed quite as suddenly; and no one says that it is not according to nature. The charm, however, does not depend on the consistency of the narrative, but the characteristic conversations, and the rich display of portraits, representing the spirit and manners of the times. The simple and kind old lady, who had entertained his Most Sacred Majesty in her tower,—the brave old Major, beginning to fight his battles over again under the touch of years,—the admirable Cuddie and his mither,—the miser Milnwood and his house-keeper Mistress Wilson,—the widow who sat in her red cloak by the road, and the little girl who guides Morton to the Black Linn, are so perfect in their kind, that the reader must be difficult to please, who can stop to criticise one or two faults in the story. Nothing has been more remarkable, and we dare say more gratifying to the author, than the obstinacy with which his readers insisted on being pleased, when critics made it as clear as the day that all was wrong. Faults were pointed out in vain; still the readers kept on, like the English at Waterloo, not knowing when they were beaten. We can imagine that some other conclusion of the story would have been more agreeable to our feelings; but after all, the effect of the work is the test; this has been recorded, and now it cannot be altered.

The information now for the first time communicated by the author, with respect to the Heart of Mid Lothian, is full of interest. It is honorable to the public, as well as the writer, that a heroine in humble life, without education, beauty, or romantic feeling, and admired, if at all, for her energetic virtue alone, should have acquired more extensive popularity than any other of the wonderful images which have passed before the public eye. The original was named Helen Walker, and the facts were communicated in a letter to the author while he was yet unknown, by a Mrs. Goldie. She stated that she had met this person twenty-six years before in a place a few miles from Dumfries. She was then an old woman, rather stout in form, with eyes remarkably bright and expressive, living in a very humble way, but looked upon by the neighbors as reserved and proud, because unwilling to speak of the circumstances which had brought dishonor on her name. In 1736, the time described in the novel, her sister Isabella was condemned to die for the same crime with Effie Deans. Helen was called upon to give evidence in court in the same manner with Jeanie

Deans, and, like her, stated to the counsel that she could not swear to a falsehood. The same day Helen procured a petition stating the circumstances, and the same night set out on foot for London. As in Madame Cottin's Elizabeth, the difficulties she encountered are understated in the fiction; for without introduction of any kind, she presented herself to the Duke of Argyle, and having by his means procured a pardon, returned with it on foot in time to save her sister. Isabella afterwards married her seducer. This is one of the cases in which truth puts imagination to shame. The whole world has rung with the reply of Ledyard, when asked how soon he would proceed to Africa; but here was energy and enterprise infinitely beyond it. Helen died in 1791, and was buried in the church-yard of Irongray; the daughter of Mrs. Goldie wished to place a monument on her grave, with an inscription by Sir Walter Scott; he anticipated her wishes; but brass and marble are too frail to bear the record of such deeds; he had raised a monument already, which will endure till the last eye that can read it is closed in death.

The history of the Porteous mob might be tranferred to a history of Edinburgh, almost without alteration. The account of Robertson's deliverance is given as it actually happened. A singular mystery still hangs over this transaction, which reminds one in some respects, of the destruction of the tea in Boston harbor. Scott thought himself at one time in a fair way of tracing out some of the actors, but the clue failed, and all again was dark as ever. We should infer from the accounts of the transaction, that the whole population of the city was accessary, either by direct agency or encouragement; so long as penalties hung over them none would dare to confess their own share in it, nor would the popular feeling allow any one to inform against another. When all the actors in the conspiracy were dead, their children, who had not been wrought upon by the same passions, must have viewed the matter in a different light, and it may readily be supposed, that they would not wish to make such an affair conspicuous in the memory of their fathers. In this way matters are often concealed from history, which are known to thousands.

The Maniac was suggested by a harmless person, known by the name of Feckless Fanny; but in order to avoid a resemblance to Sterne's Maria, into which the original would have led him, he altered it so much, that no traces of the first con-

ception remain. The Tolbooth, which makes such a distinguished figure in the novel, was removed in 1817, and on that occasion, the gateway and door of the ancient prison were presented to Sir Walter Scott. They now form the entrance of the kitchen-court at Abbotsford.

There have been objections made to this work, and one is, as our papers say of the news, highly important if true. It is, that the moral effect is not good; the villain who caused all the misery of the story, and the unfortunate victim of his seduction, are transferred to a station in which they enjoy whatever wealth, rank and fashion can give. This is not the fact; they are not represented as enjoying any thing, but as leading a life made wretched by mutual reproach and self-upbraiding; while their rank is but the 'gilding of their woe,' and the author makes it sufficiently evident that none can enjoy it without health at heart. But it would have been easy to alter all this. By a single dash of his pen, the author could have brought them to justice; but he knew better, and has acted upon the principle that a writer gives the right aspect to vice, when he represents it as destroying the peace beyond the power of riches and honors to repair it; and the right reward to virtue, when he secures for it the universal applause of men.

At some future time we may resume the subject, and if we do nothing more, may save some readers the trouble of picking out the information which Scott has given with respect to the materials which have suggested his scenes and characters. All such information only shows how little he needs to borrow, or rather how much he overpays; for whenever he takes a scene from history, he repairs its faded colors, sets it in a proper light, and gives it a force and reality which it never had before.

For this reason, among others, we are glad to see this edition. Such works should be in a cheap and accessible form; families may read them with instruction as well as pleasure; we lament the want of discrimination amounting to folly, which sets down all works that bear the name of novels as if they came under the same description, and warns us against reading novels as if they were not as various in moral and intellectual character as all other productions of the mind. There are novels which have an extensive circulation among us, and are not a little admired by the very young, which are vile as respects moral sentiment, and contemptible in their literary

pretensions; those who degrade Scott to the level of such writers not only libel him, but they injure the cause which they profess to have at heart; for some novels will be read, and if they tell their children that such works are all alike, their children will be as likely to choose the worse as the better, believing that equal injustice is done to all by such sweeping condemnation. Such remarks as these may seem out of date in the nineteenth century; but less than half a dozen years ago, a divine of respectable character and great influence lifted up his voice in warning against novels at large, while he allowed other poems to retain the place of which it seemed hopeless to deprive them. It is hard to say which were the most marvellous, his prohibitions or exemptions; to us it seems better to discriminate; this legal process *castigat auditque* seems better calculated for the region to which Virgil confines it, than for ours. It is like the French revolutionary practice of taking off the prisoner, and investigating the merits of his sentence at the next convenient time.

One thing we would suggest to all concerned in publishing future editions of these novels. Nothing can be more unsatisfactory than the prints which they afford us. When we see a sketch of a scene, which has impressed itself on our minds like those of Shakspeare and Scott, we are sure to be disappointed; for, however good in itself, it is not what we expected and wished to see. Let any one look at the prints of Nicol Jarvie with his red-hot coulter, or Duncan of Knockdunder at the table, and he will feel that such attempts are provoking; these poor efforts to represent the scene, only serve to disturb our vivid imaginations. Any one who wishes to illustrate these novels, should give representations of the scenes described in them; the sketch of the Grass-market in this edition, is worth all the rest of the prints put together; it is not every one who can visit Rob Roy's cave, and millions would be grateful to any artist who should furnish such views, to give compactness and unity in their minds to the author's local descriptions.

ART. VI. *British and American Shipping.*

1. *The Merchant, Ship-Owner, and Ship-Master's Import and Export Guide.* By CHARLES POPE. London. 1828, 8vo. pp. 815. Fourteenth edition.
2. *Speech of Right Honorable William Huskisson in the House of Commons.* May, 1827.

We propose to devote a few pages to the consideration of the shipping and commerce of Great Britain and the United States. The importance of a flourishing commercial marine to the United States, with regard to national prosperity and individual wealth and comfort, is too clear to need explanation. It is likewise essential to our security against foreign aggression, the paramount interest of every nation; for it is necessary to the existence of a naval power, which can alone afford adequate protection to our commerce and our sea-coast. The first President Adams, one of the most early and zealous friends of the American Navy, remarks in one of his communications to Congress, that it was a commercial marine which had drawn to Europe the superfluous wealth of the other three quarters of the globe, and the superfluous wealth of Europe itself to two or three nations. His maxim was, that a commercial and a military marine must grow up together, and that one could not long exist without the other. This doctrine we believe to be true; notwithstanding the opposite opinion lately advanced in the Edinburgh Review, that commercial shipping is not at all essential to the existence and support of a powerful navy, and that England might be as formidable by sea as at present, or even much more so, without possessing a single merchant ship. We do not suppose that this theory is likely to gain many proselytes on either side of the Atlantic. England will never gratify her enemies or endanger her own security by an experiment to solve the question, whether the empire of the seas can be maintained without a commercial marine. In our own country, we trust, that whoever may be called to administer our public affairs, our commercial shipping will be cherished, not only as a most important branch of national industry and source of wealth, but as indispensably necessary to the existence and support of a navy, the right arm of our national defence, without which we can neither be secure at home nor assert our rights on the ocean.

Great Britain has realized in part at least, the splendid vision described by Bolingbroke in his idea of a Patriot King; 'of a people busy to improve their private property and the public stock, whose fleets cover the ocean, bringing wealth by the returns of industry, carrying assistance or terror abroad by the direction of wisdom, and asserting triumphantly the rights and the honor of Great Britain, as far as waters roll and as winds can waft them.' The state of her shipping and commerce is a subject of peculiar interest to us, as American citizens, not only on account of Great Britain having been, ever since the decline of Holland, the first maritime power in the world, but because she is the nation with which our commercial intercourse is far more extensive than with any other, comprising about one third of our foreign trade and employing one third of our shipping. She is the only nation whose commercial marine is superior to ours, our only rival on the ocean, and the only power with which we can probably have any serious controversy. And though we may ardently wish that the two nations should, and have strong hopes that they will, pursue a friendly policy towards each other, and that their only rivalry will be in the arts of peace, it would be unwise to shut our eyes to the danger of a different state of things.

We propose to examine the condition of the shipping of England in the sixteenth century, and to trace its subsequent progress from that time to the present day.

In 1572, the merchant shipping of England was said to be one hundred and thirty-five vessels, some of them of five hundred tons.

The navy of Queen Elizabeth consisted of thirteen public ships of war; the rest were borrowed from her subjects.

In 1588, the number of merchant ships was one hundred and fifty; on an average, of one hundred and fifty tons each. The navy of the Queen, which encountered the Spanish *armada*, contained about forty public ships, and the rest were borrowed for the occasion from her subjects, in all the maritime towns which possessed any shipping.

Sir Walter Raleigh, in 1603, presented to King James an essay in manuscript, entitled, 'Observations concerning the Trade and Commerce of England with the Dutch and other Foreign Nations.' Its object was to show how England suffered the Dutch to carry away the trade of the world. Among other things he says, that 'the Dutch, by the structure

or roominess of their shipping, holding much merchandise, though sailing with fewer hands than our ships, thereby carry their goods much cheaper to and from foreign ports than we can, whereby they gain all the foreign freights, while our ships lie still and decay, or go to Newcastle for coals.'

He speaks of the prodigious fishery of the Dutch, from which they get such vast returns yearly.

He says, 'that the Dutch and other petty States engross the transportation of the merchandise of France, Spain, Portugal, Italy, Turkey, and the East and West Indies; all which they carry to Denmark, Sweden, Poland, and other northern ports, and bring back the products of those northern regions into the southern countries.'

'That the Dutch have a continual trade to this kingdom, with five or six hundred ships yearly, with merchandise of other countries, storing them up here till the price rise to their minds, and we trade not with fifty ships into their country in a year.'

He next mentions the great fishery of the Low Countries and other petty States, 'wherewith they serve themselves and all Christendom.' He estimates the value of the exports of this article, at £1,759,000 sterling, besides what were sent to the Straits.

He supposes that the Hollanders alone had about three thousand ships and fifty thousand men employed in the fisheries.

That the Dutch had five or six hundred ships in the timber trade, chiefly in the Baltic, and supplied themselves, England, and other parts of Europe, with this commodity.

That while England sends to the East countries of Europe but one hundred ships annually, the Low Countries send three thousand, and about two thousand ships yearly to France, Spain, Portugal, and Italy.

'That the Low countries have as many ships and vessels, as eleven kingdoms of Christendom have, let England be one, and that they build every year one thousand ships.'

This effort of the brave and unfortunate Raleigh, the first man of his age both as a statesman and warrior, to turn the eyes of James to the true interest of England, seems to have had no influence on the conduct of that weak and capricious monarch.

In 1651, Parliament passed the celebrated Navigation Act, for the advancement of the shipping, navigation, colonies and

plantations of England. They had observed with much concern, that the English merchants had usually freighted Dutch shipping for bringing home their own merchandise, because Dutch freights were lower than English. Dutch shipping was used for importing American products to England, while English ships were rotting in their harbors, and English mariners, for want of employment, went into the service of the Dutch.

Had the Parliament been governed by such maxims as are now taught by some of the political economists of England, they would have said, that it is better for the government to let things alone; that trade will regulate itself; that if English merchants in transporting their merchandise, gave preference to Dutch shipping, and English mariners there sought employment, it was plainly because it was the interest of the merchant and mariner to do so; that what is for the benefit of the individual, is for the good of the nation; and, therefore, that it was better for England that her merchants should transport their commodities, and her mariners seek employment in Dutch ships. No proposition in Euclid can be more clearly demonstrated than this, if the doctrines of some eminent political economists in Great Britain be admitted as correct.

By this act, no goods of any kind of the growth, production, or manufacture of Asia, Africa, or America, could be imported into England, Ireland, or any of the plantations, except in British ships.

No goods of the growth, production, or manufacture of any country in Europe, could be imported into England or Ireland, except in English ships, or ships of the country where the goods were produced, or from which they could only be, or were most usually imported.

Goods of the growth of Russia, and also bulky articles, such as masts, timber or boards, foreign salt, hemp, flax, and a large number of articles called enumerated commodities, could be imported only in English ships, or in ships of the country of which they were the growth or produce, and these enumerated commodities could not be imported from Holland, the Netherlands, or Germany, in any ships, English or foreign, under any circumstances. Thus the Dutch, the great carriers for all Europe, were not only cut off from the carrying trade between England and the rest of Europe, but from almost all trade with England whatsoever.

Foreigners were excluded from the coasting trade of England

by direct prohibition, and from carrying thither the produce of any of the fisheries, by prohibitory duties.

This act was undoubtedly aimed against the commerce and naval power of the Dutch; this was probably the principal motive both with the republican parliament, by whom the act was first passed, and the parliament under Charles II. by whom it was re-enacted. The general object was to create a great commercial marine, and to prevent any other nation from obtaining any considerable portion of the carrying trade for England.

The extraordinary severity of the act, with regard to Holland, seems to have been intended to exclude the Dutch, so far as England could do it, from the commercial world. It was with a view to prevent any evasion of it by the Dutch, that the same prohibition was extended to the Netherlands and Germany. Foreigners were entirely excluded from any direct trade or correspondence with the British Colonies in America. Were it not for this, says Sir Josiah Child, we should see forty Dutch ships at our plantations for one English.

The navigation act has been highly extolled as the great foundation of the shipping, commerce, and naval power of Great Britain. Sir Josiah Child calls it the *Charta Maritima* of England, and asserts, that without it the English would not (in 1668) have owned one half the shipping or trade, nor have employed one half the number of seamen, which they did at that time.

Adam Smith says, that though some of the regulations of this famous act may have proceeded from animosity, they are as wise as if they had all been dictated by the most deliberate wisdom; not because they were favorable to commerce, but on account of their effect in diminishing the naval power of the Dutch, and increasing that of the English. Some writers were of a different opinion, and condemned the act; on the ground that instead of increasing English shipping and seamen, it had a tendency to diminish both. But until within a few years, most of the political writers of England, and all her statesmen, supported the measure as essential to the commercial and naval ascendency of Great Britain. For nearly a century and a half, no minister would have ventured to propose any material change in it. So long as other nations acquiesced in it, and suffered Great Britain gradually to monopolize a great part of the commerce of the world, the act of navigation was almost

idolized. After the United States became independent, one of the first acts under the new constitution, was a navigation law for the encouragement of American shipping. This measure induced the British government to suspend the operation of their law with regard to the United States, in order to avoid losing the trade of this country. In 1815, the commercial intercourse between the United States and the British dominions in Europe, was placed on a footing of reciprocity.

The nations on the Continent now began to think of encouraging their own shipping; and Great Britain was compelled to relax the regulations of this darling act, or lose, in a great measure, the trade of Continental Europe. We think, that if other nations had not opened their eyes to their own interest, and adopted measures to protect their shipping, and in retaliation of the act of navigation, Great Britain would not have discovered that it was a measure unwise as respected herself, and illiberal with regard to foreign nations. The retaliatory measures of Prussia produced this discovery; and Great Britain, in 1823, adopted the system of reciprocity, and concluded treaties on this basis with Prussia, Sweden, Denmark, the Netherlands, and those States of Germany, which have any maritime commerce.

The benefits of this act may have been overrated by some of its zealous admirers; but we can see no reason to doubt, that it had a great influence in promoting the navigation and trade of England, in strengthening her naval power, and giving her eventually the dominion of the seas. The repeal or modification of it became necessary when other nations began to perceive its injurious operation on themselves, and to adopt similar measures with respect to England, for the protection of their own navigation.

In 1701, the shipping of England consisted of two hundred and sixty-one thousand two hundred and twenty-two tons; the number of seamen was twenty-seven thousand one hundred and ninety-six. This appears from the circular letter of the commissioner of the customs. The shipping of London was then eighty-four thousand eight hundred and eighty-two tons.

In 1753, British tonnage was estimated at three hundred and twenty thousand tons, which was probably below the real amount.

From the year 1760, the tonnage of Great Britain has been

ascertained by the Registry with considerable accuracy. We subjoin the tonnage at different periods.

In 1760,	486,740	In 1789,	1,390,823
1770,	682,811	1792,	1,540,149
1775,	697,304	1795,	1,574,451
1780,	618,853	1798,	1,666,481
1783,	669,802	1800,	1,855,879
1786,	932,018		

The most rapid increase was from the termination of the American war, in 1783, to the war of the French Revolution. In six years, from 1783 to 1789, Great Britain more than doubled her shipping. In nine years, the increase was about 130 per cent. Never, in any period of her history, did she enjoy greater prosperity, or make more rapid advances in the arts of peace, than during the ten years after the American war.

The loss of her American Colonies, an event after which, in the opinion of Lord Chatham, the British crown would no longer be worth wearing, seemed, on the contrary, to augment the wealth and power of the empire.

The different result which followed the peace of 1815, after a war in which the triumphs of the British arms were without a parallel in her history, and which terminated in the humiliation of her great rival, and the enlargement of her own empire in each of the four quarters of the globe, affords a very curious and interesting subject of speculation.

Victory seems to have produced the consequences to be expected from defeat. Fifteen years of peace with all the world, instead of affording Great Britain any relief, seem only to have added to the suffering and discontent of her people, and to have brought her at length to the verge of a revolution, to prevent which was the great object of the war.

In considering the present amount of British shipping and commerce, and in comparing it with our own, it is necessary to attend to some circumstances, which, though they may seem obvious enough, have been strangely neglected or misunderstood by some men, both in Congress and out of it, who have undertaken to diffuse correct information, and to enlighten their fellow citizens on these subjects.

The actual tonnage and the tonnage-entries of vessels entering and departing, called the inward and outward tonnage, are

often confounded. Thus, the actual tonnage of the British empire in 1818, was two million four hundred and sixty thousand five hundred tons; and in 1829, two million five hundred and eight thousand one hundred and ninety-one tons. As to this, there can be no mistake, as all the shipping is registered, and the registry carefully corrected yearly. This includes the tonnage employed both in the foreign and coasting trade in the British dominions in Europe, and the colonies and plantations in America.

The shipping owned by English subjects residing in India, and which is prohibited by law from going west of the Cape of Good Hope, is not included in the statement of the tonnage of the empire. The shipping of the East India Company is included, and forms a part of the tonnage of the port of London.

In 1800, the company's shipping amounted to one hundred and twenty-two ships, carrying one hundred and four thousand tons.

The shipping owned by individual British subjects trading to India, is, of course, also included.

The tonnage entries include the repeated voyages of every vessel, and therefore are no evidence of the amount of the actual tonnage.

In the foreign trade with France across the channel, where, as Mr. Huskisson says, many vessels come with one tide and return with the next, if a vessel of one hundred tons perform fifty voyages in a year from Dover to Calais and back, she would add five thousand tons to the inward and five thousand to the outward tonnage.

In the coasting trade, if a vessel of one hundred tons make twenty voyages between any two ports in England in a year, she adds two thousand tons to the inward tonnage of each port, and four thousand to the tonnage of the empire. In almost all the statements of British tonnage, both in the coasting and foreign trade, is intended not the actual tonnage, but the tonnage of vessels entering or departing, during the year, including their repeated voyages.

It might have been deemed unnecessary to make this explanation, had not a want of attention to these circumstances been the occasion of great errors and misrepresentations in this country.

Thus, in the speech now before us, the late Mr. Huskis-

son says, that the British coasting trade amounted to 8,368,000 tons; a statement which probably led our Committee of Commerce to suppose this to be the *actual* tonnage in the coasting trade, instead of the tonnage entries in that trade for the year;—an amount of shipping more than three times greater than that of all the British empire, and probably more than all the shipping of Europe and America together.

Another circumstance to be attended to is the meaning of foreign trade, as used in statements of British commerce and navigation. In this country by foreign trade we mean a trade with foreign nations, or with the dominions of some foreign power. In England the meaning is much more comprehensive. Foreign trade includes not only the trade with foreign nations, but with their own possessions in Asia, Africa, and America, and even in Europe, as with Guernsey, Jersey, Alderney, Sark, Isle of Man, and Gibraltar. The trade to Ireland was foreign till 1823. When the British statements of their tonnage in foreign trade include Ireland, about two thirds of this tonnage are in the trade with their own dominions, and one third with foreign nations. When Ireland is omitted, about one half is with foreign nations, and the rest is with their own possessions in different parts of the globe, chiefly with the North American Colonies, and the East and West Indies.

One cause, which often produces erroneous ideas of the extent of British commerce, is the practice which is still retained of giving the official value of their imports and exports from the valuation of each article, made in 1697, when the office of Inspector-General was established. This subject has been explained in a late number of this Journal,* and we shall merely show the operation of this official value in one or two commodities in swelling the amount of British commerce.

Coffee is a considerable item in British trade. In the official value it is rated at fifteen pence sterling per pound. The quantity of coffee imported in 1829, is stated at 39,000,000 pounds, the official value of which is £2,502,000, or about $12,000,000. This is three or four times its real value. The export was about 23,500,000 pounds, valued at £1,485,000, or about $7,000,000.

The United States imported in the same year 51,000,000

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pounds, valued at $4,588,000, and exported about 18,000,000 pounds, valued at $1,536,000.

Cotton goods are estimated in the official value of exports in 1829, at about £34,000,000 sterling. The real value is about one half of that sum.

The whole amount of the exports of British produce and manufactures for the last year, according to the real and declared value, is stated at £35,212,000. The official value is about £20,000,000 more. The average of the real value for the last eight years, ending in 1830, is about £5,000,000 sterling a year less than that of the eight preceding years.

The following statement, we think, will be found to present an accurate view of the amount of British shipping, in different parts of the empire.

The actual tonnage of all the shipping in the British empire, both in the foreign and coasting trade, on the first day of January, 1828, was, by the British official statement, as follows;

	Vessels.	Tons.	Men.
United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland . .	19,032	2,150,505	130,494
Isles of Guernsey, Jersey, and Man	489	30,533	3,701
British plantations, including British West Indies and possessions in North America . .	3,625	279,362	17,220
Total tonnage of British empire	23,199	2,460,500	151,415

In 1829, the amount of British shipping was as follows;

	Vessels.	Tons.	Men.
Great Britain and Ireland .	19,151	2,151,373	131,306
Guernsey, Jersey, and Man	495	31,927	3,763
British plantations, including foreign possessions . .	4,449	324,801	20,507
	24,095	2,508,191	155,576

The accuracy of the foregoing statements is the more to be relied on, as in 1827, the registry of the shipping was corrected, by requiring all vessels to be registered anew within a limited period, and many vessels supposed to be in existence, were found to be no longer so.

The average tonnage of each vessel in both foreign and coasting trade, is about one hundred and six tons, and about sixteen tons to one man.

The number of ships in 1826, above one hundred tons, was eight thousand seven hundred and fifteen, carrying one million nine hundred and six thousand eight hundred and eighty-six tons.

Let us now look at the amount of American tonnage;

	Tons.
The whole tonnage of the United States, on the last day of December, 1828, was . . .	1,741,391
Registered tonnage	812,619
Enrolled and licensed tonnage . . .	928,772

Of the registered tonnage, fifty-four thousand, six hundred and twenty-one tons were employed in the whale fishery.

	Tons.
The enrolled tonnage in the coasting trade amounted to	787,224
Licensed vessels under twenty tons . . .	55,680
The enrolled and licensed vessels in the fisheries, chiefly in the cod and mackerel fishery	85,867
Total,	928,771

Thus the shipping of the British empire is about two million five hundred thousand, and that of the United States upwards of one million seven hundred thousand, or somewhat more than two thirds the amount of the British shipping.

In our view of the trade between the United States and Great Britain, and the shipping employed to carry it on, we include our commercial intercourse with the whole of the British dominions. We take the year 1829, it being the last of which we have seen the official statement.

The exports from the United States to the dominions of Great Britain, in 1829, were		$28,071,000
Imports		27,582,000
Exports in American vessels .	$20,826,000	
" in British . . .	7,245,000	
Total		$28,071,000

Exports in British vessels about twenty-six per cent.

Let us now look at the import trade for the same year.

Imports from dominions of Great Britain to the United States in 1829, in American vessels . . .	$24,466,000
In British	3,116,000
	$27,582,000

Imports in British vessels about thirteen per cent.

We come now to the shipping employed in this trade.

Amount of tonnage which entered the ports of the United States from the dominions of Great Britain in 1829,

American tonnage	307,996
British	86,377
Total	394,373

British tonnage about twenty-two per cent.

Export tonnage in 1829,

American	298,278
British	87,774
Total	386,052

British tonnage twenty-three per cent. nearly.

Thus it appears, that Great Britain has between one fourth and one fifth of the tonnage in her trade with the United States. The average for ten years past we believe to be not more than one fifth, including all the dominions of Great Britain.

The Convention between the United States and Great Britain, by which the equalization of the duties on tonnage and imports was extended to the vessels of both nations, so far as relates to the intercourse between the United States and the British dominions in Europe, was ratified in 1815, and has been in force ever since. The intercourse between the British European dominions and the United States, was now placed on the footing of equality. The competition was a fair one, and the nation whose ships could carry cheapest, would of course obtain the largest portion of the trade. We will state the tonnage in the trade with the British dominions in Europe, in 1816, the first year after the reciprocity treaty was in operation.

American tonnage	134,198
British	100,840

Or about forty-three per cent. of the whole.

In the trade between the United States and the whole of the British dominions, in 1816 ;

American tonnage	236,326
British	212,789
	449,115

British tonnage about forty-seven per cent.

In the trade between the United States and the British dominions in Europe in 1829, the shipping of each nation was as follows;

Import Tonnage.

American	183,313
British	76,951
	260,264

Or about 29 6-10 per cent.

Export Tonnage.

American	198,066
British	70,921
	268,987

Or about 26½ per cent.

The average of British shipping in the trade between the United States and the British dominions in Europe for ten years past, we believe has not exceeded twenty-five per cent. of the whole.

In the year 1827, the ship-owners of London, and several other ports in Great Britain, being reduced, as they alleged, to great distress, presented their petitions to Parliament for relief. They ascribed the depressed condition of the British shipping interest to the changes in the system of navigation laws, introduced by Mr. Huskisson, and denounced these changes as giving to foreigners advantages which were driving British ships from the ocean. They stated, that foreign shipping in the trade with Great Britain was increasing, and must necessarily continue to increase, as the British ship-owner could neither build, nor navigate his vessels so cheap as foreigners, nor consequently carry freight at so low a rate ; and that the same prices for freights, which would produce nothing but loss to the British ship-owners, would yield to foreigners a moderate profit.

Gen. Gascoigne, the member from Liverpool, and colleague of Mr. Huskisson, moved that a select committee be appointed

to inquire into the present depressed state of the commercial shipping, and report thereon to the House. In his speech in support of the petitions, the General made certain statements, founded on documents furnished by the ship-owners, of the comparative prices of ship-building in England and foreign countries.

The prices stated were the following.

In London,	per ton.	£ 28	
England on the average,	do.	18	
Prussia,	do.	8	8*s.*
France,	do.	11	
Sweden,	do.	6	15*s.*
Holland,	do.	10	
Denmark,	do.	9	10*s.*
Russia,	do.	4	15*s.*

He stated, that seamen's wages were only half as much in these countries as in England; and that a Prussian vessel might be navigated four voyages, for about £389, while an English vessel of the same tonnage and with the same number of men, would cost not less than £664. That it was plain, therefore, that foreign ships could carry freights at a much lower rate than the English, and would of course have the preference, wherever they were permitted to be employed. That there had been a great depreciation in the value of British shipping. Ships in the port of Liverpool, which cost £14,000, were sold at £6,000; and of the new ships in the merchant service, nearly one third were built in Canada. These facts, and many others of a similar kind, tending to show the distress and decline of the British shipping interest, and the increase of foreign shipping in the trade with Great Britain, were stated by Gen. Gascoigne and Mr. Liddell, one of the members from Northumberland, and the petitioners, they said, were ready, if permitted, to prove their allegations by evidence before a Committee of the House of Commons.

To those who have observed with how much care the British Government have watched over the interest of their commercial shipping, and what jealousy they have displayed towards that of other nations, the reception which the petitioners met with from the House of Commons, must appear somewhat extraordinary. When the statements were made, which, if true, so deeply affected the interest of the ship-owners, and

consequently an important interest of the empire, and evidence was offered to support those statements, the natural and obvious course would have been, to give the petitioners an opportunity of proving their assertions, by referring the petition to a Committee of the House of Commons. If the allegations of the petitioners were true, they were entitled to relief. If they failed in supporting them, the House might be justified in declining to interfere in their behalf. At any rate, it might be thought, they were entitled to an inquiry. But the House of Commons were of a different opinion. Mr. Huskisson and his friend deemed it a safer course to make a stand in the outset, and resist all inquiry, than to give the ship-owners an opportunity of supporting their petition by evidence before a Committee, and the General's motion was negatived without a division.

Mr. Huskisson and Mr. Thompson declared the statements to be utterly erroneous, and said that nothing could be more extraordinary than the unblushing effrontery of the petitioners, who had supplied their advocates in the House of Commons with statements, which they must have known to be deceptive. Mr. Huskisson said, that the statements of the ship-owners were made in utter ignorance of the facts, or in positive defiance of them; and that they were founded on the supposition of an increase in foreign and decline in British shipping, whereas the very reverse was the case.

To charge a respectable body of men with ignorance, deception, and falsehood, on a subject with which it is supposed that they must be well acquainted, and at the same time to refuse them the opportunity, which they earnestly solicited, to prove the truth of their statements, does not seem to be altogether consistent with justice or decorum. Our object is not, however, to discuss the merits of the question as between the ship-owners and Mr. Huskisson, who, in vindication of himself, and in reply to the ship-owners, laid before the House several documents containing a great number of statements concerning the shipping and commerce of the British empire.

We do not find in the debate any denial of the principal causes of complaint, such as the fall in ships and freight, and the increase of foreign tonnage. But Mr. Huskisson said, that he had examined the subject in various ways; that in every way he looked at it, in whatever mode human ingenuity could be employed, the result would be, that British shipping would be

seen to possess very considerable advantages over the foreign. These statements and documents, from such a quarter, must be interesting to all, who wish to obtain an accurate knowledge of the commerce and navigation of the British empire. They are more worthy of our attention as citizens of the United States, because, as we think, they are the basis of all those unfounded representations, which have been made in this country, of the great magnitude and increase of the British, and decline of American shipping and commerce. We think, especially, that they are the ground-work of most of those ludicrous and unparalleled errors and exaggerations, which are contained in Mr. Cambreleng's report at the session of Congress of the last year, in respect to the amount and increase of British tonnage; though it must be confessed, that he has drawn many inferences concerning British shipping, and added many mistakes, which are peculiarly his own, concerning American shipping, for which Mr. Huskisson is in no wise responsible. We do not mean to say that the statements of Mr. Huskisson are not true in a certain sense, or that there is any intentional misrepresentation; but they do not contain the whole truth; and the subject is presented in such parts and divisions, exhibited in such lights, and stated in such language, as almost necessarily to convey very erroneous impressions to those who do not carefully examine for themselves.

Thus Mr. Huskisson, to prove the increase of British shipping in foreign trade, says, that in the trade with all parts of the world, *strictly foreign*, out of Europe, the amount of *British tonnage* employed in 1814, was five hundred and thirty-five thousand tons. In 1826, it was eight hundred and seventy-eight thousand, being an increase of three eighths, while with the single exception of the United States, the foreign shipping in that trade was greater in any one of the six years preceding 1826, than it was in that year.

On examining the documents, we find that seven eighths of this tonnage in the strictly foreign trade of Mr. Huskisson, consist of the trade of the British dominions out of Europe.

The inward tonnage in this trade from all parts of the world out of Europe, is stated in the documents at nine hundred and seventy-five thousand six hundred and twelve tons.

It includes the tonnage in the trade with Canada and Nova Scotia,	472,588 tons.
British West Indies,	243,448
British East Indies,	72,457
British possessions on the Western Coast of Africa, including the Cape of Good Hope,	32,044
Whale fisheries,	40,532
	860,005

From 975,612 tons
Deduct 860,005

115,607

So that of Mr. Huskisson's strictly foreign trade out of Europe, only one hundred and fifteen thousand six hundred and seven tons, are employed in the trade with foreign nations. The rest of the tonnage is in the trade with their own possessions, a trade under their control, and from which foreigners are entirely excluded. Nearly one half of it is employed in the trade with the Northern Colonies, chiefly in carrying lumber, and is of no more importance than our own coasting trade, in that commodity.

Mr. Huskisson says, that with the single exception of the United States, the foreign shipping in the trade out of Europe had diminished. The exception is a most important one. Take away the United States, and what nation out of Europe has any shipping worth notice, to carry on a foreign trade in competition with Great Britain? No one could suppose that the British trade with China, Mexico and the South American States, could be carried on otherwise than in British shipping.

Mr. Huskisson says, that the trade with the North American colonies had increased in a gigantic degree since the peace of 1815, from one hundred and fifty-one thousand to three hundred and ninety-seven thousand tons, export tonnage.

It is true that there has been a great increase of shipping in the colonies, but this is in a great measure the consequence of a preference given to the timber of the colonies, notwithstanding its inferior quality, to that of the North of Europe, by the imposition of heavy duties on the latter. This very system, which has produced a great increase in the trade and shipping of the colonies, is one of restriction, and is denounced in the Edinburgh Review, as a regulation, which costs the country an-

nually about a million sterling, and the impolicy and absurdity of which cannot be exceeded, by any thing in the policy of old Spain. 'It is ridiculous for us,' says the Review, 'while the foreigner can lay his finger on such a table of duties as this, to boast of our liberal commercial policy.'

The increase, however, is not equal to the decline of British shipping in Europe.

The complaints of the ship-owners do not seem to have been fairly met by Mr. Huskisson. They complain that by a repeal of the navigation laws, and the abolition of discriminating duties on ships and goods in treaties with the United States, with Prussia and other northern powers of Europe, there had been an increase of foreign and decline of British shipping.

Before the repeal, Great Britain had about two thirds of the shipping in the trade with Prussia, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, and Germany, and after the repeal, less than one half. There had been a decline of British shipping in the trade with the United States. It is also true, that there had been a decline in the actual tonnage of the British empire since the peace; and the decline in the tonnage of the British dominions in Europe, according to the British official statements, amounted to about two hundred thousand tons.

Mr. Huskisson admits none of these facts, but by statements of tonnage entries, in which foreign and coasting trade are mingled together, and the trade with the British dominions considered as foreign trade, attempts to prove, that there had been an increase in the tonnage entries. But he gives no separate statement of the British and foreign tonnage in the trade with those countries with which the reciprocity treaties complained of, had been concluded. The tonnage in foreign trade is swelled to about three times the amount of the tonnage in the trade with foreign nations.

We by no means intend to assert, that the reciprocity act, as it is termed, or the reciprocity treaties, were on the whole injurious to the interests of Great Britain, or that Mr. Huskisson did not judge wisely with regard to the repeal of the navigation act.

As to the policy of these measures, there is a great diversity of opinion in England, and it is a question for that nation to determine. But it appears from the official statements of the British government, that since the repeal there has been an actual diminution of the tonnage of the empire, and the decline

has been in the shipping of the British dominions in Europe, to which the operation of this policy has been chiefly confined, and that there has been a considerable increase of foreign tonnage.

But Great Britain has other interests besides those of navigation. The North of Europe is a great market for British manufactures; and rather than lose or diminish this vent for her goods, she chose to admit the vessels of the Northern powers into her ports on terms of reciprocity. She deemed it better that her manufactures should be carried thither in foreign vessels, than to run the risk of being, by prohibitory duties, excluded altogether.

The rapid increase of American shipping and commerce, from 1790 to 1810, may be ascribed not only to the enterprise of our merchants, and the activity and skill of our mariners, but in a considerable degree to the encouragement afforded by our navigation act and to the wars which grew out of the French revolution. During this period, the commerce of Continental Europe was in a great measure swept from the ocean, and Great Britain and the United States became the carriers for the commercial world. Our tonnage in twenty years rose from 450,000 to 1,400,000 tons.

In 1802, Great Britain having manifested a disposition to abolish the discriminating duties on tonnage and imports, with respect to American vessels, provided the United States would adopt a similar measure with regard to British vessels and their cargoes, the question was brought before Congress; a committee to whom the subject was referred were in favor of doing this, but in consequence of remonstrances from all our principal commercial towns against any change in our navigation laws, the project was abandoned. In 1815, the reciprocity convention now in force was concluded.

This measure was an experiment on our part. Serious doubts were entertained whether we could build and navigate ships at so cheap a rate as the English. The experiment has, we think, been a successful one.

Since it has been in operation, three fourths or more of the trade between the two countries has been carried on in American vessels.

In our commercial intercourse with all other nations, there can be no doubt, that the reciprocity system in respect to duties on vessels and merchandise, is very advantageous to the

United States, as almost all the trade is carried on in American shipping. It is therefore highly desirable, that our vessels should be admitted into the ports of other nations on the same terms as their own.

So long as we continue the reciprocity system, we have no reason to expect that a greater proportion of our foreign trade will be carried on in American vessels than the average for fifteen years past. The proportion of American tonnage has varied from about seven eighths to nine tenths.

The average of the whole tonnage in our foreign trade for several years past, has been about one million tons. In 1829, the American tonnage entering our ports, was eight hundred and seventy-two thousand nine hundred and forty-nine tons, and the outward tonnage nine hundred and forty-four thousand seven hundred and ninety-nine. The foreign tonnage entering the same year was one hundred and thirty thousand seven hundred and forty-three, and the outward was one hundred and thirty-three thousand and six.

The average of the tonnage in the trade of Great Britain with foreign nations is about one million five hundred thousand tons, of which about three-fifths are British.

The British inward tonnage in this trade in 1826, was nine hundred and thirty-four thousand tons, and the foreign six hundred and forty-three thousand.

The outward tonnage was eight hundred and eighty-three thousand British, and six hundred and ninety-two thousand foreign.

In the whale fishery, the superior activity, enterprise and skill of American seamen, have been eminently conspicuous. The late war put a stop to this business, and occasioned great loss to those engaged in it. When peace came, our bold and hardy whalemen resumed their occupation. In 1828, the tonnage in the whale fishery did not probably exceed twenty thousand tons; as Nantucket and New Bedford, the places to which the business was chiefly confined, had but about seventeen thousand tons. Twenty-four whale ships were taken by the enemy during the war. Since that time, the fishery has been prosecuted with great success, and the tonnage engaged in it has increased to a surprising degree. In 1828, it was fifty-four thousand tons, and at present we believe the whole of our tonnage in the whale fishery to be not less than eighty thousand tons. The following statement is taken from a New Bedford paper, and we have been assured of its correctness.

'The number of foreign clearances at the port of New-Bedford the last year, was one hundred and one, and of foreign entries eighty-three. Of the arrivals, fifty-eight were from whaling voyages, importing forty-one thousand one hundred and forty-four barrels of spermaceti oil, fifty-three thousand one hundred and forty-five barrels of whale oil, and three hundred and eighty-one thousand pounds of whalebone. There remained at sea, on whaling voyages, at the end of the year, one hundred ships, nine barques, and seven brigs, measuring thirty-five thousand two hundred and eight tons, and navigated by two thousand six hundred and thirty-five men. Of these vessels, fifty-six are in the Pacific Ocean, and the rest on the Brazil Banks, in the Indian Ocean and elsewhere. The whole tonnage of the district is fifty-five thousand five hundred and eighty-eight tons.'

In 1828, the shipping of this port in the whale fishery was short of twenty-six thousand tons. If Nantucket and other ports from which it is carried on have increased in proportion, the whole tonnage will not fall short of our estimate.

The whole produce of this fishery for the year 1830, must, we think, exceed three millions of dollars.

The English have never been so successful in this branch of industry as the Dutch were formerly, or the people of New England have been for many years. About three fourths of the British whale ships are in the Greenland, and the rest in the South Sea fishery.

The decline in this branch of their navigation has been almost as rapid as its advance with us. The number of whale ships cleared from the ports of Great Britain in 1820 was two hundred and ten, making sixty-four thousand eight hundred tons, and in 1826 the number cleared was one hundred and twenty-eight, amounting to forty thousand five hundred tons. The tonnage entered had fallen off in ten years, ending in 1828, from sixty thousand to thirty-four thousand tons. On this subject, the eulogy of Burke on the people of New England, as surpassing all their competitors in this perilous industry, will occur to the reader.

We intended to go more fully into the subject of our commerce and shipping; but we have already exceeded the limits prescribed, and probably exhausted the patience of our readers. The result of our investigation is a full confidence that there are no well founded reasons for apprehending any decline of our shipping or commerce. From whatever point of view we look at these interests, we are convinced, that our merchants,

ship-owners, and mariners, have reason to be of good cheer. If we look back for ten or twelve years, we find a steady increase in our shipping, as rapid as could be expected, or perhaps, as we ought to wish. The increase in our registered tonnage in that time has been about two hundred thousand tons; and taking into view the different mode of building ships, which has been common for a few years past, the real increase is considerably more. Our coasting tonnage has increased in a still greater degree. A much larger proportion of our foreign trade is carried on in our own ships, than is the case with any other nation.

There has indeed of late been some depression in the shipping interest; but we do not know that it has been greater than that which has affected other branches of industry; and from all the information obtained from England and the rest of Europe, we believe the depression has been much greater in that quarter than with us. For some time past, there has been an evident improvement in the prices of ships and freight, and the prospects of the shipping interest, as well as of other interests, have been gradually brightening. We see no reason why our foreign and carrying trade may not continue to flourish. We believe that other nations have, on the whole, no advantages over us either in building or navigating ships; but that in several important particulars, and especially in the skill and activity of our seamen, we have considerable advantages over them. This is abundantly evident wherever our countrymen can come in competition with foreigners on equal terms, as in the fisheries, in our foreign trade, and in the carrying trade, by which we supply the Continent of Europe with so great a portion of the commodities of the East and West Indies.

Our shipping is now relieved from the tonnage duties; and if any farther facilities can be granted, sound policy would seem to require them. In a time of general peace in Europe, we cannot indeed expect, that our navigation in foreign trade should go on increasing with so much rapidity as during the war of the French Revolution, when we were the only neutral nation having much shipping, and thus became in a great measure the carriers for the Continent of Europe.

As to our home trade, its importance becomes every day more apparent, and great as its increase has been in time past, its future progress will in all probability be still more rapid. When we consider the extent of our territory, the abundance

and variety of its productions, the growth of our manufactures, the mutual wants and dependencies of the different parts of our Union, together with the facilities for water communication, and our population, increasing in a ratio without a parallel in the annals of nations; the imagination can hardly set any bounds to the extent of the future commercial intercourse between these States, or the amount of shipping of all kinds, that will be required on our sea-coast, rivers and lakes.

It has been remarked of the shipping interest, that it is the ally of all other interests in the community, and the enemy of none. It is a good customer to all other branches of industry, without being the rival of any. To agriculture, commerce and manufactures, it is a common friend and benefactor.

We have omitted till now, according to a liberty not uncommon with reviewers, any mention of Mr. Pope's work on the shipping and commerce of the British empire. Mr. Pope has comprised in this volume a great mass of information, that must be very valuable to those whose occupations are at all connected with maritime commerce. We know of no work that can supply its place; and the circumstance of its having reached the fourteenth edition in a few years, is a proof of its favorable reception among the merchants and ship-owners of Great Britain. On comparing it with a former edition, we find a considerable change for the better, both in the selection of materials and their arrangement, though we think there is still no small room for improvement in both these particulars.

ART. VII.—*The Art of Preserving Beauty.*

L'Art de conserver et d'augmenter la Beauté. Par L'AMI. 12mo. Paris. 1829.

Lady Mary Wortley Montague affirms in one of her letters, written at the latter part of her life, that she had not cast her eyes upon a looking-glass for twelve years; a striking proof how disagreeable it was to her, to be reminded of the changes which time had wrought in her outward appearance. With all her wit, talent, and strong good sense, she took the matter so much to heart, that it appears to have poisoned the sources of her happiness, and was probably the real cause that induced her to leave England, where she might have lived at peace in the bosom of her family, and drag out a wretched existence,

abandoned to *ennui* and novel-reading, in one of the deserted cities of Italy. The loss of her beauty reduced her, in short, to the same condition, to which the possession of it, in connexion with her insensibility to his suit, had, at a preceding period of her life, reduced one of her early admirers, the celebrated bard of Twickenham, and which is feelingly described in the following lines, addressed by him, at the height of his passion, to his friend Gay, but afterwards suppressed, when the fair subject of them had become obnoxious to his hatred, and, under the name of Sappho, the object of his gross abuse.

> 'Tis true, my friend, this truth we lovers know,
> In vain my walls arise, my arbors grow,
> In vain fair Thames reflects the double scenes
> Of hanging gardens and of sloping greens;
> Joy dwells not here—to other seats he flies,
> And only dwells where Wortley casts her eyes.
> What are the gay parterre—the chequered shade,
> The morning bower, the evening colonnade,
> But soft recesses for the unhappy mind
> To sigh unheard in to the passing wind?
> So the struck deer in some sequestered part
> Lies down to die—the arrow in his heart—
> There, placed unseen in coverts hid from day,
> Bleeds drop by drop, and pants his life away.'

We have mentioned the example of Lady Mary, as a strong illustration of the extent to which the loss of beauty will sometimes affect the most powerful understanding. For this evil, there is obviously no complete remedy. Nothing can arrest the progress of time, or prevent it from ploughing the smooth cheek with wrinkles, bleaching the dark and glossy hair, quenching the radiant eye in rheums of age, and spoiling the graceful proportions of the slender figure. All this, we say, is in the long run, irremediable. But something may be done in the way of palliation, towards putting off the evil day; and it is the charitable object of the little work before us, to lend such aid as may be given for this purpose. We must, however, express our opinion, that the merit of the execution does not fully correspond with the goodness of the intention. The work is, in fact, little more than a sort of advertising sheet, bound up in the shape of a duodecimo volume, and setting forth the pretended virtues of a variety of cosmetics. Each limb and feature of the human body is separately considered, and the art of pre-

serving its beauty is made to consist in the use of some wash, nostrum, or perhaps piece of machinery, intended to remove defects or add graces. All these specifics are decorated with the most pompous names; and if they are as efficacious as they are represented to be, the only wonder is, that every ball-room does not contain an assembly of Venuses de' Medici. Our readers may, perhaps, be amused by an account of some of these extraordinary preparations.

To instance those which are to be employed upon the hair; we are told by our author that a multitude of drugs, each more pernicious than the last preceding, have been invented by ignorance and charlatanism, for the purpose of coloring the hair, but that they have all failed completely in their object, and have had no other operation, but to make the hair fall off, and to dry up the skin. Fortunately, he has at length discovered the secret of a composition, called the *Ebony Paste*, which succeeds perfectly well with all who employ it—may be used without the aid of a hair-dresser—communicates to the hair the most beautiful tints—white, brown or black, according to the length of time during which it is kept on; and all this without scorching the skin or weakening the roots of the hair, which it, on the contrary, fortifies and fixes in their places.

It is obvious, then, that if any lady or gentleman do not possess a head of hair of the color and constitution that suit his or her fancy best, it is their own fault, and not that of the Ebony Paste. Beside this wonderful composition, we are also offered a variety of others, with virtues subsidiary to the same general purpose; such as the *African Water*, which gives the hair a curl more graceful and permanent than any natural one; and which is accordingly used, as we are told, by many ladies whose hair curls naturally. Then we have the *Oil of Shine*, to render the hair brilliant and glossy; and to keep it neat and clean, the *Brush of Cleanliness*, the *Convenient Disentanglers*, together with our old and really useful acquaintance, the *Fine-toothed Comb*. For removing superfluous hairs, we have the *Macedonian Hair-thinning Paste;* for making them grow where they are deficient, on young heads, the *Oil of Growth;* and on bald ones, the *Fructifying Preparation;* which, however, by way of exception, we are told, does not always succeed; for preventing them from turning white, we have the *Conservative Oil;* and for stopping their fall after a fit of illness, the *Oil of Hercules.*

The necessities of the eyes are equally well supplied. If they are in a sound state, we are to keep them so by making use of the *Conservative Fluid;* if weak, we are to strengthen them by the *Fortifying Water;* if inflamed, we are to cool them with the *Water of Refreshment;* if their sight be not clear, we must make it so by the application of the *Clarifying Water.* If their lids are diseased, we must soothe them with the *Beneficent Water*, and cleanse them with the *Essence of Purity.* Finally, if they are surrounded by a dark circle, we have only to employ the *Cream of Freshness*, which first disguises, and after a while removes this envious cloud, which occasionally throws such an ominous gloom over the face of beauty.

It is worthy of remark—*en passant*—that notwithstanding his evident fondness for the use of *waters*, our author expresses himself in no very favorable terms in regard to the most widely, and in our poor opinion (if we might venture to put it in contradiction with so great an authority) the most justly celebrated of the class,—the well known *Eau de Cologne.* 'The water of Cologne,' says he, 'so much boasted,—so much puffed,—so much used,—is nothing but spirits of wine distilled over aromatic plants. The plants in themselves may be good, although there are others infinitely better than those which are employed in fabricating this liquid; but the spirits of wine destroy the texture of the skin, and should by all means be carefully avoided.'

Such of our readers as have had opportunity of testing the genuine *Farina*, (and few there are, we trust, who have not) will appreciate for themselves the correctness of this censure. We attribute it entirely to the *jalousie de métier.* We have no doubt that Monsieur L'Ami would tell us a very different story about Cologne Water, if he were the proprietor of the patent; and that he decries it simply, or principally, because he considers it the most formidable competitor with the multifarious preparations which he himself owns, or is hired to recommend to the public.

We find, in fact, at the close of the work, a reference to the perfumer's shop of a certain M. Antoine—*Rue Filles Saint Thomas*—where all these miraculous substances are to be sold, and of which the keeper,—as we strongly suspect,—is no other than our friend L'Ami, under a new name. At all events, his establishment is here made the subject of an encomium, which is worth quoting, as a good specimen of the regular and

determined puff,—rarely used in this country excepting by, or for the benefit of, political charlatans. It includes another sarcastic hit at Cologne Water.

'This useful establishment,' says our author, 'which has just been formed at Paris, was wanting in France and throughout Europe. Hardly was it known to exist, when customers crowded into it from every country.

'M. Antoine, the director, has succeeded in procuring from all quarters, receipts for substances that have been tried, and found to be infallible in beautifying and strengthening the various parts of the human body. They can only be found in his warehouse.

'These receipts are not to be confounded with the innumerable multitude of pretended cosmetics—oils, vinegars, creams, pomatums and powders for the skin, eyes, hair and teeth, with which the public credulity is constantly imposed upon, and which are announced by their venders with all the emphasis of charlatanism, as possessing each and all the most various, and generally, the most inconsistent virtues.

'Every substance in nature,—every preparation of art is endowed with its own peculiar powers. There is none, that will at the same time dye white and red,—consolidate and relax,—refresh and inflame. Common sense should teach us to distrust these pretended universal cosmetics, which, *like the ridiculous Cologne Water*, are announced as useful in all imaginable cases.

'The preparations sold by M. Antoine produce respectively some one appropriate effect; or if more than one, such as are of the same general character. He warrants them to be entirely free from mineral or acid ingredients, and to be composed of vegetable substances, foreign and domestic, of which the use can, under no circumstances, be attended with danger.

'Any person, therefore, who may have occasion for an infallible specific, to be employed for almost any purpose, has only to address himself to M. Antoine, and it will be extraordinary, if he do not find what he wants.'

With a good deal more to the same purpose. The intelligent reader will have seen pretty clearly by this time the character of the little work before us; and will probably agree with us, that it would be superfluous to enlarge any further upon its contents. We shall, however, add a few remarks of our own upon the same general subject.

To proceed methodically, we shall first inquire what beauty is; and then, how it may be preserved. It is generally admitted, that whatever pleases the eye, is called beautiful. But why does one thing please the eye more than another? This

may appear at first a simple question; but the learned, who are apt enough to make difficulties when they do not find them, have been much divided about it, and have not yet decided it to their own satisfaction. The more prevalent opinion among them at the present day seems to be, that the principle of beauty is intelligence, and that objects are more pleasing to the eye, in proportion as they are more or less expressive of mind. Thus Akenside, in his Pleasures of Imagination, not only lays down this theory, but takes a solemn oath to its truth.

> 'Mind—mind alone—bear witness, Earth and Heaven!
> The proper fountains in itself contains
> Of beauteous and sublime.'

Alison, in his Essay on Taste, and Jeffrey in his article on Beauty, in the Supplement to the Edinburgh Encyclopædia, maintain the same opinion. For ourselves, with all proper deference for these and the other great authorities that agree with them, we must confess, that we entertain doubts of its correctness. We are even inclined to question, whether, if the witnesses summoned by Akenside were actually to come into court, their evidence would bear him out in his opinions. Many of the aspects of heaven and earth are eminently beautiful. The gorgeous glories of a brilliant sunset, and the milder radiance of a clear moonlight night; the green, flower-wrought mantle of spring, and the ermine robe of winter, are delightful, each in its own way; but it does not appear, that we see them with pleasure because they are expressive of mind. Their effect upon us is rather the result of the natural harmony between our own constitution and the general system of the world about us. And if we come to animated nature, we are far from finding, that personal beauty corresponds exactly with the developement of *mind*. Madame de Staël, for example, was considered the most intelligent woman of her day, and by many, the greatest female writer that ever lived. But was she, therefore, regarded as particularly beautiful? Quite the contrary. We are all aware, that she made no pretensions on this head. While the palm of wit was universally conceded to her by the competent judges in France, that of beauty was adjudged, with equal unanimity, to her friend, Madame Recamier, a lady in no way distinguished for talent. Miss Edgeworth, again, since the eclipse of her great French competitor, may be looked upon as among transatlantic female wits the lady of the

ascendant; we say it without disparagement to Mrs. Hemans, Miss Jewsbury, and others, who all have their merits, but are not, in our opinion, to be named on the same day with her. But what is her personal appearance? We are told by Lord Byron, that, although on the whole a 'well-looking' person, she is far from being decidedly beautiful. To come to the circles with which we are familiar:—Felicia is considered the prettiest woman in Boston; but does she possess the intellect of our New-England Edgeworth? Angelina looks like a fine Italian picture; but can she talk like a book, as Belinda does? We know the contrary. Of all the beauties of ancient or modern times, Helen is probably by far the most celebrated. A learned Spanish bishop, in a formal eulogium, which he passes upon this *Pest of Troy*, as Virgil rather unceremoniously calls her, declares that she possessed in perfection the thirty points that go to make up a really handsome woman; but it does not appear, that he reckoned intelligence or mind among the number.* It is evident, indeed, from her history, that discretion was not one of her shining qualities. If we pass from living beauties to their images in works of art, we shall arrive at the same conclusion. The Venus de' Medici is allowed to be the type of perfection for the female form; but all who have had the advantage of seeing this charming statue, agree, that the expression of the face is far from being particularly intellectual. Kotzebue affirms, that it is directly the reverse. Lady Mary Wortley Montague was an example of the union of great beauty with uncommon wit and talent; but this was merely an accidental coincidence. Her wit did not make her beautiful, any more than her beauty made her intelligent; but she happened to combine in her single person two qualities in themselves entirely distinct, and which are not very often found together. When they are, each, no doubt,

* Nació esta tan aventajada y enrequecida de hermosura que fue un portento, un prodigio y milagro de naturaleza, quedando desde aquel tiempo à este y aun para muchos siglos en proverbio su belleza y gallardia; de tal suerte que quando queremos ponderar y encarecer la hermosura de una mujer decimos que es una Helena; y en tal lugar la pone el Niverniense, Natal Comite, Bartolomeo Casaneo, Juan Nevizano; el que pone las treinta cosas que se requieren para que una mujer sea perfectissima en su hermosura, y dice que las tenia todas sin faltar ninguna la hermosa Helena. *Balth. de Victoria. Teatro de los Dioses de la Gentilidad*, II. 19.

increases the effect of the other. Wit and worth appear to more advantage under a handsome outside.

'Pulchrior in pulchro corpore virtus.'

On the other hand, beauty is animated, and, as it were, inspired by the sparkling emanations of mind. But the two effects depend in their origin upon entirely different principles.

A more plausible argument might be sustained in support of the theory, that beauty is a mere expression of amiable moral qualities. There is something so agreeable in a smiling, good-humored physiognomy, that when we are looking at one, we are almost tempted to pronounce it handsome. But a moment's reflection is enough to satisfy us, that this would be a great mistake. A morose expression may deform beauty, and an amiable one is an excellent substitute for it, but is still not the thing itself. This matter is placed in a proper light by Addison, in a passage of his Cato. Juba, a young Numidian prince, is in love with a daughter of Cato; and Syphax, one of his counsellors, is endeavoring to reason him out of his passion (a strange project for a man of so much experience,) by representing to him, that the swarthy damsels of Numidia are possessed of a higher style of beauty. Juba replies in the following terms;

'''Tis not a set of features or complexion,
The tincture of the skin, that I admire;
Beauty soon grows familiar to the lover,
Fades in his eyes, and palls upon his sense.'

It is here distinctly admitted, that beauty consists in the possession of some peculiar personal qualities; a set of features, a complexion, a tincture of the skin; but it is added, that all this is insufficient to secure and retain the affections, without the addition of intellectual accomplishments and moral graces, which the young African prince proceeds, with the enthusiasm of a true lover, to ascribe to his mistress, in the highest degree of perfection.

'The virtuous Marcia towers above her sex;
True, she is fair—oh, how divinely fair!
But still the lovely maid improves her charms
With inward greatness, unaffected wisdom,
And sanctity of manners. Cato's soul
Shines out in every thing she acts or speaks.

> While winning mildness and attractive smiles
> Dwell in her looks, and with becoming grace
> Soften the rigor of her father's virtues.'

All this agrees perfectly with our views. Marcia is described as divinely fair, not because she unites all the wisdom of Cato with the winning mildness and attractive smiles peculiar to herself, (a remarkable combination, by the bye, in a young girl of eighteen or twenty, which was probably her age,) but for another reason, which has already been intimated; the character of her features and complexion. It is this which makes her beautiful; her high intellectual and moral qualities only improve her charms, and heighten their effect upon her enraptured admirer.

Burke supposes that the cause of all positive pleasure is a relaxation of the system somewhat below the natural tone, and that the sight of beauty gives us pleasure, because it has the effect of producing such a relaxation. In confirmation of this idea, he gives a description of the manner in which we are affected by it. We must fairly confess, that this theory appears to us to be too metaphysical; but we quote the passage, that our readers may have the opportunity of comparing their own *experiences* under the circumstances in question, with those of this celebrated person. 'The head reclines something on one side; the eye-lids are more closed than usual, and the eyes roll gently with an inclination towards the object; the mouth is a little opened, and the breath drawn slowly, with now and then a sigh; the whole body is composed, and the hands fall idly to the sides. All this is accompanied with an inward sense of languor. These appearances are always proportioned to the degree of beauty in the object, and of sensibility in the observer.'

The plain truth seems to be, and it is rather surprising to us, that such great geniuses as Burke, Akenside, Jeffrey and a score of others, should have overlooked it, that beauty pleases the eye, for precisely the same reason, for which music delights the ear, and a fine perfume the sense of smell. We cannot tell why we look upon the delicate blue of a clear summer sky with more delight, than upon the gloomy grey of a cloudy November morning; any more than we can tell why the soft breathings of an Æolian harp are more agreeable to the ear, than the filing of a saw. We can only say, in all these cases, that such is the fact.

This is a subject, upon which it would be easy to write volumes; but as our present object is only to write a review, and as our readers are not fond of long articles, we must hasten to a close. We have said so much upon the principle of beauty, that we have left ourselves but little room to speak of the means of preserving it. These, however, may be summed up in a few words. With all our respect for our friend L'Ami, we apprehend, that a pleasant humor, a quiet conscience, and plenty of exercise in the open air, will be found to be the best cosmetics. The whole theory upon this point, as far as the preservation of beauty is concerned, is, in fact, very neatly expressed in the ancient adage, *Handsome is, that handsome does.*

ART. VIII.—*Memoirs of Oberlin.*

Memoirs of John Frederic Oberlin, Pastor of Waldbach, in the Ban de la Roche. Compiled from authentic Sources, chiefly in French and German. London. 1829. pp. 362. 8vo.

Steinthal, or the Ban de la Roche, is a small canton hidden in the mountains of the German boundary of France. It belonged to the province of Alsace, which was ceded to Louis XIV. in 1648, and divided into the departments of Upper and Lower Rhine. La Roche lies in the latter, within a day's journey of Strasburg. Its area contains about nine thousand acres of land, constituting two parishes; the Rothau settlement forming one, and the hamlets of Foudai, Belmont, Waldbach, Bellefosse and Zolbach, the other. Waldbach, the central village, and the seat of the parsonage, stands on the acclivity of the Champ de Feu, a mountain which rises three thousand six hundred feet above the sea, and is supposed to be of volcanic origin. The temperature and fertility of the district greatly vary; in the higher parts, the climate is said to be Russian, while the valleys enjoy the soft warmth of a Genevan sky. In the bleak exposures, the snow, in many years, remains from September to June. The prevalent religion is the Lutheran, the toleration of which was guarantied to the inhabitants on their union with France.

Owing to its inaccessible site—having only a foot-path leading to the German highway—the barrenness of the soil, and

the ignorance of the population, consisting of not more than seventy or eighty families, this district was well nigh forgotten. It furnished no attraction to draw the traveller from his course, or to invite the visits of traders. Its spiritual guardian—the Lutheran Consistory of Strasburg—seem to have assigned it as a place of retirement for their superannuated curates, who contributed nothing to the moral or civil advancement of their charge. The result of this disastrous combination was, that in 1750, the people were on the confines of primitive barbarism. Cut off in their mountain seclusion from intercourse with the moving world, they gradually lost the natural incentives to labor, and gave way to their constitutional inactivity. Their fields lay fallow, or scarcely repaid the tillage, because the cultivators were ignorant of the virtues of manure; they lived in wretched hovels, cut out of the rocks, or dug into the sides of the mountains; the potato—long the staple of the district—being their main, and often their only food.

In that year, however, whether accidentally or from compunction, the Church presented a man of enterprise and piety to the hopeful benefice. In the exploratory examination which M. Stouber made of his charge, his first inquiries were directed at the institutions of education. He was, accordingly, conducted to the principal school, (saving the antiphrasis,) where the pupils were rioting in noise and play. The pedagogue was discovered stretched on a pallet in a corner of the room, and candidly disclosed, in reply to the questions of his visitor, that the station of teacher had been conferred on him in consideration of the ability with which he had tended the Waldbach pigs; his age and infirmity disqualifying him for a swine-herd, he professed to teach the children all he knew; which, as he owned, was nothing. The masters in the other villages had no advantage over this veteran, except in youth, and when Stouber endeavored to persuade some of the better informed young men to undertake the task, he found that the office had become so degraded in the public estimation, that there was no prospect of success. He at length adopted the expedient of abolishing the vulgar title of schoolmaster, and a number at once consented to act as *Messieurs les Regents*. Teachers and a suitable building being provided, the popular prejudice was excited against the innovation, by a dislike of its expensiveness, and the fear of not a few, that their children were to be submitted to some occult mode of acquiring

knowledge; of which they thought they discovered alarming indications in the detached letters and syllables, used by the abecedarians.

The progress of the pupils in the mystery of reading dispelled these fears; and such, at length, became the emulation for knowledge, that Stouber was encouraged to open a seminary for adults, who were taught on Sunday, and in the evenings of winter. He distributed among them fifty bibles, each divided into three portions, for more extensive circulation. When they became convinced that these diminutive copies were as authentic as the large book they had been accustomed to see in the pulpit, they were highly prized and sedulously perused.

Excepting an interval of four years' service in another cure, Stouber resided at Waldbach in the faithful discharge of his duties until 1767, when he accepted the appointment to a church in Strasburg, and prevailed upon Mr. Oberlin to become his successor in the Ban. To the biography and character of this individual we now direct the attention of our readers.

Jean-Frederic Oberlin was born at Strasburg, on the last day of August, 1740. His father was a teacher in the gymnasium of that place, a man of good acquirements and respectability, and the instructer of his nine children. To their affectionate mother, also, they were indebted for a sound and prudent inculcation of their moral and religious duties. John Frederic manifested an early inclination to a military life, but readily yielded to the wish of his father that he should embrace a learned profession. Several anecdotes are related of the uncommon benevolence of his disposition in childhood, and the unusual sacrifices and personal courage he displayed in behalf of the suffering or oppressed. These traits are at once recognised as the germs of a character, which expanded into noble developement in his manhood.

After the usual preliminary education, Oberlin entered the theological class of the University at Strasburg, and in due time was ordained as a minister. He did not undertake any parochial charge, but served for seven years as tutor in the family of a distinguished surgeon, in whose service he casually acquired a portion of medical knowledge, which was of great use to him afterwards in Waldbach. The following pleasant anecdote is related as an example of the influence he acquired by his exemplary virtues among his fellow-citizens.

'An honest tradesman, relying on the power of his faith, came to him one day, and after a long introduction, informed him, that a ghost, habited in the dress of an ancient knight, frequently presented itself before him, and awakened hopes of discovering a treasure buried in his cellar; he had often, he said, followed it, but had always been so much alarmed by a fearful noise, and by a dog, which he fancied he saw, that the effort had proved fruitless, and he had returned as he went. This alarm, on the one hand, and the hope of acquiring riches on the other, so entirely absorbed his mind, that he could no longer apply to his trade with his former industry, and had, in consequence, lost nearly all his custom. He, therefore, urgently begged that Oberlin would go to his house and conjure the ghost, for the purpose of either putting him in possession of the treasure, or of discontinuing its visits. Oberlin replied, that he did not trouble himself with the conjuration of ghosts, and endeavored to weaken the notion of an apparition in the man's mind, exhorting him at the same time, to seek for wealth by application to his business. Observing, however, that his efforts were unavailing, he promised to comply with the man's request. On arriving, at midnight, at the tradesman's house, he found him in company with his wife and several female relations, seated in a circle in the middle of the apartment. Suddenly the whole company turned pale, and the man exclaimed, "Do you see, Sir, the Count is standing opposite to you?" "I see nothing." "Now, Sir," exclaimed another terrified voice, "he is advancing towards you." "I still do not see him." "Now he is standing just behind your chair." "And yet I cannot see him; but, as you say he is so near me, I will speak to him." Then rising from his seat, and turning towards the corner where they said that he stood, he continued, "Sir Count, they tell me you are standing before me, although I cannot see you, but this shall not prevent me from informing you, that it is scandalous conduct on your part, by the fruitless promise of a hidden treasure, to lead an honest man, who has hitherto faithfully followed his calling, into ruin—to induce him to neglect his business—and to bring misery upon his wife and children by rendering him improvident and idle; begone, and delude them no longer with such vain hopes."

'Upon this the people assured him, that the ghost vanished at once. Oberlin went home, and the poor man, taking the hint which in his address to the Count he had intended to convey, applied to business with his former alacrity, and never again complained of his nocturnal visitor.'

In 1766, Oberlin accepted a chaplainship in a French regiment; but while he was occupied with the preparatory studies,

the situation and prospects of the people of Steinthal were represented to him by M. Stouber, in such a light, that, at his solicitation, he resigned the military appointment. He found no competitor for the station, and entered on his residence at Waldbach in March, 1767, being at that time in the twenty-seventh year of his age.

The only mode of communication which the greater part of the parish had with the neighboring towns lay through the river Bruche, where its waters were shallow enough to be passed on foot; the farmers had no implements and no means of procuring them; the produce of their fields was inadequate to the consumption, and the subjection, in which they were held to the lords of the domain disheartened them from exertion.

It required much practical wisdom to effect a reform, on the scale projected by Oberlin. His first suggestion of the kind aroused the opposition of the most lawless of the subjects of his patriarchal dominion. A conspiracy was even formed to waylay him, and inflict violence on his person, which his ready wisdom frustrated. Having received notice of their design, which was to be executed on Sunday, he preached on that day on the Christian duty of meekness under injury. After the service, the ruffians assembled to await the time appointed for the execution of their purpose, and were amusing themselves in surmising how far the pastor would act upon the doctrine of his sermon, when they should put it to a practical test. Suddenly the door of the apartment opened;

'Here am I, my friends,' said Oberlin, with his habitual dignity and calmness, 'I am acquainted with your design. You have wished to chastise me, because you consider me culpable. If I have indeed violated the rules I have laid down for you, punish me for it. It is better that I should deliver myself into your hands, than that you should be guilty of the meanness of an ambuscade.'

At this apparition and address, they sued humbly for forgiveness; and the authors of this and other plots of the kind, which were defeated by the same firmness, endeavored to remove all reproach for their meditated offences, by double zeal in furthering his views.

In 1768, Oberlin married Madeleine Salomé Witter, an orphan daughter of a professor of the University and a relative of his own family. It was his rule to enter upon no engage-

ment or service, until he was persuaded that Providence was propitious to his design. He carried this principle to a rather amusing extreme in his matrimonial plans, and failed in his first attempt, or rather withdrew from his proposed suit, because the *mother* of the lady he had chosen did not make the first proposal; which he had fixed upon as the omen, by which he should know whether she were the partner designed for him by Heaven.

'The mother gave him a courteous reception, and even called down her daughter, whose appearance did not, however, particularly please him; they sat down, talked of a pretended cause of the visit, of the weather, and of the news about the town, till at length, all topics being exhausted, a silence succeeded; the parties looked at each other in some surprise, for Oberlin was a novel visitor there, and then looked down again. This scene of "silent state" lasted about two minutes, when the latter, who had decided in his own mind how to act, made a polite bow and took his departure, leaving both mother and daughter at a loss to conjecture the cause of this singular visit, and the marriage was never again thought of.'

The secret most probably is, that the match was set on foot by his mother; when he made his own choice, he acted more discreetly. Miss Witter, being on a visit to Waldbach,

'The time of her departure at length drew near. Only two days before the period fixed upon for her return to Strasburg, Oberlin felt as though a secret voice within whispered, "Take her for thy partner!" He, however, resisted the call. "It is impossible," said he, almost aloud—"our dispositions do not agree." "Take her for thy partner!" the voice still continued. He spent a sleepless night, and in his prayers next morning solemnly declared to God, that if He could give him a sign, by the readiness with which Madeleine should accede to the proposition, that the union was in accordance with His will, he would cheerfully submit to it, and consider the voice he had heard as a bidding of Providence.

'After breakfast, the same morning, he found the young lady sitting in a summer-house in the garden. Placing himself beside her, he began the conversation by saying, "You are about to leave us, my dear friend; I have had an intimation that you are destined, by the Divine will, to be the partner of my life. If you can venture upon this step, so important to us both, I expect you will give me your candid opinion about it, before your departure."

'Upon this Miss Witter rose from her seat, and, blushing as

she approached him, placed one hand before her eyes, and held the other towards him. He clasped it in his own. The decision was made; a decision which he never found cause to regret, for, notwithstanding the determination Madeleine had made, not to be allied to a minister, she became truly devoted to his interests, and the most cordial attachment ever afterwards subsisted between them.'

To open a communication with the civilized world, was among the primary objects of the Pastor's care, and for this purpose he devised a road to intersect the great highway from France to Germany, through Strasburg. In a general convocation of the peasants, he opened his plan to them, and recommended that they should proceed at once to blast the rocks, in order to obtain stone to construct a wall about a mile and a half in length along the banks of the Bruche, for the support of a river road, which was to terminate in a bridge to be thrown across it at Rothau. The proposal astounded them as visionary and impracticable, and they unanimously began to make excuses for not assisting in the mad enterprise. Oberlin represented to them the advantages they would enjoy by having a market for their produce, and a free intercourse with the neighboring districts. The reward seemed still disproportionate to the toil. Oberlin, having wasted his arguments, now threw a pick-axe over his shoulder, and invited those to join him who would. An enthusiasm then seized the boors, which effected all that was desired. The pastor was soon followed by an ample corps, to whom he assigned their respective tasks, taking the most laborious parts to his own share, and animating them by his example. In a few months the work was completed, and a way opened to Strasburg, 'over a fine road and the neat *pont de charité*.' The roads leading from the several villages of the parishes were next laid out or improved, and thus the first step of civilization was accomplished. As the district was wholly destitute of mechanics, Oberlin selected the most ingenious lads and bound them to masters in Strasburg. When their trades were acquired, they returned to serve the peasantry, and instruct their own apprentices. The people were also persuaded to abandon their cavernous abodes, and to avail themselves of the skill of their new artisans in providing comfortable cottages.

The state of agriculture next engaged his attention. The science had been nearly lost, through the slothfulness and pov-

erty of the cultivators, yet they were unwilling to receive instruction from a clergyman who had spent his life in a city. Deferring, apparently, to their prejudice, Oberlin resolved to make a more urgent appeal to their senses, and set about cultivating the gardens of the parsonage, which were well known to contain some of the poorest land in the parish. He planted a nursery of fruit trees in trenches of better earth, and reared a beautiful orchard of several varieties unknown to that region. The experiment was successful, and the wondering peasants eagerly sought to know the secret of such mysterious success. Planting and grafting became a general employment, and the cottages were surrounded with

> 'A circling row
> Of goodliest trees, laden with fairest fruit;'

which had heretofore looked upon only

> 'The champaign head
> Of a steep wilderness, whose heavy sides,
> With thickets overgrown, grotesque and wild,
> Access denied; and over head up-grew
> Insuperable height of loftiest shade,
> Cedar, and pine, and fir.'

The old people remembered to have heard from their fathers, that prior to the year 1709, the peasantry depended principally upon wild apples and pears for their sustenance. A famine, which visited them in that year, compelled them to cultivate the species of potato, for which the district is still celebrated; but owing to their ignorance of the method of recovering crops, the productiveness of the fields had diminished in 1767, to a third or fourth of their former returns. Oberlin taught them the science from Parmentier, procured seed from Switzerland and Holland, and they had afterwards a surplus for exportation. He introduced a variety of herbs and leguminous plants; the culture of flax and Dutch clover became common; he taught them to extract wine from the wild-cherry, juniper, and dog-rose, oil from beech-nuts, and brandy from elder-berries. The indigenous plants were made to yield their properties, as his botanical skill found them useful for food, or in the arts. The fermentation of manure, and the conversion of vegetable substances into compost, were important contributions to their stock of knowledge, and the improvement of the shallow soil. At great expense of labor in blast-

ing rocks, or covering them with earth, the least useful pastures were turned into arable ground, and the cattle stalled, by which means the quantity of grain, as well as of milk and butter, was greatly increased. At length, to promote the improvement of husbandry in its largest extent, he formed (in 1778) the most intelligent farmers into an Agricultural Society, connected with one at Strasburg. Appropriate works were obtained for circulation and reference, and prizes established for competition in raising produce and cattle. Once a fortnight, Oberlin devoted two hours to a familiar lecture on subjects connected with tillage and grazing.

The literary and religious improvement of his people, were no less zealously attended to than the external reforms which we have detailed. His regular clerical duties were punctually discharged in the pulpit, in friendly visits, and in private charity. M. Stouber's plan of providing schools, was greatly enlarged. To overcome the objections made to an increase of the expensiveness of education, he entered into an engagement, previously to commencing the erection of commodious edifices, that no part of their cost should be charged upon the parish funds. He began with his own slender capital, and the contributions of his friends in Strasburg; and in a few years had the satisfaction of seeing a school-house in each of the five villages, and the inhabitants voluntarily assuming the expense and superintendence of them. In the meantime, the teachers were passing through a course of preparation for their office, and children from the ages of two to six years, were the only members of the community who were not usefully employed. Nor did they long escape the vigilant providence of the pastor. To him belongs the honor of introducing *Infant Schools*, and the models of the Ban de la Roche have received few improvements, since their adoption in France, Britain and America. In each *commune*, he placed one of these nurseries under the care of two intelligent females, called *conductrices*, defraying the expense from his own resources. The children were taught to read, and to knit, spin and sew; they were entertained with pictures representing Scripture scenes, or subjects of natural history, accompanied with appropriate explanations and examination. They learned the first lines of Geography, on maps constructed for their use; they were also instructed in singing, and special attention was paid to the correction of their *patois*. At the proper age, they were removed to the higher schools, where they

passed through the ordinary branches of education, and learned the principles of agriculture, astronomy and history. Every Sunday, the children of each village in rotation, recited the religious lessons of the week to the *Cher Papa*, as he was universally called, sung their hymns, and received his exhortations. This system was devised several years before modern Sunday-schools were commenced in Great Britain.* All the scholars of the district met weekly at Waldbach, that the pastor might compare the qualifications and systems of the different teachers, and excite a general emulation among them.

The liberality of his Strasburg friends enabled Oberlin to establish a circulating library for the use of the children, and a book-society, for their seniors and for families. A number of school-books were printed for the exclusive use of the Ban. A mathematical and philosophical apparatus was procured, and prizes distributed to teachers and scholars. He prepared and published an Almanac, divested of the usual symbols of superstition, and adapted to the taste of the people. The children of ten or twelve years, were required to copy and commit to memory essays on agriculture, and were initiated in the science of botany, for which the Steinthal afforded a fine field, as its natural products are supposed to comprise one thousand of the four thousand eight hundred and seventy-four species of the French Flora. In domesticating the wild plants, and copying flowers with the pencil, the young naturalists made great proficiency; the presentation of living garlands, or of a painted copy, with affectionate inscriptions, was among the interesting acknowledgements they made upon festive occasions to the *Cher Papa* and their other benefactors. One of these occasions, was the presenting to the pastor of the first-fruits of the two trees, which each child was required to plant at a certain age in a designated spot.

In January, 1784, a severe calamity befel Oberlin in the sudden decease of his wife. This event severed his fondest hold upon life, and it became his constant prayer to be reunited to her in another world.

'Every day he devoted whole hours to holding communion with her in those elevated frames of mind, which require not the aid of superstition to make us conscious of the presence of those we love.'

*The real founder of Sunday-schools was Borromeo, Archbishop of Milan, in the sixteenth century; and they have never, we believe, been intermitted, to this day, in that diocese.

He was left with seven children, and the care of his household devolved upon an orphan girl, whom he had adopted into his family, and who was one of the most active *conductrices* of the infant schools.

A visitor of the Ban in 1793, describes the primitive simplicity and intelligence of the inhabitants as remarkable; carrying back the imagination of the beholder to past, or ideal ages of peace and innocence. Some of the peculiarities of the worthy author of these changes are recorded. The walls of his house were covered with maps, drawings, and vignettes; and verses from the bible were inscribed over all his doors, as Moses was required to write the words of the law 'upon the posts of the house.' On the entrance of his visitors, he presented each with a printed text, of which he had thousands of copies to distribute at every opportunity, and upon which he endorsed his receipts, messages, &c. His study was lined with engravings of portraits, insects, animals, and minerals.

'I am writing this at his table,' says one of his visitors, 'whilst he is busily preparing leathern gloves for his peasant children. His family are around him, engaged in their different avocations; his eldest son, Frederic, is giving a lesson to some of the little ones, in which amusement and instruction are judiciously blended; and the *Cher Papa*, without desisting from his employment, frequently puts in a word. He took me this morning into his work-shop, where there is a turner's lathe, a complete set of carpenter's tools, together with a printing-press, and one for book-binding. I assisted him in coloring a quire of paper, which is intended for covers of school-books. He gives scarcely any thing to his people but what has been, in some measure, prepared by his own or his children's hands.

'He will never leave this place. A much better living was once offered to him; "No," said he, "I have been ten years learning every head in my parish, and obtaining an inventory of their moral, intellectual, and domestic wants. I have laid my plan. I must have ten years to carry it into execution, and the ten following to correct their faults and vices.'

Steinthal escaped much, comparatively, of the distress which attended the revolution. The pastor was deprived of his stipend, and the subscriptions of the parishioners, which they offered in its place, never exceeded fourteen hundred francs annually; whilst for two successive years, he received but four hundred francs in each. He would never accept fees for his parochial duties. 'My people,' he used to say, 'are

born, married, and buried free of expense, at least, as far as their clergyman is concerned.' In this exigency he took charge of a few private pupils, the sons of foreigners of distinction, and by his frugality, was able to bestow a considerable portion of the emolument upon his needy peasantry.

In 1793, his eldest son Frederic fell in battle; a loss which he felt most severely. Whilst religious worship was interdicted throughout France, and most of the clergy of Alsace were imprisoned, Oberlin was not only unmolested in his employments, but upon being cited before the Supreme Court of the department, on a charge of favoring Joseph II., he was acquitted, with an expression of regret from the bench, that even a momentary interruption of his course had taken place. The pastor's views of the morals of politics were of the old-fashioned school of patriotism.

'We are republicans,' he said in a paper addressed to the younger inhabitants, in 1794—'we are republicans, when we neither live, nor act, nor undertake any thing, nor choose a profession or situation, nor settle in life, except for the public good.

'We are republicans, when, from love to the public, we endeavor, by example as well as by precept, to stimulate our children to active beneficence; and seek to render them useful to others, by turning their attention to such pursuits as are likely to increase the public prosperity.

'We are republicans, when we endeavor to imbue the minds of our children with the love of science, and with such knowledge as may be likely, in maturer life, to make them useful in the stations they may be called to occupy; and when we teach them to "love their neighbors as themselves."

'Lastly, we are republicans, when we preserve our children from that self-interested spirit, which, at the present day, seems to have gained more ascendency than ever over a nation, whose people have, notwithstanding, reason to regard each other, and to love each other as brethren, but the greater part of whom care only for themselves, and labor only for the public good when they are compelled to do so. Far from us be this spirit! It is as anti-republican as it is anti-christian.'

In consequence of the interruption of trade, incident to the state of the country, he refused to receive any salary, or to permit any collections to be made for his personal maintenance, or the support of his various institutions of education, religion, and charity; giving notice, that whenever any one had money or produce which he could conveniently spare, it might be

brought to him, and assuring all, that no complaint should be made if they brought nothing. In return for all the articles thus furnished, he gave an acknowledgement written on the back of the cards containing his printed texts. He was however enabled, during all the pressure of the Revolution, not only to maintain inviolate his determination to owe nothing, but to persevere in a plan he had adopted, of devoting three tenths of all his receipts to useful objects. These he divided, 1st, into a fund for building and repairing schools and churches, for the salaries of the *conductrices*, the purchase of Bibles, and the general purposes of religion; 2. For the improvement of roads, school-masters' wages, public works, Sunday dinners to the poor people who came from other villages, &c. The third was consecrated to the service of the poor. He sold all his plate in order to make a donation to a Paris Missionary Society, with the reservation of a single spoon, which he bequeathed to a similar association at Bâsle. He had indeed at one period of his life, determined to become a missionary himself. His design of embarking for a destitute station in Pennsylvania, was only frustrated by the occurrence of our Revolution. Nor were his sympathies less comprehensive than his charity; a description of the condition of the slaves in the West Indies so deeply affected him, that he ever afterwards abstained from the use of sugar and coffee. But the most remarkable instance of his conscientiousness, was his redeeming, at his own expense, the *assignats* of the Convention of 1794, which happened to be in the hands of the peasantry, when they were rendered nearly valueless by a decree of the Directory. To this he was urged, not only by anxiety to save his people from the loss, but to preserve, in some measure, the credit of the government, who were unable to satisfy their creditors. One of these *assignats* is extant, with this inscription by his hand, '*Ainsi, grace à Dieu, ma nation est encore déchargée d'une manière honnête de cette obligation de* 125 *francs.*' By taking these notes at their par value, he succeeded, in the course of twenty-five years, in redeeming all that were retained in the Ban.

The largeness of his benevolent desires was well indicated during the delirium of a severe illness, in 1794, when he continually called upon his attendants for thousands and thousands of money to promote his plans. In the subdivision of the duties of benevolence, the care of orphan children was spontaneously assumed by several respectable females, without

any expectation of reward. Two of these sisters of charity, dependent on their own labor for the means of support, had charge, at one time, of ten destitute children, whom they clothed, educated, and supported. At the instance of the Pastor, other females devoted a part of their leisure hours to reading the Bible to the aged or illiterate of the parish; and some kept free schools for such children as, from their poverty or remoteness, could not attend those in the villages.

Several of his children being married, three of his daughters to respectable clergymen, two sons settled in the ministry, and others resident in the Ban, he devolved upon them the more active duties of supervision, for which his advancing years were gradually unfitting him. Various arts had been introduced to meet the increasing industry of the population, which, in 1813, amounted to three thousand souls. Cotton-spinning and weaving, ribband-making, straw-plaiting, and dyeing, were their principal employments. That year is memorable in the annals of Waldbach for having witnessed the close of a litigation, which had been pending for more than eighty years, between the peasantry and the feudal *Seigneurs*, respecting the right to the forests. The dispute had been maintained with equal obstinacy, and at great expense, by both parties. So much did the existence of this dispute distress the pacific Pastor, that the following inscription had for many years been placed over one of his doors.

'O God, have mercy on the Steinthal, and put an end to the law-suit!'

All the influence which he possessed over his flock was exerted to persuade them to consent to a compromise. He at length succeeded; the prefect of the province met his proposals with a readiness inspired by his respect for the character of the Pastor, and the contest was brought to an end. The Mayors, in deputation, requested Oberlin to preserve the pen, with which the amicable agreement was signed, as a trophy of the victory his mild virtues and Christian influence had gained over long animosity. Oberlin hung up the pen in his study, and often said, that the day it commemorated was one of the happiest of his life.

In the winter of 1817, he was called to follow another child to the grave. His son Henry, who had returned from Russia, where he had served as tutor in the family of Count Richter, of Riga, contracted a pulmonary disease in consequence of his

exertions in assisting to extinguish a fire, in a town in which he was spending the night, on a tour through France. He removed to Rothau for the benefit of his brother's advice, who was both a clergyman and a physician; but perceiving his complaint to be rapidly approaching a fatal crisis, he desired to die at the house of his father. The wish was no sooner known, than twelve peasants offered to carry him on a litter to the paternal roof, a distance of six miles. It was thought more advisable to convey him in a covered cart; and the twelve preceded it, removing every stone and obstacle in the road. Among his dying expressions, he frequently repeated these words of the Gospel of John, v. 24, '*de la mort à la vie—de la mort à la vie*,' from which words the Pastor, then within three years of fourscore, preached a sermon on the day succeeding his son's death.

The Royal Agricultural Society of Paris voted Oberlin a gold medal, in 1818, for his promotion of the science in the Ban. The Count de Neufchâteau, in proposing this honor, warmly testified to the improvements the pastor had effected in his humble parish, and stated that Waldbach should serve as a model to the government in all their future plans of organizing new villages. Louis XVIII. conferred upon him the decoration of the Legion of Honor. These distinctions were the more surprising to the modest recipient, from the fact that he never went to any considerable distance from his parish, and in the whole course of his life had not even seen Paris. 'The King,' he said, 'has had the goodness to send me this decoration; but what have I done to merit it? Who, in my situation, would not have acted as I have done, and perhaps better still?'

Oberlin's personal manners were admirably adapted to his station. While entire equality was maintained with all the villagers, and his notice of them was indiscriminately familiar and kind, he preserved a dignity which commanded universal and filial respect. He was careful to set an example which should not be liable to misconstruction, or appear opposed to his precepts. In this, as in every other matter, he was to the last degree scrupulous.

'On one occasion,' says a visitor, 'as we were walking up a hill, he had the arm of his son-in-law, whilst my wife was walking alone. Fearing that this might be considered self-indulgent or disrespectful by some of his younger parishioners whom we happened to pass, (though he was then in his eightieth year,) he

stopped to make an apology for this apparent disregard of the law of civility and kindness.'

'I happened one day, when we were driven by a man, who seemed to go in a hazardous manner, to say "take care." The pastor appeared hurt at this admonition, both on my account and on that of the driver. He assured me that all was safe, and at the end of the drive, took the greatest pains to prevent any feeling of vexation, which might arise in the mind of his parishioner.'

His activity was unceasing. He was at one time minister, schoolmaster, farmer, mechanic and physician to the parish. He would climb the steepest of the Vosges, through cold and snow, to visit the sick, often travelling to Strasburg in the night to procure medicine. His sermons, catechetical exercises, societies for religious conversation and charitable purposes, were, some one of them, almost daily demanding his presence. Besides these clerical services, he addressed circulars to particular classes of his people with advice or monitions on subjects of moral or domestic concern, which could not well be presented from the pulpit. Sometimes he addressed to them questions, to which they were expected to return written replies. Every Friday he conducted a service in German, for the benefit of those to whom that language was more familiar than the French. On this occasion he laid aside all formality, the women knit stockings for the poor, whilst the patriarch would pursue a train of familiar reflections on some portion of Scripture. To prevent weariness, he would occasionally inquire, 'Well, my children, are you not tired? Have you not heard enough? Tell me, my friends.' And according to the frank reply of 'No, Papa, go on,' or 'Enough, we believe, for this time,' he would resume or discontinue the discourse. His toleration was unbounded. Roman Catholics, Lutherans and Calvinists, met at his communion table; and to meet their respective scruples on the subject of the species of bread used in the sacrament, he provided wafers, and leavened and unleavened bread. In the early part of his ministry, he reprehended a mob which abused a poor Jew, who happened to stray into the parish, observing with unusual warmth, that if the stranger wanted the name of a Christian, their conduct proved that they were equally destitute of the Christian spirit.

Oberlin amused himself with the study of physiognomy and phrenology, to which he was probably invited by the warm friendship which subsisted for several years between him and

Lavater, of Zurich. He collected a large number of profiles under which he portrayed the characters of his friends, and the supposed characteristics of strangers. Upon his own profile, he made this antithetical estimate of himself.

'I am a strange compound of contradictory qualities. I do not yet exactly know, what to think of myself. I am intelligent, and yet possessed of very limited powers:—prudent and more politic than my fellow-clergymen, but also very apt to blunder, especially when in the least excited. I am firm, yet of a yielding disposition; and both, in certain cases, to a great degree. I am not only daring, but even courageous; whilst, at the same time, I am often in secret very cowardly. I am very upright and sincere, yet also very complaisant to men, and in a degree, therefore, insincere. I am a German and a Frenchman; noble, generous, ready to render service, faithful, very grateful,—deeply affected by the least benefit or kindness, which is ever after engraven on my heart; and yet again flighty and indifferent. I am irritable to a formidable degree. He who treats me generously soon gains an ascendency over me; but opposition creates in me an astonishing degree of firmness, especially in matters of conscience. I have a lively imagination, but no memory, properly speaking. The histories which I have taken pains to impress on my mind remain with me, but dates and the names of persons I often forget the next day, notwithstanding all the pains I have taken to remember them. I used to speak Latin fluently, and even elegantly, but now I cannot utter three or four words together. I make selections from books, and instruct others in some branch of science for a long time; but a few years after, my scholars, even if they know nothing, have then what I taught them, many in their turn become my teachers, and the books from which I made extracts (with the exception of those of a certain description) appear wholly new to me.

'I habitually work my way through my studies till I obtain clear ideas; but if I wish to penetrate deeper, every thing vanishes before me. I have a great talent for removing difficulties, in order to render every thing smooth and easy to myself, and to every body else. I am so extremely sensitive, tender and compassionate, that I can find neither words nor expressions corresponding to my feelings, so that the latter almost overpower me, and occasion me acute pain. I am always busy and industrious, but also fond of ease and indolence. I am generally quick in resolving, and equally so in executing. I have a peculiar esteem for the female sex. I am a very great admirer of painting, music, and poetry, and yet I have no skill in any of them. Me-

chanics, natural history, and so forth, constitute my favorite studies. I am very fond of regularity, and of arranging and classifying, but my weak memory, added to constant employment, renders it difficult to me. I am given to planning and scheming, and yet endeavor, in my peculiar way, to do things in the best manner.

'I am a genuine soldier, but was more so before my bodily powers were so much weakened; I was formerly anxious to be the foremost in danger, and the firmest in pain, but have now lost that desire. From my childhood I have felt a longing and preponderating desire for a higher state of existence, and therefore a wish for death. I am the greatest admirer of military order and subordination, not however in a spirit of slavery, but of that noble and affectionate attachment which compels the coward to show courage, and the disorderly to be punctual. I feel no obstinacy or disinclination to yield to strong internal conviction, but on the other hand, a fervent heart-felt joy in yielding to both great and small, high and low, gentlemen and peasants, children and servants, and thence a willingness to listen, and an inclination to suffer myself, if possible, to be convinced. But when I feel no conviction, I never think of yielding. I am humorous, and a little witty or satirical, but without intentional malice.'

After entering upon his eightieth year, Oberlin was obliged gradually to retire from all his active duties; but he was able to exercise a general superintendence over his people, and devoted much of his time to praying for them, which he did *seriatim* in the order of their baptismal registry. The vigor of his intellect remained, and he wrote several essays, amongst which was a refutation of *Cicero de Senectute*. His mortal illness attacked him on the 28th of May, 1826, and with a calmness entirely accordant with his character, he resigned his being on the 1st of June, in his eighty-sixth year. The decease of the personage, who for nearly sixty years had presided over the destinies of their little world, and had guided them and their fathers from ignorance and wretchedness, to the blessings of intelligence and domestic comfort, excited inexpressible sensations in the community. They were at once deprived of their spiritual, intellectual, and social guide, who had led them from their infancy and provided for all the variety of their wants. The whole population crowded to view the beloved remains, during the four days that intervened between his death and interment. The procession at the funeral extended the distance of two miles from the parsonage to the

Foudai church. During its progress, the melancholy toll of the village bell mingled with the chanting of the school-children; the burying-ground was surrounded by females of the Roman Catholic church, habited in mourning, and kneeling in silent prayer. The body was carried into the church, where a paper was read, which had been prepared by Oberlin in anticipation of the occasion, in which he gave an outline of his career, committed his children to the protection of his people, and concluded with a solemn exhortation to remember his admonitions. After other impressive exercises, the body was committed to the earth.

Respecting the present state of Steinthal we have no account, further than that a number of benevolent individuals in England and the continent have undertaken to raise a charitable fund to bear the name of Oberlin, and which shall be devoted to the support of the various seminaries he established.

The compiler of the interesting and well-written biography, from which we have gleaned this article, is a female, who, by withholding her name, modestly declines the honor that is due to her, of having introduced to the world a character of rare lustre in its annals. The philanthropy and piety are above suspicion, which animated a young man of ambition, possessed of talents which would have gained him a respectable eminence in the pursuits of literature, to consign himself to a life of labor in an obscure corner of the world, among a race whose manners and minds were destitute of refinement. It was in such a situation, unknown abroad, and with no resource but in himself, that he persevered for years in the ungracious contest against native prejudices. His persistence, however, was rewarded; and insignificant as the peaceful region which sprung up under his reforming energies may be deemed by history, the example is colossal, and abounds in lessons useful to the world.

ART. IX.—*Geology.*

Geological Text Book. By AMOS EATON, A. M. Albany. 1830.

Truth has had to contend, in all ages, with bigotry and ignorance. Nor is the conflict yet over. A few are still found impotently opposing nature and reason. But we have no fears for the result; the light of knowledge is beaming upon the

civilized world, almost as steadily as the light of day; and the time appears not to be far distant, when ignorance will lose its character of boldness, and timidly seek the obscurity, where no one will take the trouble to notice it. A new physical deluge, to be sure, might bring our affairs into a very small compass again, but we feel exceedingly comforted at no longer apprehending a deluge of intellectual darkness. We look back with horror upon those times, when hypocrisy, and cant, and mystery, and quackery, and all the ministering attributes of ignorance, were so successfully engaged in weaving a shroud for the human mind. We turn from the picture of those times with disgust, and rejoice in the present enjoyment of our own fair day of existence, when justice and reason are precious in the eyes of men, and bigotry and ignorance are only found lurking in corners.

It is to the study of the great book of nature, that we owe most of those triumphs which reason has achieved. Nothing has more clearly marked the progress of the human mind, than the extraordinary advances which have been made, and which are now in more vigorous progress than ever, in that noble study, the revelation of God to man, by his works. What a bound the human mind has made since the days of Galileo, and what respect and veneration do we owe to his memory! Persecuted and oppressed as a heretic, because the laws of natural bodies, as he taught them, appeared, to the ignorant eyes of his contemporaries, inconsistent with the phenomena of those bodies, as described in the Record consecrated to our moral government; he is nevertheless gratefully honored in our memories, whilst his oppressors are thought of but to be abhorred. Galileo may be said to have laid the corner-stone of natural science, upon which succeeding generations, freed from the fantastical prejudices of an age of darkness, have almost finished a temple consecrated to the harmonies of nature. We were never more forcibly struck with the great distance at which those benighted times have been left, than when on a visit to a friend at the University of Oxford, in England, in 1827. It was upon the occasion of Dr. Buckland's annual geological lecture on horseback. This very novel mode of explaining the great geological features of a country being peculiar to that eminent man, we shall, we hope, amuse our readers, by giving a brief account of it.

About the hour of noon, near a hundred noblemen and gen-

tlemen on horseback left the city with the Professor, and following the London road at a very animating pace, halted at some gravel pits in the valley. Here Dr. Buckland, dismounting, and gaining a small eminence, addressed the assembly of equestrians in his agreeable, colloquial manner, on the causes which had accumulated the beds of gravel and oyster shells, on which they were standing; he then went rapidly, but very eloquently, into the consideration of great bodies of water in motion, of the abrasion and ruin of the strata, the accompanying denudation of vallies, and the deposit of the *detritus;* illustrating the subject from time to time, by pointing to the inequalities of the surrounding country, showing where the gorges had been left on the retreat of the waters, and how the contemporaneous valleys were bounded by the once continuous strata. Having touched upon every prominent feature of the country around, the Professor remounted his horse, and proceeded at a hand gallop over the plain for the Shotover hills, the cavaliers pressing around him, bridle in hand, that no observation which fell from him might be lost. At the foot of the hills he again stopped at a moist, springy place, and took occasion—in adverting to the atmospheric water received by the porous, superficial soil, being here resisted in its descent, and thrown out by a bed of clay—to explain the origin and nature of springs of a particular character. After visiting the pits of Kimmeridge clay, famous for the Deltoid oyster, this equestrian lecture was most worthily concluded by a very eloquent account of the secondary beds in the vicinity of Oxford, and the Saurian and other organic remains found in them; the whole delivered by the Reverend Professor on horseback, receiving the most profound and grateful attention from every person present. At the conclusion, he uncovered his head, and bowing to his auditors, they dispersed, leaving him with his private friends, who, after some further investigations, returned slowly to the city to finish the day at his hospitable board. It was in the course of that evening, that a venerable cleryman, of whose octogenarian life, more than sixty years had been passed in immediate connexion with the University, in answer to a remark we made, that natural science appeared to be cherished at Oxford as much as at the sister University, observed;

'The character of this University has been misrepresented; it has at all times given, and yet continues to give, great men to the

nation. Had Oxford never existed, English history would not have been what it now is, and the English character would, perhaps, have been materially different. This, to those who value the moral power of this country, is a sufficient answer to the harsh assertions which have been made, in relation to its supposed monastic habits, by men who perhaps had an interest in debasing the English character to their own conceptions of the dignity of man. To be sure, the lectures you have heard from my nephew this day, on the modern science of geology, are at so great a distance from the ancient scholastic manners of the University, that they have apparently something revolutionary in their character; and it is true, that this science is hardly out of its cradle, and here at Oxford, has been exclusively rocked and nursed by Dr. Buckland, who seems to have been brought forward himself, at the right point of time, by nature and education. Yet Oxford has never, at the most distant periods, been insensible to the progress of intellectual improvement, although she has been slow to convince herself that every innovation was an improvement. When Blackstone prepared to deliver his Law Lectures, he too was considered an innovator, and was made to feel in various ways the influence of established opinions. In an introductory lecture of his, which unfortunately has not been published, he turned the tables very successfully upon his opponents by the following sally; "In those scholastic days, when the inquisitive and original mind of Bacon was directed to the investigation of nature's laws, the theological *animus* conspired against him, and he was accused of holding communion with evil spirits. Upon a particular occasion, when he intended to exhibit some curious experiments to a few select friends, the secret having got out, the whole town, and all the colleges of this University were in an uproar. Priests, and fellows, and students, were seen flying about in every direction, with their gowns streaming behind them, screaming out, "No conjuror, no conjuror." The cry of "No conjuror" resounded from hall to hall, from cell to cell. At a later day, Galileo was condemned by men, whose names are now only remembered as parts of the rubbish upon which the pedestal of his fame is raised. And in our own times, there are men who seek to raise the cry of "No conjuror" against me. I tell you, you will soon find out, that these good people are at least no conjurors themselves." '

The contrast, to be sure, is very striking, between Friar Bacon, secretly exhibiting his curious experiments in physics to an initiated few, in his cell, and Dr. Buckland teaching on horseback, *aperto campo*, the noblest of all subjects, the order and design of creation.

In applying terms of such unqualified praise, to a science comparatively so little known as Geology yet is, we desire to offer, in justification, some observations for the information of those, who have not yet turned their attention towards it. We would not detract, if we were disposed to do so, from the value of the astronomical truths which were taught by Galileo; he gave the greatest blow to the prejudices of men, and *macadamized* the road of right reason for posterity. It was his example, which led Newton to investigate the motions of the planets and other heavenly bodies, and to measure their revolutions around their common centre. Newton thus became the immortal discoverer of the law of gravity; to the influence of which, all the known circumstances connected with celestial dynamics, have since been successfully referred. It is to astronomical science, that the human mind owes the consideration of the sublimest propositions of the planetary motions; the most profound refinements of mathematical analysis; and the most comprehensive conclusions in regard to the government of the universe, and the power and wisdom of its Creator. But while the beautiful harmony of these movements creates an intensity of feeling in us, beyond the power of language to express; while we are satisfied that the very irregularities and eccentricities of the system—which made even the great mind of Newton doubt its permanency—are periodically compensated, and thus know, what reason would teach us to believe, that the work of an Almighty hand cannot contain within itself the principles of destruction, but that the *fiat* which is to precede its dissolution, must spring from that great Source whence so much order first proceeded; we nevertheless rise from our all-absorbing contemplations unsatisfied; feeling the subject to be super-human, lost in the consideration of space without dimensions, of motions without beginning or end. Such is the result of the labors of the philosophical geometer; the elevation and purification of his mind, in these lofty and aspiring pursuits, may, indeed, be thought to prepare him for a more perfect state of existence, but here, however his spirit may be cheered by views of illimitable intelligence and power, he is lost, as it were, in the extent of his subject.

Without pretending to compare what is only a part, with the whole, we must nevertheless say, that Geology is to us a more attractive study than Astronomy. The phenomena are more within the reach of personal investigation,

and besides impressing us with those just views of the wisdom and power of the Supreme Being, which are reflected from all parts of nature, we perceive in addition—what cannot be obvious to us in the immense masses, and sublime movements of the heavenly bodies—the most exquisite and affecting proofs of the benevolence of the Creator towards all the animal existences, with which this planet has abounded, from periods of high geological antiquity. We see evidences at all times, of the relation in which they and their food have reciprocally stood to each other, and of the faculties with which they have been gifted, both for reproductive and conservatory purposes. Thence we infer the greatest degree of security and enjoyment, consistent with their respective importance in the scale of beings, and the favor of a Maker to his works. Neither are the great phenomena of our science without beginning or end, like motions in space. The regular succession of the beds composing the geological series, and the still more striking phenomenon of the succession of organized bodies, both animal and vegetable, increasing in the complication of their structure and contrivance, in proportion to the importance of their functions, as they rise in the scale from zoophytes to man, define with distinctness the periods of time which have succeeded each other during the progress of their different revolutions in the substances of the globe. And although in the lower primitive rocks, we begin to lose sight of succession, and our further views are at this time necessarily speculative; yet the subject does not appear to be altogether beyond the powers of the human mind, which, even now, by the light of chemistry, is boldly plunging into deeper and central phenomena, perhaps to form at some future day, not irrational conjectures of the mechanical and material causes of the origin of our planet. For these, and other reasons that occur to us—such as the facility with which we can be at all times familiar with the various and beautiful objects in the animal, vegetable, and mineral departments of nature; and the contrast between a sedentary and active pursuit, so much in favor of the latter on the score both of health and personal enjoyment—we are not surprised at the science of Geology being found so attractive, and at the intense interest with which it is pursued at this day, by some of the most powerful minds in Europe.

Nor may we omit to state as a prominent cause of its popu-

larity, that using the word in the highest sense of the term, Geology comprehends the study of every thing connected with our planet. Volcanic action, to which so interesting a portion of the mineral formations is referred, and from which so many recent phenomena proceed, has become one of the highest branches of Geology. It is the proper province of geological chemistry, by the aid of which the various ages of igneous products are approximated, and to which, perhaps, the solution of the problem, at this time so unsettled, of the igneous or aqueous origin of the lower crystalline beds, and their singular occasional passage into each other, will eventually be owing. To Mineralogy and Chemistry belong also, conjointly, that important branch, which includes the examination of the metals, and their various compounds, and especially those properties of matter, upon which the science of Crystallography depends. Zoology comprehends all the animal natures, whose petrified remains are often found in the beds of those ancient oceans, which appear to have covered every part of the now habitable earth. This extensive division has many important branches. Fossil Conchology belongs to it, by means of which we form reasonable estimates of the agreement or disagreement of the ancient *testacea*, with those which have succeeded them, and with those of our own times; and ascertain to what extent the differences in shells of the same genera and species, may depend upon differences in climate and food, according to known laws. In this branch, we find indubitable evidence of the extensive existence of fresh water, lake and river shells, whereby we infer the existence of ancient lakes and rivers, and of course of dry land, and hills and vales, forming the then surface of the earth, and now lying imbedded in the solid rocks, at great distances from the present surface. Under similar circumstances, we find the fossil remains of gigantic marine and amphibious quadrupeds of the Saurian kind, which we are warranted in believing were in some instances sixty feet long, and from six to ten feet high; also of the *Pterodactylus Macronyx*, a lizard, with powerful membranaceous wings, fitted for transporting it to short distances, and by the crooked claws of which, it could, like the *Draco Volans* of Linnæus, suspend itself to the branches of trees. These magnificent specimens of oviparous quadrupeds, which, in conjunction with innumerable remains of other animals and plants, reveal the often repeated wonders of the pristine animated sur-

faces, would have remained unnoticed and unexplained, but for the science of Geology. But great and most surprising as these animal phenomena are, they perhaps do not, in beauty and variety, exceed the botanical profusion of the Fossil Flora. It is in the Medial order, where the productive coal measures are found, that lively impressions of the stems and leaves of the plants belonging to those ancient epochs are found in great abundance; from the examination of which, we can form a satisfactory estimate, not only of the progressive order of the vegetable creation, but of the temperature of the climate of which they were natives. At a more advanced period, and one nearer to our own epoch, we find imbedded in the tertiary strata, remains of an order of thick-skinned animals, now entirely extinct; and immediately under the last sedimental deposits, and often buried within them, we find the bones of dry land quadrupeds of a higher order, of the elephant, rhinoceros, hippopotamus, horse, tiger, hyæna, wolf, bear, sloth, and numerous other animals, all of which are thought to belong to extinct species, and to have existed before the present races were brought into being. We are led to the same conclusions by the osteological remains of the marine mammalia of ancient times, such as the dugong, the lamantin, and the whale. Thus comparative anatomy comes to form a great branch of Geology, and without some knowledge of it, the most attractive part of the ancient history of our planet, remains a sealed book to us. All these various branches of the science, interesting as they are, as isolated objects of knowledge, are limited to the structure and habits of these animals, and have no reference to a higher subject of speculation, the periods in which they existed. It is only by a comprehensive and careful view of all these branches of Geology, that we are enabled to form an estimate worthy of the dignity of this great subject.

Whether we look at the sources of volcanic action, beneath the granite, the lowest of the known rocks, or whether we consider the regular succession of the beds of the whole geological series, found in every known part of the globe, each in the same constant relation to its neighbor;—the gneiss of America never being found below the granite of Europe, nor the secondary rocks discovered out of their proper place in the series, in relation either to the primitive or the tertiary; whilst the animal and vegetable organizations, however widely apart they may be geographically situated, observe the organic and

progressive relations to each other, which correspond with the age of the mineral formations in which they are imbedded ;—in whatever direction we look, the subject enlarges, our views are extended to the earliest periods, and even to the probable future condition of this globe. All tends to proclaim the wisdom, power, benevolence, order and design of Creation ; not as they are exhibited by the natural phenomena of the present surface, but of those ancient surfaces, which have so often flourished under the genial heat of the sun, though now buried far beneath, and forming parts of the internal and solid structure of the earth. For the details and complete proofs of this magnificent truth, we refer our readers to the science itself, especially to the practical part of it. We do not, upon this occasion, attempt to do more than awaken their attention to it. This is a country rich in mineral and organic treasures ; the deposits are upon a mighty scale. The metals, the marbles, the coals, are becoming more and more objects of public attention. Geological knowledge has already a great bearing upon the business of life. Immense sums would have been spared to projectors in Europe, in boring for coal alone, had they known that they were fruitlessly penetrating into depths where it had never been found. But we leave those pursuits with confidence to the interests of those whom they may concern ; preferring to offer natural science to the consideration of our readers upon higher grounds, as a source of individual happiness and national refinement. We should delight, in a country where all political distinctions are forbidden by its institutions, to encourage that sort of refined and intellectual equality, which is perhaps the surest corrective for some remote dangers incident to those institutions, and the best antidote against the degrading influence of factious politics, and unfeeling cupidity ; two avenues of human ambition, to which the public eye is perhaps too feverishly directed. When a superior education shall be more general, and philosophy and the arts assume their influence, to be the successful demagogue of a State, or the sordid possessor of millions, will cease to be exclusive titles to public respect.

Intent as the politicians and philosophers of other countries are, upon the effect which republican institutions are producing upon society on this side the Atlantic, there is another class in Europe, less numerous, though as a body not less respectable, who are deeply interested in the physical resources of this

country, more immediately connected with the philosophy of nature. We mean, of course, the naturalists of Europe. The taste for natural history, and in particular, geology, has there become almost universal. We already hear of annual conventions of philosophical naturalists in Germany. In surveying our extensive country, its varied surface and climates, they feel some impatience at the tardy attention which nature is receiving at our hands. No work on the subject of American Geology has yet appeared, which deserves to be remembered, except McClure's Sketches. This is a somewhat gloomy picture of the progress of a science among us, to which we attribute such importance; and we should contemplate it with the deepest feelings of regret, if we thought the disadvantages of our situation did not admit of improvement. But we do not think so; we are acquainted with many intelligent individuals, who are ardent in the occasional pursuit of natural knowledge; we are acquainted with the valuable geological collections in some of our cities, and especially of that most respectable institution, the Lyceum of Natural History of the City of New York. The zeal and ability of the gentlemen, who conduct and cherish that institution, are worthy of all praise. The labors of Say,—Mr. Lea's very able papers on the splendid Fresh Water Shells of the American Rivers,—the Osteological Notices of Dr. Hays, and the works of De Kay, Delafield, Cooper, Le Conte, Torrey, Bigelow, Cleaveland and others, are also highly valuable, and hold out the most encouraging prospects in regard to the future condition of natural science.

The progress hereafter to be made, depends much upon the example, and the disinterested labors of the naturalists we have named. That it will be slow, we greatly apprehend, and could give some satisfactory reasons for this opinion; but we are comforted by the belief, that it will be sure. One of the great objections to the study of natural history—as of all the other branches of learning—among us, is the want of leisure. Is there a man distinguished for his taste and knowledge of comparative anatomy? He is probably a physician, and he has numerous patients—he has lectures to prepare and deliver. He is struggling for adequate means to support a family, or to get into a position to have one. He has no leisure to devote steadily to a pursuit which brings him no present advantage. Is there another, whose talents and acquirements fit him for high intellectual pursuits? Perhaps he is

a lawyer. The wants of a large family are pressing upon him. He is in a constant vortex of professional engagements; he must prepare his cases, and attend the courts; and is too happy, at the close of the day, to refresh his wearied mind in the tranquil bosom of his family. It would be in vain to talk to such a man of Amygdaloids, Trilobites, the Pterodactylus, or the Iguanodon; and of the all-important necessity of attending to the distinguishing characters of the teeth of the Mastodon, in order to settle the point, whether he was ambivorous or not. Such a man has no leisure to understand you, and indeed almost doubts the sanity of one, whose technicalities are so little germane with the technicalities of the law. He, again, who may be supposed to possess a little more leisure, of whom society exacts in return for the emoluments of his sacred calling, only sermons and parochial duties; of whom it might reasonably be expected, that the great book of nature, written by the hand of God himself, should be studied, and held in some veneration, as well as the revelation of his will; perhaps he is held in restraint by that very prejudice of which he is the dependent minister; fearing, lest to unlearn, should be to desecrate himself in the eyes of others. All classes of society, in short, are struggling for existence; all their time is absorbed in other essential duties, and the few persons among us occupying a more favorable position, have difficulties of another kind to contend with; such as want of facilities, want of fellowship, and an enlightened public opinion to discriminate, and judge of their labors.

We notice, however, with pleasure, an increasing attention to the study of natural history in our principal colleges; and we are particularly happy in rendering justice to the persevering zeal and talents of Professor Silliman. Considering the many difficulties he has had to contend with, and the vigor with which he has kept the flag of science flying for so many years, we can say, with all our hearts, that we believe he will be as gratefully remembered hereafter for his public zeal, as he is now cherished for his private worth. We also entertain a very favorable opinion of the labors of the Reverend Professor Hitchcock of Amherst College. We have never read a line from the pen of that gentleman, which has not inspired us with confidence in him, as an accurate observer, governed by a liberal and philosophic spirit. We have the more satisfaction in stating this, because natural history has hitherto received but little support from the clergy.

We proceed to notice the work before us. It is written by a professed teacher of the science of geology; and one who, taking his own statements to be true, has, from the immense number of his pupils, an opportunity of instructing or misleading a great many thousands of individuals. We deem this to be so important a consideration, as to call for a severe examination of Mr. Eaton's pretensions, as they are put forth in this, and his other published works.

There is scarcely any person among us interested in the progress of physical science, but must have heard of Amos Eaton, and of his chemical, botanical, and, above all, of his geological notoriety. We have read his works, and continue to witness, with surprise, his pertinacious adherence to an arrangement of rocks, and a nomenclature, entirely at variance with nature and perspicuity. If Mr. Eaton had, in a modest, unpretending manner, brought the geological facts he had from time to time collected in the State of New York, into the general stock of practical information, he would have deserved and received unqualified praise. But presuming upon the supposed ignorance of his readers, he has preferred to set himself up for a genius. In this he has most lamentably failed, has greatly injured a cause he seems to be zealous in, and has abused the rare opportunities he has had of doing good, through the favor of the generous individual who has been his patron.* We have heard the most esteemed naturalists of this country express their opinions freely of Mr. Eaton's attainments in natural history, and in no one instance have those opinions differed from our own. We have, nevertheless, hitherto refrained from noticing his works for many reasons. We hoped that the cause of science here would be ultimately favored by continuing to extend indulgence to him. Finding the public so patient under his inflictions, and apparently construing silence into consent, he now makes larger drafts upon their patience, and in his present work, writes in a tone as authoritative, as if he were placed in the geological chair by acclamation, and in a manner that alarms us. For, if, as he states, he have had already seven thousand pupils, and expects 'more still,' and if those pupils, as some no doubt will, should take it into their heads to add new stories to the grotesque edifice he has commenced, the whole world will

* General Van Renselaer.

by and by think us demented. It is time to put a stop to this charlatanism in science, which already has had its full reign amongst us. To see it increase upon our hands here, and to be laughed at abroad into the bargain, is more than we ought to endure. In his preface to this Text-Book, Mr. Eaton observes, 'I beg the favor of the most rigorous criticism upon this book, small as it is.' Should these observations ever fall under his notice, it may be well that he should remember this invitation. And first, as to our being laughed at abroad :—we are aware that the geologists of Great Britain, who have taken the lead in the science, look with intense anxiety for information from this continent. The formations here are upon so large a scale, and the accumulated effects of causes now in action, are so instructive, owing to the magnitude of the rivers, the position of the mountains, and other circumstances, that it is very probable the sedimentary geological phenomena of the surface will eventually weigh much in the decision of that great question, which is now agitating the European scientific world, viz.; whether the effects of what has been hitherto called diluvial action, are not mainly to be attributed to fluviatile agency. Mr. Eaton with his canal rocks, his synopsis, his *geodiferous* and *cornitiferous*, his diluvion and analluvion, his *prodromuses* and his little wood-cuts, his geology without any principles to it, and his principles illustrated by no geology whatever, has certainly in some degree astonished the Europeans. They are now, however, asking what all this means, and wish to know, whether Mr. Eaton is the avowed representative of geological information and opinions in North America.

In the May number, for 1829, of the '*Bulletin des Sciences Naturelles et de Geologie*,' there is an article, conspicuously placed at the head of the number, upon one of Mr. Eaton's exhibitions in the fourteenth volume of the American Journal of Science. It is written by one of the most distinguished geologists in France; written, we are sure, with great reluctance, for we personally know the writer to be friendly to this country. For the benefit of Mr. Eaton, we give the following translations.

'Mr. Eaton, after having urged the necessity of a good geological nomenclature, seems to believe that we are yet without one, and as if he were a new Werner, gives us one of his own, with-

out synonymes; that is to say, he gives us some hieroglyphics. *Is this ignorance, or love of novelty?*'

And again,

'In a word, the nomenclature of all the European and American geologists, appears unsuitable to him, and he believes that his queer names, and his little wood-cuts, colored like the deposits, are the *nec plus ultra* of clearness and true Geology.'

Now if his previous performances have been regarded as obnoxious to just censure, what will the European geologists say, when they see this geological text-book, which we cannot forbear to pronounce one of the most extraordinary productions with which *pseudo-science* ever imposed upon the public? But it shall speak for itself; and first, let us look over the preface, where at the second line, we find the following precious period.

'If the earth was (were) washed, and the rocks left clean, Geologists would not disagree in regard to rocks.'

For ourselves, we can only say, that were the earth washed as clean as a penny, we should be very much tempted to take up our hammer and chisel, and try what we could find within its rocks; for, although Mr. Eaton may not know it, it is a fundamental principle of the science, to identify rocks by their organic remains, rather than by their mineral characters, which are very fallible guides. As Mr. Eaton may choose to disregard this assertion, we would ask his attention to the following passage in the annual address of the Rev. Adam Sedgewick, President of the Geological Society of London, delivered before that distinguished body, February 19, 1830.

'Each succeeding year places in a stronger point of view the importance of organic remains, when we attempt to trace the various periods and revolutions in the history of the globe. Crystalline rocks are found associated with the strata of almost every age; and the constant laws of combination, which have produced a certain mineral form in rocks of one era, may produce it again in another.'

He then proceeds to state, that nearly all the modifications of structure, in the rocks called primary, are to be found in the secondary formations; and that all the distinguishing characters of the secondary formations are to be found in the tertiary deposits. Mr. Eaton may gather from this, that it is now the established opinion of the leaders of the science, that mineral

characters are subordinate to organic characters;—that a teacher of Geology is a person, who explains the animal and vegetable structures found in mineral deposits, and the manner in which fossils are affected by the mineral substances in which they are imbedded. If Mr. Eaton can understand this, he will perceive that all his past labors have been without an object, and that no one, confessedly ignorant of organic remains, as he is, should pretend to be a teacher of Geology.

We could have overlooked the very incorrect and inelegant style of this work, but for the high pretensions of the writer. The familiar, and often light manner in which he speaks of eminent men, is particularly offensive, and is in singular contrast with the courtesy, which writers on science show to each other at this day. But to proceed with our remarks.

'Geology,' says Mr. Eaton, 'is subject to an evil peculiar to itself. If its votaries disagree, the common learner has neither time nor inclination to review their data, by visiting localities referred to, and thus to correct their mistakes, and adjust their differences.'

If experienced geologists are never to agree, until the earth is washed, and until *common learners*, who are supposed to know very little about it, correct their mistakes, and adjust their differences; and, above all, if these common learners have neither *time nor inclination* to set the matter right, there is doubtless very little chance of making further progress, and we must be content with such geology as we can get, and be even thankful to Mr. Eaton for what he may give us, until washing-day arrives. He tells us;

'To stimulate men of science to the work of examination and criticism, I will state, that I intend to publish *considerable* in scientific journals, also a full system, upon this plan.'

We love variety; and a full system, after the empty one before us, will be an agreeable change. There are so many drolleries in Mr. Eaton's Text-Book, that he seems to be apprehensive, lest we should take it to be altogether a piece of pleasantry, and therefore he warns his readers thus;

'I am not in sport; I have, during the last fifteen years, travelled over seventeen thousand miles, for the express purpose of collecting geological materials; the results of which are comprised in this little octavo pamphlet, and exhibited in the accompanying map and wood-cuts.'

Mr. Eaton has a habit of making confessions, which are not to his credit, and of which we do not see the motive. He says;

'I may be accused of fickleness on account of the changes which appear in every successive book I publish; I confess this is the *ninth time* I have published a geological nomenclature, and that I made changes in each, of more or less importance.'

Again;

'The various deposits of *detritus* had not been thoroughly studied by any American, when I published my last nomenclature. I believe I have made a few changes in that department, which will finally obtain.'

On this head, we must venture to differ from him in opinion. We greatly doubt, whether any of his writings will *obtain;* and are inclined to think, that the first regular work on American geology that appears, will utterly efface every thing that he has published. It is also probable that such a work will appear, before the '*considerable*' which he has promised the world, shall have effected a tenth change in his nomenclature. The following passage is remarkable for its novel orthography, and also for its tone in regard to one of the most learned and philosophic men of the age, to whose labors Geology has been indebted in the highest degree. We allude to Henry De la Beche.

'With all *defference* to the high character of *La Bache,* as an experienced teacher, I may say, that his numerous subdivisions, if adopted, *will ruin the science.*'

We would suggest to Mr. Eaton, that M. De la Beche's subdivisions are the result of a careful examination of all the geological beds, effected by the joint labors of the most enlightened geologists of Europe. The establishment of the series in this detailed manner, is the perfection of human industry and science, and is the true philosophical key to the mineral and organic structure of the earth. And here we have *an experienced teacher*, who does not know how to spell his native tongue, and whose geological information is limited to a few rocks in the State of New York, stating that M. De la Beche *will ruin the science*, for no other reason, that we can imagine, but to exclude from public notice every work upon the subject, except his own.

The only geological fact in this work, which is absolutely new to us, is contained in the following passage;

'He (Werner) closed his long life in the full splendor of his scientific glory, in the same year (1817) in which *we* began to make our humble efforts in the application of his views to American earth.'

Werner was singularly happy in two things; one, that he did not outlive his reputation; the other, that he died before Mr. Eaton applied his views to American earth. A few lines afterwards he says, 'Scarcely had that earth received his (Werner's) manes, when,' &c. We would suggest to Mr. Eaton, that *manes* and *remains*, however similar in sound, do not mean the same thing. We quote the following sentences for the entertainment of the lovers of poetical imagery;

'Since that time Buckland, aided by the veteran Cuvier, has commanded the whole geological phalanx to leave for a while the deep abode of rocks, and to examine "the open caverns and the furrowed earth." He has led out before us, from the Cave of Kirkdale, the *Anti-diluvial Mastodon, chased and gnawed by hundreds of Hyænas.* He has shown us the torrid abodes of the River-horse and the Elephant to have been in the latitudes of Caledonia and Scythia.'

These remarks, however elegantly expressed, are unfortunately a good deal at variance with the statements given in Dr. Buckland's account of the Kirkdale Cavern. Mr. Eaton makes the mistake at page 62, of supposing his own *geodiferous limerock* (carboniferous limestone) to be the equivalent of the formation *coral rag* in which that oolitic cave is found, there being a geological interval of five thousand feet between them; and as to the *Anti-diluvial Mastodon, chased and gnawed by hundreds of Hyænas*, it will be enough to state, that Dr. Buckland never found a single bone of a Mastodon in that, or in any other cave; and that the rational conclusion to which he arrived in respect to the gnawed bones, and in which all the naturalists of Europe have concurred by acclamation, is, that the Kirkdale Cave was an ancient den of hyænas, into which they brought the bones of dead animals. But here we have a public teacher of geology gravely talking, from the remembrance of some extract he has read, of antediluvian Mastodons, as if these animals, which were from ten to twelve feet high, were in the habit of seeking refuge from their enemies in a cave, the entrance of which, when discovered, was less than two feet high and through a solid rock.

The 'hypothesis of regular deposits,' at page 16, and the

accompanying illustrations, are hardly less singular. We have the world cut into two halves, for the purpose of exhibiting the interior. Six little fires, with chimneys to them, are nicely built round the edges of one of the hemispheres. The fires are burning very briskly, and the smoke is coming out very prettily. No. 1 is designated, 'The Combustibles under Rocky Mountain; No. 2, New England; No. 3, Britain; No. 4, Alps and Pyrenees; No. 5, Caucasus; No. 6, Himalay.' In the centre we find the words, 'Interior probably undisturbed.' This we presume is added by way of encouragement to such as are disposed to explore Capt. Symmes's *terra incognita*. The Cordilleras, which have some pretensions to the character of mountains of igneous origin, would probably have found a place and a fire, too, if intelligence of their discovery had reached Mr. Amos Eaton. Next comes a very pretty picture of North America, in a 'transverse segment,' extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific. The distance from Boston to the Catskill Mountains forms about one fourth of the whole distance. Reckoning the geographical distance between the two oceans to be about two thousand five hundred miles, we perceive the Hudson River to be about one hundred and seventy-eight miles above the level of the Atlantic, and nearly on a line with the tops of the Green Mountains. From the bed of the Hudson to the top of the Catskill, the ascent is rather abrupt, and appears to be about one hundred and sixty miles. Thence the country westward is rather level, until you reach a large well-built town called Red-sandstone, on the eastern skirt of the Rocky Mountains; whence there is a descent by a regular slope to the Pacific Ocean. The country to the left of this slope is marked 'unknown,' whence we are to infer that all the rest is known. There is an exceedingly good fire kept up under the Rocky Mountains, and another under the Atlantic Ocean. These fires occupy about one half of the whole distance, and are evidently undermining the superincumbent formations very rapidly. If the Atlantic Ocean should break through, as the Thames did into the Tunnel, it strikes us that the packets running to Europe would be in great danger. We by no means desire to alarm the public, but we advise the proprietors to look to it, and to consult Mr. Amos Eaton before his second edition appears, when matters may be 'considerable' worse.

We proceed to notice another assertion at page 67, which is announced in capitals.

'I intend to demonstrate, that the *detritus* of New-Jersey, embracing the marl which contains those remarkable fossil relics, (saurian) is ante-diluvian, or the *genuine tertiary formation.*'

To say nothing of the incorrect manner in which this is expressed, as if ante-diluvian and tertiary were synonymes, the thing is not so, and cannot be demonstrated. Ante-diluvian in a certain sense it may be said to be, but as to the marl containing the remarkable fossil relics he speaks of belonging to the tertiary formation, no one but a person totally ignorant of this great branch of Geology, would have made so unlucky a guess. Had Mr. Eaton possessed the most superficial knowledge of the value of organic characters, and of the extent of the saurian period, he would have spared himself this mortification. He would have known, that a deposit remarkable for saurian remains, and multilocular *testacea*, could not be tertiary; a geologist would have placed it with greater propriety in the green sand formation, to which we have always believed it to belong. How Mr. Vanuxem's very sensible remarks on this subject can have escaped Mr. Eaton, is really surprising; but there is little to be expected from one who has been too deeply engaged in washing the outside of our planet and making fires in the centre, to find time for consulting either books or nature. Whilst we are on this subject, we cannot omit noticing a recent paper by Mr. Eaton at page 334, No. 2, Vol. 17, American Journal of Science, which begins thus.

'I have received letters from several eminent geologists, since you published my geological *prodromus*, all of which express full satisfaction on the subject of my five carboniferous formations, excepting the primitive. The generous sentiments expressed on this subject, especially by Dr. Morton, who is pleased to call it a reformation in geology, with which he seems to be generally pleased, &c. &c.'

Dr. Morton, we suspect, has been indulging himself in a little harmless pleasantry, and will probably be rather amused to find his *generous* propensities so gratefully received. We pass over the strange mistakes about Oolite and Sias, at pages 43 and 48 of the Text-Book, and refer to the heading in large capitals, at page 49.

'History of the creation of organized beings, in reference to the five geological series.'

This history of the creation of organized beings is despatched

in three pages. It consists of inferences deduced from facts, which Mr. Eaton has borrowed, without comprehending them, from European geological works. At page 51, he says,

'But immediately over the carboniferous state, (coal measures) we find oviparous vertebral animals. I have before me the relics of a *crotalus*, found by Dr. Rose of Montrose, Pennsylvania. Hence we infer, that oviparous vertebral animals were created soon after the bituminous coal and deposits were made.'

The origin of this passage appears to be as follows. Observing in Bakewell, the source of all his scientific *discoveries*, that oviparous vertebral animals are found in the deposits succeeding to the new red sandstone formation, and ignorantly supposing that oviparous reptiles of the present surface would serve his turn as well as the marine oviparous quadrupeds of which Bakewell speaks, he carefully keeps all the saurians out of sight, and with an old piece of an *orthocera* in his hands, pretends that this discovery of oviparous vertebral animals succeeding to the coal formations, is an inference made by himself, from a rattle-snake found in one of the formations of his fourth series. A rattle-snake! This exceeds the Mastodons.

We will not, however, pursue this investigation farther. We regret that a sense of duty to science has compelled us to perform so ungrateful a task; but at a period when a general inclination for the cultivation of natural history is visibly increasing, we cannot shut our eyes to the evil consequences, that must result from the circulation of so much error amongst the ingenuous young men of the country. We have been actuated solely by regard for the interest of science, and should be the last persons who would take pleasure in wantonly exposing Mr. Eaton or any other individual.

ART. X.—*Imprisonment for Debt.*

Fifth Annual Report of the Board of Managers of the Prison Discipline Society. Boston, 1830.

The general object of the Prison Discipline Society,—the improvement in the state of prisons in reference to the comfort, and particularly the moral character of their inmates,—is of a nature to command the respect and sympathy of every friend of humanity. The assiduity and success with

which the Society have labored in this good cause, are apparent from several previous Reports, as well as from the one before us; and we trust that they will be sustained in future, as they have been thus far, by that large and liberal patronage, which alone can enable them to give full scope and effect to their benevolent intentions. Our present purpose, however, is not so much to enlarge upon this branch of the operations of the Society, as to advert to that portion of the Report before us, which is occupied by a statement of facts and opinions on the subject of *Imprisonment for Debt.* This feature in our civil institutions has for some years past been attracting the public attention more and more strongly; and it seems to be now almost universally admitted, that the present system imperiously demands a reform, although there is still much difference of sentiment as to the extent of the evil, and the nature of the remedy. We have not the presumption to suppose, that the hasty suggestions which we may offer will have any tendency to settle this difference; but by bringing to the view of our readers some of the lucid statements and weighty considerations contained in the Report, we may hope to contribute something towards the formation of that enlightened public opinion, which must ultimately decide upon this as upon every other question of general interest. We shall first extract a passage of the Report, which gives some idea of the number of persons who are annually imprisoned for debt, and of the efficacy of this process in enforcing payment.

'Returns have been received from nearly one hundred Prisons in the United States, showing *how many* persons were imprisoned for debt during the year ending December 30, 1829; for what sums they were imprisoned; how much time was lost in Prisons; how many were discharged by the creditor or his attorney; how many paid the debt; how many took the poor debtor's oath; what was the whole amount of debt; what was the whole amount of costs; and who supported the debtor in Prison.

'The letters received from the sheriffs of different counties, and different and distant States, containing this information, merit the particular and grateful acknowledgements of the Society, for the labor bestowed in examining the records of the Prisons, to collect it. Many of the letters also are valuable, inasmuch as they contain an expression of the opinion of practical men, who have had the best opportunities of observation, in regard to the operation of the present laws on the subject of imprisonment for debt.

'We have also received letters from judges, lawgivers, and philanthropists, expressing their opinion on this subject.

'The following general remarks are supported by the first class of letters, to which we have referred:

'1. *The number of persons imprisoned for debt in the Northern and Middle States is very great.*

'During the year ending December 30, 1829, there were imprisoned for debt in Concord, N. H., 31; in Taunton, Mass., 126; in Worcester, 271; in Boston, 1211; in East Greenwich, R. I., 80; in Newport, R. I., 78; in Pennyan, N. Y., 103; at Courtland Village, 112; in Buffalo, 338; in the city of New York, in 1828, 3,000; in Philadelphia, during 8 months, ending February 25, 1830, 817; in Baltimore, in 1829, 944. As nearly as we can ascertain from the returns which we have received, the number imprisoned for debt annually is, in Massachusetts, 3,000; in New York, 10,000; in Pennsylvania, 7,000; in Maryland, 3,000; and in the other Northern and Middle States, nearly as above in proportion to the population.

'2. *The number of persons imprisoned for debt, compared with the number imprisoned for crime, is very great.*

'In Worcester, Mass., the debtors were to the criminals as 3 to 1; in Rhode Island, as 4 to 1; in Pennyan, N. Y., nearly as 5 to 1; at Courtland Village more than 8 to 1; at Belvidere, N. J., as 5 to 1; at Flemington, N. J., as 6 to 1; in 17 Prisons in the Northern and Middle States, nearly as 5 to 1.

3. '*The number of persons imprisoned for small debts is very great.*

'In Philadelphia alone, the number of persons imprisoned in eight months, ending February 25, 1830, for less than one dollar each, was thirty. In eleven other Prisons, from which we have heard, there were imprisoned, during the year ending December 30, 1829, for less than one dollar each, *thirty-two.*

'4. '*The number of persons imprisoned for more than one, and less than five dollars each, is still greater.*

'In thirty Prisons, from which we have heard, there were imprisoned, for more than one and less than five dollars each, *five hundred and ninety-five.*

'5. *The number of persons imprisoned for more than five, and less than twenty dollars, is very great.*

'In thirty-two Prisons, from which we have heard, there were imprisoned for more than five and less than twenty dollars, two thousand one hundred and eighty-four.

'6. *The number of persons imprisoned for more than twenty, and less than one hundred dollars, is not one third as great as the number imprisoned for less than twenty dollars.*

'In thirty-two Prisons, from which we have heard, the num-

ber imprisoned for less than twenty dollars each, was 2841; for more than twenty, and less than $100,—902.

'7. *The number of persons imprisoned for more than one hundred dollars each is very small, in comparison with the number imprisoned for less than twenty dollars.*

'In fifty-three Prisons, from which we have heard, the whole number imprisoned for more than one hundred dollars each, was four hundred and sixteen, or only as one to seven, compared with the number imprisoned for less than twenty dollars.

'8. *The time lost in Prison is very considerable by those who are poorly able to lose it.*

'In fifteen Prisons, from which we have heard, in the Northern and Middle States, the persons imprisoned for debt,

For less than one day, were	269
For more than one, and less than five days, . .	323
For more than five, and less than ten days, . .	203
For more than ten, and less than twenty days, .	154
For more than twenty, and less than thirty days, . .	83
For more than thirty days, ...	431

'Total amount of time lost in fifteen Prisons, nineteen thousand, nine hundred and eighty-seven days.

'9. *While so much time is lost in Prison, it is a very fruitless business as a means of compelling payment.*

'In seventeen Prisons, from which we have heard, out of two thousand and fifty-seven persons imprisoned, the records show only two hundred and ninety-four who paid the debt.

'10. *The number of persons discharged by the creditor or his attorney, according to the records, is more than three times as large as the number of those who pay the debt.*

'In seventeen Prisons, from which we have heard, as already stated, two hundred and ninety-four paid the debt, and one thousand and nineteen were discharged by the creditor or his attorney.

'11. *The number of persons discharged by taking the poor debtor's oath, is more than twice as great as the number of those who pay the debt.*

'In the seventeen Prisons above mentioned, two hundred and ninety-four paid the debt, and seven hundred and forty-four took the poor debtor's oath.

'12. *The amount paid, according to the Records, in consequence of imprisonment, is not one half the value of time lost at $1 per day.*

'In seventeen Prisons, from which we have heard, the amount paid, in the year ending December 30, 1829, as nearly as can be ascertained, was seven thousand nine hundred and ninety-two

dollars; the value of time lost in fifteen Prisons, during the same time, at $1 per day, was nineteen thousand nine hundred and eighty-seven dollars.

'13. *This is not only very fruitless, but very expensive business to the creditor.*

'We have reason to believe, that, in most cases, in which persons are discharged from Prison by the creditor or his attorney, or by the poor debtor's oath, the costs are paid by the creditor; and we have already seen, that in seventeen Prisons there were discharged by the creditor or his attorney, . . 1019

By the poor debtor's oath, ... 744

By paying the debt, ... 294

'We have made the inquiry of a number of the respectable men of our acquaintance, whether they ever imprisoned a man for debt. The general answer has been, Yes; once or twice, and we lost the debt, and paid the costs.

'14. *The operation of the laws, in regard to imprisonment for debt, is very different in the Northern and Southern States.*

'In seventeen Prisons heard from in the Northern States, the number of persons imprisoned during the year ending December 30, 1829, was *two thousand seven hundred and forty-two.*

'In the same number of Prisons in the Southern States, only *thirty-five.*

'15. *There are examples of amelioration and abolition.*

'In Massachusetts, there is a law which forbids the imprisonment of any debtor for less than five dollars. A similar law, in the other Northern and Middle States, would have saved from imprisonment, during the last year, in eighteen Prisons, from which we have heard, four hundred and thirty-one persons. The great opposition to this law is said to have come from groceries and grog shops.

'There is a law in New-Hampshire, which forbids the imprisonment of any debtor for less than $13,33. A similar law, in the other Northern and Middle States, would have saved from imprisonment, during the last year, in eighteen Prisons, from which we have heard, one thousand four hundred and fifty-four persons.

'There is a law in Massachusetts, which requires the creditor to pay the board of the debtor. This law is said, by several of the jailers, to have diminished the duration of imprisonment for debt about one third.

'A very shrewd and observing jailer, in a Prison where more than one thousand persons are imprisoned annually, remarked, that many cases of imprisonment for small debts would be prevented, if the creditors were obliged to make oath, that the debts were *true debts;* as in South Carolina.

'*In Kentucky and Ohio, imprisonment for debt is abolished.* A similar law in the Northern and Middle States, would have saved from imprisonment, during the last year, as nearly as we can ascertain, about *fifty thousand persons.*

'16. *The laws and public opinion appear to be at variance on the subject of imprisonment for debt.*

'We have already seen, to some extent, what is the operation of the laws. We now give an abstract of the laws of several States, where the evils of imprisonment for debt seem to be greatest. And immediately after the abstract, we shall give what we consider an expression of public opinion.'

The following letter to the Secretary of the Society, from the benevolent individual so generally and so honorably known by the assumed name of *Hamilton*, whose indefatigable exertions for the promotion of every good work have so justly endeared him to his countrymen, gives some further very interesting details on the same subject.

'*Extract from a Letter signed Hamilton, dated Philadelphia, March* 5, 1830.

'The cruel effects, and the suffering resulting from imprisonment for debt, and its almost universal inefficacy in producing satisfaction of the claims of the creditor, have for a long time attracted public attention, and been depicted in vivid colors by different writers, in the hope of removing the evil. But improvements of every kind, however plain and palpable, travel at a snail's pace, when they have to encounter inveterate prejudice. It has often happened that it required half a century to remove a crying evil, about which no two enlightened men could for a moment differ in opinion; and cases are by no means rare, in which half a century has been found inadequate for the purpose. The abuses of the court of Chancery in Great Britain, and its ruinous delays of justice, almost equivalent to a denial, are strongly in point.

'The evil of imprisonment for debt has been somewhat mitigated in some of the States; but in others it remains in all its frightful enormity. In this State, no man, who can give adequate security for his appearance at the insolvent court, need go to jail. Nevertheless, hundreds are sent to jail for want of security. In Massachusetts, a law is in force, how long I cannot tell, which prohibits imprisonment for debts under five dollars.

'A most astounding and revolting fact has been just presented to the public by the Boston Prison Discipline Society, (one of the most philanthropic and beneficent societies in the country,)

respecting the state of imprisonment for debt in the city of New-York. It appears,

'On the authority of Mr. Rowen, keeper of the debtor's apartment in that city, that the number of cases of imprisonment [for debt] during the year 1828, was 1085! The debts together amounted to $25,409; the damages to $362,076! the amount paid in jail, $295! which bears to the amount of actual debt, the proportion of 1 to 86! and to the amount of debts and damages, of 1 to 1313!—*Fourth Report, page* 17.

'Probably, among the variety of abuses attendant on, and inseparable from, civil society, a more monstrous or shocking fact cannot be produced, or one more at variance with our boasted civilization.

'The facts in this connexion in our city are not quite so revolting; but they are sufficiently so to call for a radical remedy. But a short law of twenty lines, abolishing imprisonment for debts under five dollars, which might be passed in three days, would remove some of the most crying enormities of our present system.

'The number of persons imprisoned in the debtor's apartment in this city, from June 6, 1829, until February 24, 1830, was 817, of whom there were

30 whose debts were below 1 dollar.
233 above 1 and below 5 dollars.
174 above 5 and below 10 dollars.
140 above 10 and below 20 dollars.
142 above 20 and below 100 dollars.
98 above 100 dollars.

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'Of 252 of these unfortunate people, the debts were $663 and the costs $448.

'Of 64, the debts were $58 and the costs $120!

'That this state of things calls for a remedy, will not be questioned. The Massachusetts law is a remedy, plain, simple, and effectual, as to the most grievous portion of the evil; and it is to be hoped it will be applied without delay.

'It is highly probable that such a law would considerably diminish the poor rates. The 263 persons above referred to, whose debts are below five dollars, are of the class who depend wholly for their own support, and that of their families, on their labor. Their extreme poverty precludes the idea of their being able to make any provision for their families during their imprisonment; and the consequence is, that that support, in the interim, devolves on the overseers of the poor.'

Such are the nature and extent of the evil. As respects

the remedy that ought to be applied, we are presented in the Report with a number of opinions of great authority. The Secretary of the Society addressed a circular letter to several gentlemen of distinction, requesting a communication of their views on important points connected with this subject, and received from some of them answers of a very interesting character, which are here presented. The most important of these have been reprinted in other quarters, but we nevertheless deem it expedient to quote them, in order that while the feelings of the community are agitated by the discussion of the question, the views that are entertained of it by the ablest men, and the most competent judges, may be kept as much as possible before the public, as a guard against extravagance and error. The opinion of Mr. Webster on any subject connected with his professional pursuits, probably carries with it, at present, as much weight as that of any person of his age in the country. His letter is as follows;

'*Letter from Hon. Daniel Webster, dated Washington, May* 2, 1830.

'Sir—I have received your letter of the 19th of April, asking my opinion upon several questions, all relative to the subject of imprisonment for debt. I am quite willing to express my general opinions on that interesting subject, although they are not so matured as to be entitled to influence other men's judgments. The existing laws, I think, call loudly for revision and amendment. Your first four questions seek to know what I think of imprisonment for small sums. I am decidedly against it; I would carry the exemption to debts of thirty or forty dollars, at least. Individual instances of evil or hardship might, I am aware, follow from such a change; but I am persuaded the general result would be favorable, in a high degree, to industry, sobriety, and good morals, as well as to personal liberty.

'You ask, in the next place, what I think of imprisonment for debt in any case where there is no evidence of fraud. Certainly I am of opinion that there should be no imprisonment for debt, where it appears that no fraud has been practised, or intended, either in contracting the debt, or in omitting to pay it. But, then, it seems to me, that, when a man does not fulfil a lawful promise, he ought to show his inability, and to show also that his own conduct has been fair and honest. He ought not to be allowed merely *to say* he cannot pay, and then to call on the creditor to *prove* that his inability is pretended or fraudulent. He ought to show why he does not and cannot fulfil his contract, and to give reasonable evidence that he has not acted fraudulently: and, this

being done, his person ought to be held no longer. In the first place, the creditor is entitled to the oath of his debtor; and, in the next place, to satisfactory explanation of any suspicious circumstances.

'There are two sorts of fraud, either of which, when proved, ought to prevent a liberation of the person, viz: fraud in contracting the debt, and fraud in concealing, or making way with, the means of payment. And the usual provisions of the bankrupt act ought to be added, that no one should be discharged, who is proved to have lost money in any species of gaming; and I should include, in this class, *all adventurers in lotteries*. Having tendered his own oath, and made just explanation of any circumstances of suspicion, if there be such, and not having lost money by gaming, the debtor ought to be discharged at once; which answers another of your questions; for the detention of thirty days, before the oath can be taken, appears to me wholly useless.

'You are pleased to ask, whether, in my judgment, Christians can, with a good conscience, imprison, either other Christians or infidels. He would be very little of a Christian, I think, who should make a difference, in such a case, and be willing to use a degree of severity towards Jew or Greek, which he would not use towards one of his own faith. Whether conscientious men can imprison any body for debt, whom they do not believe dishonest or fraudulent, is a question which every man, while the law allows such imprisonment, must decide for himself. In answer to your inquiry, whether I have found it necessary to use such coercion, in regard to debts of my own, I have to say, that I never imprisoned any man for my own debt, under any circumstances; nor have I, in five and twenty years' professional practice, ever recommended it to others, except in cases where there was manifest proof, or violent and unexplained suspicion, of intentional fraud.

'Imprisonment for debt, my dear sir, as it is now practised, is, in my judgment, a great evil; and, it seems to me, an effectual remedy for the larger part of the evil is obvious. Nineteen twentieths of the whole of it would be relieved, in my opinion, if imprisonment for *small debts* were to be abolished. That object I believe to be attainable; and to its attainment, I think, the main attention of those who take an interest in the subject should be directed. Small credits are often given, on the confidence of being able to collect the debt by the terrors of the jail; great ones seldom or never.

'Three simple provisions would accomplish all, in my opinion, that may be considered as absolutely required to a just state of the law, respecting imprisonment for debt in Massachusetts.

'1. That no imprisonment should be allowed, when the debts, exclusive of costs, did not amount to thirty dollars.

'2. That there should be no necessity of imprisonment for thirty days, as preliminary to taking the poor debtor's oath; nor any longer detention than such as is necessary to give parties notice and time to prepare for examination; and that a convenient number of magistrates, in every county, should, for the purpose of administering the oaths, be appointed by the government; and that such magistrates should be clothed with such further powers as might be thought expedient, in order to enable them to make a thorough investigation of the fairness or fraud of the debtor's conduct.

'3. That in cases where the debtor had been discharged, if the creditor would make oath to newly discovered evidence, proving original fraud, or, to his belief, that the debtor had subsequently received property, and concealed or withheld the same from his creditors, it should be competent to such creditor to have investigation of such charge, and, if made out, to have execution against the person, and if not made out, that the creditor should pay the cost of the proceeding.

'Other provisions might doubtless be useful; but if these three alone could be obtained, they would, in a great measure, clear the jails of debtors, and give general satisfaction, I have no doubt, to creditors.

'I ought to add, that the imprisonment of females in the common jails, for mere debt, is a barbarism which ought not to be tolerated. Instances of such imprisonment, though rare, do yet sometimes occur, under circumstances that shock every humane mind. In this respect, the law ought, in my judgment, to be altogether reformed.'

The opinion of Dr. Channing—an authority in no way inferior to the one just cited—is given more briefly, but with equal or greater point, in a passage of his late Election Sermon.

'*Extract from Dr. Channing's Election Sermon.*

'I am shocked at the imprisonment of the honest debtor, and the legislation, which allows the creditor to play the tyrant over an innocent man, would disgrace, I think, a barbarous age. I am not less shocked by the impunity with which criminal insolvents continually escape, and by the lenity of the community towards those transgressors of its most essential laws.'

The following letter is from the Hon. Charles Jackson, whose early eminence at the bar was the admiration of his contemporaries, and whose early retirement from the bench, was the

severest loss, which the judiciary department of this Commonwealth has sustained since the death of Parsons.

'*Extract of a Letter from Hon. Charles Jackson, dated Boston, May* 18, 1830.

'Dear Sir—The only just or reasonable motive for imprisoning a debtor seems to be to compel him to apply his property to the payment of his debts. If, therefore, he is about to abscond, and to remove his effects beyond the reach of his creditors, or if he fraudulently secretes or withdraws them, so that they cannot be taken by legal process, the creditor, I think, ought to have the power to arrest him, and to prevent him, if possible, from enjoying at ease, or spending in luxury, what he has thus unjustly acquired. But when he is unable to pay the debt, and has no property to be surrendered to his creditor, it is wholly useless as well as oppressive, to prolong his imprisonment. Such a measure, if considered as a punishment to the debtor, is very unequal and unjust, as it is inflicted without any regard to the magnitude of the debt, and without any distinction between a fraudulent debtor and one who is only unfortunate. I think, therefore, that imprisonment for debt ought never to be allowed, except in cases which I consider fraudulent; that is, when the debtor fraudulently or obstinately secretes or withholds his property. But as it is not easy to ascertain beforehand what cases fall within this description, it may be necessary to authorize the arrest of the debtor, making provision, at the same time, for an immediate discharge of his person, upon his surrendering all his property that is liable to attachment.

'If a proper and convenient provision of this kind could be made, it would perhaps remove the principal objections to the existing laws; but so long as imprisonment for debt on mesne process, and on execution, is conducted as it now is, I am strongly of opinion, that it ought never to be allowed for small debts, so as to reach the poorer class of debtors. It would require more practical knowledge than I possess on this subject, to fix the amount of debt for which it ought to be allowed; but I should be glad to find, that it could be limited to fifty dollars. When a man whose living depends on his manual labor, is imprisoned for a debt which he is unable to pay, there is a loss to the community, as well as to the debtor himself, of the produce of the labor which he might have performed; and the creditor's chance of receiving payment is of course diminished. If a debtor is unable to pay ten dollars, it seems to be the height of absurdity, as well as cruelty, to take him from his business, and to condemn him to idleness for a time long enough to have earned twenty dollars.

'There is, perhaps, one advantage in allowing imprisonment for

small debts; which is, that it tends to deter the poor from contracting debts; and so far as it produces that effect, I believe that it is highly useful. But we daily see, that this is not an effectual remedy, and that many of that class will get credit where they can, though upon terms most oppressive to themselves. If these persons were wholly exempted from arrest and imprisonment, they would find it much more difficult to get credit than they now do. This would be beneficial, not only to themselves, but also to the class of creditors in general; as these latter, by giving less credit, would probably, on the whole, lose less than they do under the existing laws.

'As to the duration of imprisonment, if allowed at all, I should suppose thirty days much more than would be commonly necessary. All that must be required is time enough for the debtor to make out a statement of his property, and to surrender or convey it to the person designated in the law, and to undergo an examination, on oath, as to the truth of that statement. I see no objection to allowing a discharge, upon these terms, from arrest on mesne process, as well as on execution. It would further tend to prevent abuses in this respect, if arrest on mesne process were allowed for debt only, or for injuries to property, that are susceptible, in some degree, of a precise estimation; to the exclusion of all cases of mere personal wrongs, and of claims for unliquidated and uncertain debts.

'If imprisonment for debt is, as I think it is, useless, when used merely to compel the surrender of property, which ought to be applied to discharge the debt, it follows, that, in other cases, a Christian cannot, with a good conscience, make use of this process either against a fellow Christian or an infidel.'

We add the letter of Mr. Edward Everett, upon the character of which we are precluded by obvious considerations, from expressing an opinion.

'*Extract of a Letter from Hon. Edward Everett, dated Charlestown, Mass., 4th. Sept.*, 1830.

'Dear Sir—I have duly received your letter, requesting my opinion on several subjects connected with imprisonment for debt. I must leave it to those better acquainted with the practical effect of the existing laws, to make a discrimination between the operation of these laws, in reference to the *different sums* you have named. My view of the subject requires no such discrimination. But were I obliged to give a specific answer to your first question, "What do you think of imprisonment for debt for sums less than one dollar?" I should say, I think it a disgrace to the community where it is tolerated; and that a person, who would

deprive a fellow creature of his liberty for inability to pay that sum, ought himself to be sent to the State's Prison, till he had learned humanity, or rather to the Insane Hospital, till he was restored to reason.

'But I ought to recollect that even such imprisonment has been authorized by the laws of our ancient Commonwealth, and is now authorized by the laws and daily practice of some of the sister States; and that individuals are not justly chargeable with the iniquity of a system established by the law of the land, and sanctioned by custom. It is one of the worst effects of bad laws, that they corrupt public sentiment.

'It is said to have been remarked, by the venerable Attorney-General of the Commonwealth, on occasion of the late trial at Salem, that it was to be regretted that the common law had not, by the statute of 1 Ann, been brought a little nearer to common sense, in reference to the trial of accessaries, before the conviction of a principal. I fear there is too great reason to say, that we live under a system of laws, touching the relations of debtor and creditor, utterly at war, not only with common sense, but common humanity.

'Although crime may be connected with insolvency, yet insolvency is not of itself a crime. Where fraud has been committed, let that fraud be proceeded against under known laws, and punished, I care not how severely, so the bounds of reason and humanity are not passed. But inability to pay one's debts is itself no proof of crime. It may, and often does, arise from the act of God, and misfortune in all its forms. A man may become insolvent in consequence of sickness, shipwreck, a fire, a bad season, political changes affecting trade at home and abroad; or, being wholly prosperous in his own business, he may be involved in the ruin of his debtor. In the eye of the law of Massachusetts, a man's inability to meet his obligations, produced in any of these ways, is a crime punishable by imprisonment.

'Suppose a Legislature were to pass a law, that whoever should have a ship cast away, or a ware-house burnt down, should be imprisoned thirty days. What would be thought of their humanity? what of their sanity? Such, however, in substance, is the law of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. The absurdity of such a system is as glaring as its cruelty.

'It is objectionable on another ground. To deprive a citizen of liberty is one of the highest inflictions of penal justice. Next to capital punishment, it is the most infamous punishment known to our law. The power of wielding this formidable weapon ought to be lodged exclusively in the hands of the magistrate. Grave public reasons should alone decide when it should be employed.

The present law submits to the discretion, the caprice, and the passions of the creditor, whether he will or will not subject a citizen to this odious infliction of penal justice. There are men in the community who make a livelihood from buying up bad debts. The State puts its sheriffs, and constables, and the keys of its Prisons, under their control, and they daily wield their dreadful power, from motives of interest; sometimes without the possibility of deriving benefit; but more frequently with a studied and tantalizing choice of time and circumstances, such as to give to personal duress the character and effects of torture. Torture, in fact, it is; and many persons, no doubt, would rather lose the joint of a finger, or submit to a few turns of a thumb-screw in private, than be shut up in the wards of a jail.

'Fortunately for the credit of the country at large, though to the discredit of Massachusetts, our law on this subject is behind the legislation of the majority of the States. Very few States in the Union deem so lightly of the value of the blessings which they secure to their citizens, as to allow an individual to deprive his neighbor of his liberty, for *thirty days*, for a debt of five dollars.

'When the enormity and scandal of such legislation are considered, we can only wonder that it can subsist for a day in a community where the people make the laws, especially when we inquire what class of society is benefited by them. Creditors are not greatly benefited, as is notorious from the facts stated in the last Report of the Prison Discipline Society. In a Report made to a meeting of gentlemen assembled in Boston, a year or two since, to consider this subject, it is stated that "within the last twenty years, the COSTS that have accrued in suits against insolvents, have amounted to more than one million of dollars."

'It surely cannot be the interest or the wish of the mass of the people to lay such a tax for the purpose of filling the pockets of those benefited by the prosecution of petty debts.

'Considered in connexion with the public good, and the cause of civil liberty, the facts disclosed in the last Annual Report of the Prison Discipline Society present matter of reflection painfully important. Seventy-five thousand freemen, in these United States, it is estimated, are annually subjected, under the existing laws, to the infamous punishment of a Prison! And the costs and damages exceed, in many cases, the amount of the debts for which they are imprisoned!

'There are several governments called *despotic*, where no such outrage on reason and humanity is tolerated. That it is submitted to in this community, is a proof how much practical oppression a people will endure, who enjoy, in theory, the power of providing a remedy. The acts of the British government, which

drove our fathers to arms, were infinitely less grievous than the laws in question. Nor is there any question of national or party politics, that now excites the sensibility of the people of the United States, which so much concerns them as this subject, in regard to which so great an apathy prevails.

'Harsh, however, as the expression may sound, if the people, possessing the means of a perfect and instant remedy in their hands, will not apply it, they ought to suffer. Were it not that the unfortunate class who suffer most—the poor and friendless—are unable effectually to make their wishes felt, and their rights respected, nothing would need to be said. A fortnight's time, devoted to the subject by the General Court, would be amply sufficient to enact a statute, which would bring the law nearer to humanity and reason; and, if the people wish for such a statute, it is very easy to make their wish known and respected.

'Wishing entire success to all judicious exertions to effect this end, I remain, &c.'

In the suggestions made in these letters, of the nature of the remedy to be applied to this great and acknowledged evil, the prevailing idea seems to be that of drawing a line of distinction between debts of different classes, and abolishing imprisonment for those of small amount. This plan has already been acted upon to a certain extent in several of the States. In this Commonwealth, and in Maine, imprisonment is not allowed for a debt under five dollars. Mr. Webster proposes, that the limit should be enlarged to thirty, and provision is made to this effect in a bill reported in the Senate of this State during the late session of the General Court, but which had not been acted upon when this article was written. In Maryland, imprisonment was abolished for debts under thirty dollars, by an act passed at the late session of the Legislature of that State. In New Hampshire, the limit is fixed at thirteen dollars, thirty-three cents. Kentucky and Ohio are the only States in which the practice has been abolished entirely. The adoption of this measure in those States, is probably to be attributed, in a great degree, to the unwearied exertions of Colonel R. M. Johnson, who has done more to awaken the public attention to this crying evil, than any other person in the country. We feel the more pleasure in doing justice to his benevolent intentions in this respect, inasmuch as we have had occasion, in a preceding number, to question the correctness of his, no doubt, equally honest views, upon another subject of considerable importance.

The distinction between large and small debts, to which we

have alluded, as the basis of the new regulations, which have been adopted in this and some other States, is obviously untenable in principle. Whether imprisonment for debt be regarded as a privilege belonging to the creditor, or as an inconvenience to be suffered by the debtor, there is plainly in theory no good reason to be given, why it should attach to one class of debts rather than another. We may go farther, and say with safety, that a distinction of this kind is not only not founded in any correct principle, but is actually contrary to natural justice. The only motive for allowing imprisonment for debt at all, must be the supposed advantage resulting to the creditor, from this mode of enforcing payment of his debt. But the distinction in question gives this advantage to a person who has lent a large sum of money, and takes it away from one who has lent a small one. In other words, it confers upon the wealthy, who want it least, a privilege which is refused to the poor.

The distinction is therefore in theory untenable, and even unjust, but it is nevertheless true, that the adoption of it may produce a great deal of practical good; and if, as appears to be generally supposed, a reform predicated on this principle is the only one which the public feeling would admit in this part of the country, we should cheerfully give it our feeble support. The number of small debts is of course much greater than that of large ones, and of the cases of actual imprisonment, a very great proportion are for debts of trifling amount. This point is satisfactorily established in the above extract from the Report before us, where it is stated on authority, that 'the number of persons imprisoned for more than twenty and less than one hundred dollars, is not one third as great as the number imprisoned for less than twenty dollars;' and that 'the number of persons imprisoned for more than one hundred dollars each, is very small in comparison with the number imprisoned for less than twenty dollars.' This being the case, the abolition of imprisonment for small debts, is, in other words, an abolition of imprisonment for debt in by far the greater number of cases, that actually occur in practice. It is obvious, therefore, that however untenable, or even unjust, may be the distinction in theory, the practical relief afforded by its adoption may be very considerable.

We should, therefore, as we have just remarked, very cheerfully concur in recommending it to the public, if it be in fact

impracticable to obtain a reform on a more consistent plan. But we are free to confess, that we can see no reason why the abolition of imprisonment for debt in all cases, where there is no fraud, should be a less popular measure than the abolition of imprisonment for small debts. We conceive on the contrary, that it ought to be in principle, and of course must be in fact,—whenever the subject shall be well understood,—a more popular one. The distinction, as we have shown already, is in favor of the rich and against the poor. It is therefore essentially unpopular. On the other hand, the rich, in whose favor the line is professedly drawn, can derive no practical benefit from the privilege, at least where the poor debtor's oath operates as a complete discharge of the debt. No person would attempt to enforce a large debt by a process, which would give the debtor, by a little sacrifice of personal comfort, the opportunity of getting rid of it entirely. We are at a loss to imagine in what portion of the community this distinction between large and small debts is to find the great favor, which it is supposed to possess. The rich, who are ostensibly benefited by it, have really no motive for wishing to retain it, and the poor, against whom it operates, cannot be supposed to desire its establishment. It is advantageous to no one, and if not practically oppressive, is at least entirely nugatory. We are, therefore, of opinion, that a proposal to abolish imprisonment for debt in all cases, would be more likely to gain favor in our legislative bodies and with the people at large, than the half-way measures, to which we have alluded. There are, doubtless, many persons who would object to any measure of this description, although the number is, we believe, already very small, and rapidly diminishing from day to day; but these, if they have any correct ideas on the subject, must object equally to a partial and a total abolition; while all who wish for any reform in this respect, ought, as far as any motive of principle or interest is concerned, to desire that it may be complete. Even the collecting lawyers, the only persons who have any real interest in sustaining the practice of imprisonment for debt, have no motive for preferring a partial to a total abolition, for if, as we have already remarked, the power of imprisoning for large debts is and must be in its nature merely nominal, the retaining of it would of course give the lawyers no additional business.

On the view which we take of the subject, no distinction

should be made, excepting between the cases which are, and are not, tainted with fraud. Imprisonment for debt should be wholly abolished. The laws already in force against the obtaining and retaining of property under false pretences, should be revised in such a way as to accommodate them better to the new state of things, which would result from such a measure. The great defect in this part of our jurisprudence now, is, that although the fraudulent debtor, or, to use a more appropriate term, the swindler, may be punished, the person whom he has defrauded has no means of recovering his money. After suffering the penalties which the law attaches to his offence, the offender may find himself at large with the fruits of his iniquity still in his possession. As a remedy for this evil, it would be necessary, in cases where fraud could be proved, to provide, that the body should be taken and held as a pledge for the forthcoming property. Under these circumstances many offenders would doubtless escape, because there are many cases where it may be next to impossible to prove a fraud, whatever certainty there may be of its existence; but this result is unavoidable under any system of legislation, and would not occur more frequently, if imprisonment for debt were entirely abolished, than it does now.

It is often objected, and by very discreet and judicious persons, that the abolition of imprisonment for debt, whether partial or total, would operate unfavorably by increasing the difficulty of obtaining credit. This might be to a certain extent a temporary inconvenience, but would prove in the end a real benefit. The universal prevalence of the credit system in this country is undoubtedly one of the worst features in the state of our society, and any change, whether of laws or manners, which would tend to counteract this system, would cut off a very fruitful source of poverty and wretchedness.

It is not, however, our present intention to treat this subject in great detail; but rather to submit for the consideration of our readers, the facts and opinions, which we have already quoted from this Report. As a practical evil affecting the personal comfort of the mass of the people, imprisonment for debt is probably more oppressive, than any of the positive inflictions of the worst administered governments. Where, for example, the system of *lettres de cachet* in France interfered with the happiness of one person, imprisonment for debt interferes, and to an equal extent, with that of ten, we might perhaps say with

safety, a hundred. It appears to us impossible, that it can ultimately be maintained under the growing intelligence and liberality of the times, and we confidently trust, that the present generation will not readily yield to their successors the honor of erasing this remnant of barbarism from the civil code of the country.

ART. XI.—*The Water-Witch.*

The Water-Witch, or the Skimmer of the Seas. A Tale, by the AUTHOR of the Pilot, Red Rover, &c. In two volumes. Philadelphia, Carey & Lea, 1831. 12mo.

Since we last called the attention of our readers to the popular romances of our countryman, Mr. Cooper, they have been presented to the world with a rapidity, which scarcely allows us to examine one, before we receive intelligence of the arrival of its successor. So far as success can be received as an evidence of merit, their superiority must be considered as beyond question; the seal of public approbation having been set by acclamation upon some of them, and a liberal share of praise accorded to all. They have been translated into various languages, and read with as much avidity on the banks of the Danube, as by the dwellers amid the forests, and by the rivers of our western world; nor is it improbable, that future travellers will find them, as Mr. Walsh did those of Sir Walter Scott, beyond the farthest boundaries of the vast German empire. This, as Goldsmith remarked of a somewhat different testimonial, this is fame; and it cannot be denied, that the writer, whose works become the companions of the aged, and the delight of the young, in regions wider and more remote than the ambition of the most relentless conqueror ever aspired to subdue, may console himself for all the censure or reluctant praise of critics; as the great philosopher of Athens was compensated by the veneration of his fellow-citizens, for the strictness of the conjugal discipline which he endured at home. Still, though we are far from denying that success is in many cases, a fair test of excellence, it would not be safe to consider it as a conclusive proof of merit of the very highest order. It would probably be found on inquiry, that there are few romances of which a larger number of copies have been, and continue to be sold, than the Scottish Chiefs;

which, after the strange enthusiasm which attended its first appearance had subsided, was not estimated very highly by those who wish to see faithful representations of character and manners, together with a tolerable adherence to correct taste. The merit of Mr. Cooper, however, is of a very different description; his success has also been undiminished and uniform, and even greater, if we are correctly informed, abroad, than in his own country. We wish to avail ourselves of the opportunity presented by the publication of his last work, to offer a few general remarks upon the causes of his success, and upon the rank to which he is entitled among the masters of romantic narrative; and we are the more inclined to do this, because some have appeared to believe, that there is a prevailing disposition to withhold the commendation, which is justly due to him. There is no doubt, that very various opinions are entertained by different persons in regard to the precise degree of his merit; while the vast circulation and liberal reception of his writings forbid us to believe in the existence of any thing like prejudice, or a disposition to undervalue them. These differences of opinion, in regard to works of imagination, are very natural, and imply no reproach upon the writers; they merely prove that different readers are captivated by the exhibition of different qualities. Some delight in brilliant delineations of natural scenery, while others are to be satisfied only by a series of rapid and bustling incidents; and there are many more, who consider no merit equal to that of a discriminating and powerful description of character. The union of these qualities, each in its highest degree, might constitute what in a novelist would be entitled to the name of perfection; but such a combination is too rare, to render it a just subject of complaint against a writer, that he fails to unite them all. Yet nothing is more certain, than that the want of equal excellence in all, will induce some readers to consider him as wanting in every thing that constitutes real merit, while others will pronounce him perfect, because he excels in the display of the particular one, which they look upon as most essential.

It is but fair to notice one circumstance, which has probably affected in some degree the judgments which many have formed in regard to the merit of Mr. Cooper. He was unfortunate in the period at which he first presented himself to the public view. It was at the time, when the whole sphere was light with the brilliancy of an orb of unequalled splendor, that he

first rose above the horizon; and who could wonder that his lustre, however unborrowed and independent it might be, should be overpowered by the excessive brightness of the great central luminary? We have called this a misfortune; and to a writer, even of very superior merit, it certainly is so; because the unusual excellence of him, who engrosses most of the public attention, has established an unusual standard, which those who follow in his footsteps are required to equal. The same lot has fallen to others in other times. The surpassing power of Shakspeare has thrown the other great dramatists of his day so effectually into shade, that many look with a sort of wonder upon the labors of those commentators, who have lately dragged them from their obscurity; as if the task were as unprofitable, as the attempt of the Antiquary to elevate the 'bodle' which he purchased of the travelling packman, into the unmerited dignity of a Roman coin. Many other examples might be found in that most remarkable and least understood of all history, the history of literature. They who would in one age have been leaders, are in another brought in subjection to the influence of some more powerful mind; as the military talent of modern times, vast as it was, has been lost and forgotten in the superiority of that of Napoleon.

There is commonly a strong disposition among men of inferior talent, to imitate what they do not hope to equal. They do this, not because they admire the object of their imitation; but because the public voice is loud in its praise, and seems to give assurance of success to those, who follow in the same approved and beaten track; and they are content to believe, that a tolerable degree of external resemblance will atone for the want of intellectual equality. It has been sometimes asserted, but in our opinion, with great injustice, that Mr. Cooper ought to be enrolled among the servile herd, as the imitator of Scott. It is not improbable, that, had Waverley never appeared, he might not have devoted himself to this department of literature. He might have been conscious, that the preparation of such romances as were fashionable before that period, was a task wholly unsuited to his powers; he might have submitted to a necessity, against which he could hardly hope to struggle with success; he might have been prevented from attempting to excel, by the persuasion, that no individual talent could give a new direction to the public taste. Indeed, to effect this change, required a power like that which the ancients ascribed

to the monarch of the winds. It is an enterprise in which success is rarely, and in general, very slowly obtained; and in which the want of it is as fatal, as the unsuccessful attempt to guide the chariot of the sun. The writers of the present day are not so ambitious of the crown of martyrdom, as to be very anxious to encounter this hazard; the principle which leads to an attempt to reform the prevailing taste, is very different from that, which animates reformers of religious sentiment. It was only after long deliberation, that Scott, a man in the full maturity of his powers, and crowned with all the honors which popular admiration could possibly bestow, ventured to offer his own romances to the public view. He looked upon the experiment as doubtful, and upon the chances of failure as much the more numerous; the advice of a single friend induced him to abandon the undertaking for years; and when his resolution was at last taken, it was so executed, that the reproach of failure should not rest upon a name, which men had hitherto known only to honor. Here was no want of confidence in his own powers; but simply a persuasion, that the task of guiding the popular taste might be beyond the ability of any single mind. It is no injustice to Mr. Cooper to doubt, whether he would have been the first to venture into a perilous and untrodden path; or that, finding that others had gone before with glory and success, he was content to follow. But it would be unjust to believe, that he followed for the purpose of imitation merely. It would be as fair to imagine, that the voyager who doubles the Cape of Good Hope by a course, which he might not have had enterprise enough to discover, must of necessity pursue precisely the same track, or the same commercial objects with the adventurous mariner, whose sail was first spread upon that unknown ocean. So far from regarding Mr. Cooper as an imitator, we believe, that he imitates Scott only, in his adherence to truth and nature; and we wish that such imitation were more common than it is. We must look elsewhere for the secret of his success; and with the purpose of explaining our own impressions as to its cause, we will offer a few remarks upon the qualifications of the novelist in general.

Power of description is as essential to the writer of romance, as that of delineation to the painter; both may be exhibited to a certain extent by inferior minds, but excellence in either is the sure indication of genius. A Chinese artist might draw the mere outlines of the human face with as much precision as

one of our best portrait painters; but the effect of his representation would be wholly lost, because he would consider this correctness of outline as the highest effort of art. All that alternation of light and shade, which make the image appear as if starting from the canvass,—all the rich and beautiful coloring, which invests it with truth and reality,—all that expression, which is the informing soul of the picture, as it is of the living countenance,—would be neglected or forgotten. It is the neglect or observance of these requisites, or rather the degree, in which they are neglected or observed, which constitutes the difference between artists of a high, and those of an inferior order. In like manner, the novelist or poet might undertake to describe some grand and beautiful scene in nature; he might give, with geometrical exactness, the relative magnitude and distance of every object which attracts the eye, and thus produce a plan, which would do honor to a topographical engineer; while another, by a bold and comprehensive survey of some of the prominent features of the landscape, will set it at once before us in all its rich and varied beauty, as it bursts upon the view, when illuminated with the clear brilliancy of our own autumnal sky. All that the mathematician in the Persian Letters remembered of the picturesque beauty of a country-seat which he had visited, was the length and breadth of the mansion. This, however, is but a limited view of what is comprehended in the term description. It includes action as well as repose; and in addition to this, it extends to the effect of human agency, in every mode of its exhibition; now converting the forest into the abode of civilization and domestic happiness, or directing the movements of the vast structure, that seems animated with intelligence as it braves the elements in its ocean-path, and now pursuing the humble toils, that make up the business of daily life. In this power of description, we consider Mr. Cooper's excellence as of the very highest order. There are many instances, which crowd upon the recollection; but they are probably familiar to most of our readers; and we shall have occasion presently to refer to some, when we allude to other qualities, for which he is distinguished.

There is another qualification of the novelist, which is yet more rarely found. The talent, which invests the landscape with life and beauty, may be inadequate to the more arduous task of penetrating the dark mysteries of the heart, of understanding those changes of repose and passion, which roll over

it as the winds and calm succeed each other on the sea, whose causes the philosopher may perhaps discover, but whose coming no one can foretell. Study alone cannot give this power; though it may be improved and perfected by study and observation. It is not always the attribute of genius, which may exist without it; but it cannot itself exist without genius. Every man knows, how proverbially ignorant are solitary students of human nature; while men of the world, without any superior pretensions to talent, often possess this knowledge in a remarkable degree; and the study and habit of observation to which we have alluded, must have for their object what Pope has called the 'proper study of mankind,' and must be acquired in society and the world. In the physical world, similar causes are followed by similar effects, and the operation of disturbing forces may, in general, be calculated; but in the moral world, the case is widely different. The effects there produced by similar causes, vary with every variety of temperament and character. In some, the exhibition of passion is as furious as the mountain-torrent; while in others, its approaches are as calm and as still as those of the tropical hurricane. Inferior writers of tragedy are apt to suppose, that the language of deep and burning emotion is always turbulent and loud; but the great master of the English drama has connected this expression of it with the helpless imbecility of poor Lear. No outward sign betrays the deep, unrelenting, and almost unearthly revenge of Iago. We know of nothing in Lord Byron's works that displays more forcibly his acquaintance with the heart, than the passage in Don Juan, in which he represents the return of the old pirate to his home;—not with reproaches, not with the flush of anger on his brow,—but with the cold tranquillity, which would befit the avenger of another's wrongs. These, however, are the fiercest and most overwhelming passions; but even these are not more difficult to portray, than the less eventful ones, which so often ruffle the smooth surface of ordinary life, or the numberless motives which influence man's wayward actions. It is the power of illustrating the operation of these passions upon the conduct, and of divining these motives, not as the world is apt to do, by ascertaining the worst, and charitably supposing them to be the real ones, which is the chief glory of the novel-writer and the dramatist. Man's nature in our day is the same as it has been in ages past; the revolutions of opinion have little influence

upon the heart. Some writers appear to have intuitively possessed this power; while many others, conscious of their deficiency in this respect, have substituted for it the faculty of describing external manners, and peculiarities of thought and feeling. These are undoubtedly modified, and sometimes wholly changed by the alterations which are made by time in the character of society; and the faculty of perceiving and delineating them is by no means an unimportant one; but it is the result of observation, rather than of genius; and though sometimes substituted and mistaken for the other, is in its nature inferior. It is the province of comedy to describe the peculiarities of certain classes of individuals, and the varieties of manner among the people of different countries, which compose what we call national character; for it will be readily perceived, that the term character, when applied to communities, has not precisely the same meaning that it bears in its application to individuals. The French have few translations of English comedy, and it would be impossible to introduce one of Moliere's comedies, literally translated, with effect upon the English stage. The last experiment has been frequently tried, first by Dryden, and subsequently by Foote; but we do not hear of the representation of any of them at the present day; nor do we find, that the English comic writers are held in any great respect abroad. As to the higher order of English tragedies, the case is different. The representation of them might perhaps fail to please a French audience, because they are written in defiance of certain rules, which such an audience have been in the habit of regarding as essential; but the superiority of Shakspeare is as freely admitted on the Continent now, as it has always been in his own country. We may perhaps best illustrate our idea of the two faculties of which we have spoken, by pointing to Richardson and Smollett, as exhibiting favorable examples of each. One aims at the delineation of manners; the other of the heart. Both attract the reader; because both these qualities aid in constituting the truth of the resemblance, as we determine that of a portrait partly by the costume, and partly by the expression of the features. Miss Edgeworth's descriptions of certain peculiarities of Irish character, and of particular modes of society, are universally attractive, because they are evidently the result of her own keen and delicate observation; but when she shoots beyond the limits of her own peculiar sphere, and endeavors,

by the light of imagination, to find her way through the labyrinths of diplomacy, or the catacombs of the law, or when she aims at giving truth and reality to her fictions by her knowledge of human nature only, her success is not so obvious. The great defect of the throng of novelists, who flourished at the beginning of this century, was their want of capacity to understand character, and of observation to catch the fleeting shades of manners. Instead of attempting to portray either, they substituted sentiment for the one, and an odd sort of masquerade for the other; and after peopling an imaginary world with beings of their own creation, exhibited the panorama to the public, who gazed upon it with the same feeling, with which Miranda in the Tempest first looked upon the shipwrecked prince. It was of no consequence, that their heroes resembled in external qualities the Coriolanus and Cæsar of the English stage, a century ago, who trod the boards in gold-laced coats and periwigs; or that in every other respect, they were as shadowy and unsubstantial as the ghosts of Celtic tradition, through whose forms the stars 'dim-twinkled;' the kangaroo was not seen with more delight by Blumenbach, the giraffe by all Paris, nor the white Indian by the fashionables of London, than these hitherto unknown beings were welcomed by the confirmed admirers of romance. But the pleasure which arises from the neglect of truth and nature, cannot be very lasting; and these works have had their day. The characters of romance, like those of real life, must in future be invested with the common attributes of humanity.

We have already intimated, that we consider Mr. Cooper as possessing, in a very high degree, the first qualification to which we have adverted; that of power in description. His delineations of natural scenery possess all the vividness and distinctness, which constitute the principal charm of all such representations; and they are graphic also; they bear about them an air of truth, which satisfies us that they are real. They are not magnified by being seen through a mist; but each object has its proportionate magnitude and distinctness of outline, and every scene is like a beautiful prospect at the hour of a clear sun-rise. The writer tells us what he has himself seen, and not what others have described to him. His style has not the elaborate and finished beauty of that of Mr. Irving; but if his coloring be less beautiful, his pencil is equally bold and true. This is a power, which nothing but the love of nature

can confer; for, unlike the veiled prophet, it is to her devoted worshippers, and to them alone, that the Mighty Mother condescends to unveil her awful face. This power is not to be gained from books. If we would be satisfied of this, we have only to read the oriental poetry of Moore and Southey, both of whom have pillaged with pious sacrilege all the treasures of the East, which mere books could give; and have endeavored to dazzle our eyes by a display of magnificence, that we may not perceive the indistinctness of their own conceptions. 'There are lands,' says Cleaveland in the Pirate, 'where the eye may look bright upon groves of the palm and the cocoa, and where the foot may move light as a galley under sail over fields carpeted with flowers, and savannas surrounded by aromatic thickets, and where subjection is unknown, except that of the brave to the bravest, and of all to the most beautiful.' This is a fine picture of the imagination, certainly; but it wants the clearness and distinctness of reality. Nor is the knowledge of the scene which is described, enough, without the faculty of poetical association. While one is admiring the bold and variegated scenery around the Highland lakes, another may be counting the cost of converting them into feeders of a canal for the passage of coal-boats. We do not, as we have already said, deem it necessary to multiply examples of Mr. Cooper's superiority in this power of description, as the finest of them will readily recur to the recollection of most of his readers. It is, however, most strikingly displayed in one department, in which no one can accuse him of imitation; in which nobody has preceded him, or has yet attempted to become his rival. Whatever opinions may be entertained of his success in other respects, all will agree, that his boldest and most triumphant march is on the mountain wave. He treads the deck with the same conscious pride, with which the Highland outlaw stood upon his native heath. The ever-changing aspects of ocean, winds and sky,—the wild excitement and hurry of the combat,—the terrors of the storm,—the still deeper terrors of the desperate passage through the narrow channel, which despair only would attempt, and nothing but perfect skill could accomplish,—all that a sailor sees, dares, and suffers, are as familiar to him, as the scenery of the haunts of childhood is to us. He has made the ship emphatically a thing of life; we are interested in its fortunes, as we sympathize in those of a living being; and when the graceful Ariel is dashed upon the rock, we hardly wonder at the feeling which

tempts the rough old mariner to share its fate. In fact, if we were called upon to select passages of vivid and powerful description, we know not where we could find many more striking, than those which Mr. Cooper has given us of the wonders of the sea; they are the more sure evidences of his talent, because, as we have already said, they are peculiarly his own; and the effect which they produce is as different from that which is produced by the nautical descriptions of others, those of Miss Porter in the Scottish Chiefs, for example, as the movements of an opera-dancer are superior to those of Maelzel's *automata*. We are aware, that they have been occasionally denounced by individuals who profess to be well versed in these mysteries, as untrue to nature; but the testimony of other equally competent judges is no less decisive in their favor; and, in fact, the objections appear to be in general confined to the account which he has given of the dialect and manners of his sailors. Without pretending to decide between these conflicting authorities, on the point in regard to which they are at issue, we need only remark, that these objections have scarcely any application to other particulars, in which we consider Mr. Cooper's merits as beyond question.

We cannot, however, award him the same measure of praise for his skill in the delineation of character. Poverty of invention is not his ordinary failing; but he seems to be afflicted with a want of knowledge of human nature, which prevents him from giving a proper degree of distinctness and individuality, and, above all, variety to the persons of the drama. They seem to have been selected on the same enlightened principle which guided Falstaff in filling the ranks of his gallant company; 'mortal men,—mortal men; they 'll fill a pit as well as better.' In his creations of the softer sex, Mr. Cooper appears determined, that they shall not be exposed to the imputation of bringing a snare, by dint of vain and unprofitable attractions; and they are accordingly so painted, as to leave the delinquent without apology, who suffers them to beguile him. When he wishes them to assume the air of unusual liveliness and grace, he artfully invests them with the habiliments of the other sex. The most striking character which he has yet drawn, with the exception, perhaps, of the Spy, is carried in successive novels through the various stages of manhood, decline, and absolute decrepitude, until the reader is prepared to receive with composure the intelligence of his dissolution.

This may be well enough; but there is not the same justifiable cause for introducing us anew to Betty Flanagan, notwithstanding the unexpected change in her condition, or for causing Sergeant Hollister to dawn upon the reader a second time, in the full-blown glories of a militia captain. His blacks, also, may be very meritorious personages in their way; but it wearies the spirit to see a detachment of them grinning upon us at every turn, like the pyramid of shining faces that watched the dance through a window in the Legend of Sleepy Hollow. This is a sort of demonology, which is very apt to pall upon the sense; and we are not unfrequently tempted to wish, that the author were more inclined to imitate the philanthropic views of the Colonization Society, and to export them, at least, from the dominions of romance.

We may possibly subject ourselves to the imputation of being unreasonably sensitive; but a decent regard to the New England character impels us to declare, that it has never been our fortune to encounter any Yankee, in any novel, who has the slightest claim to be considered as a fair specimen of the genus. To speak plainly, we look upon all these pretended representatives of that character, as not a whit better than wooden nutmegs. We venture to assert, that no such ogre was ever permitted to roam at large among us, as Mr. Galt has recently created, under the denomination of Zerobabel Hoskins; nor are we prepared to admit, that our villages are infested by Hiram Doolittles. These walking notes of interrogation are also represented as disburthening themselves in a dialect, which has long since forfeited its claims to be considered as a living language, if, indeed, it were ever spoken by any of our tribes. With all our respect for Mr. Irving, we feel under no greater obligations to him in this particular. His Ichabod Crane belongs to the same class of non-descripts, as David Gamut. Both are as little entitled to the credit of being representatives of New England, as was ancient Pistol to that of being the hero of King Henry's army.

Mr. Cooper does not appear to attempt the description of a character of a high order, with half the satisfaction with which he enters upon that of one of a less dignified cast. His views are sarcastic or ludicrous; his inclination is evidently to the comic; and he appears to put some restraint upon himself, like one who is performing an allotted and unwelcome task, when he leaves the domain of broad farce. Such characters as Washington

seem forced upon him by a sort of necessity; they are a very unmanageable burden, and one of which he very gladly rids himself at the first convenient season; and for this no reasonable person could blame him, if Washington had been the person he describes him. In making them dignified, he is rather apt to make them dull. He communicates no definite idea of them to others, because he does not appear to have formed one for himself. This inclination to caricature, though a source of occasional amusement, is an unfortunate one for the novelist; for besides inducing him to dwell upon a certain class of character to the exclusion of others, it renders even that class exaggerated, and leads in both ways to limited and erroneous views of human nature. Mr. Cooper's lawyers are all knaves, and his physicians either bores or quacks. One might almost be led to suspect, that he finds more pleasure in Ben Pump and Dick Fid, to say nothing of other personages of a similar character, than in those of higher intellectual pretensions.

These remarks, however, are not to be taken without some qualification. The character of the Spy is bold and striking; and, as the true Harvey Birch has come forward to claim it as his own, it seems to be too late to question its reality; though the voluntary descent to a degrading occupation would hardly seem perfectly consistent with the lofty tone of moral feeling, which disinterested patriotism supposes or inspires. That of Leatherstocking, though in some respects inferior, is more distinctly conceived, and supported with greater vigor and effect. The honest, untaught simplicity of the old hunter,—the almost devotional feeling, which his solitary communion with nature has inspired, and the sorrow with which he witnesses the progress of civilization,—all of which are traits which one might naturally expect to find in him, are well portrayed, and have the additional merit of entire originality. The Pilot excites strong interest at first, because we expect him to throw aside his mysterious disguise, and reveal himself as the man-of-war emerges from the mist; but he dwindles at the close into a dim and shadowy sketch. Nor do the Red Rover and Tiller leave any very deep impression on the mind of the reader. We have been sometimes inclined to suspect, that the whole machinery of these novels has been set in motion, in order to give the writer an opportunity to display his descriptive power. His representations of the Indians have been often censured, on the ground, that he

has ascribed to them some qualities to which they make no pretensions, and that his view of their manners is much too favorable. It may be so; but there can be little doubt, that his portraits accord very well with the ideas which are commonly entertained in regard to the Indian; nor would it be altogether just to condemn them, when the impressions of different observers differ so essentially. We do not see that the savage state is at all inconsistent with the possession of many imposing and noble qualities; nor would it be unnatural, that independence and loftiness of feeling should sometimes produce the effects, which many suppose to be peculiar to a different state of society. Rob Roy is fierce and vindictive, and his wife has rather the advantage over our savages in point of ferocity; but notwithstanding Mr. Jarvie's distrust of the latter, the poet has ascribed noble sentiments, and occasional refinement of manners and feeling to both.

These are, in our judgment, the prominent merits and defects of Mr. Cooper. So far as his knowledge of human nature goes, it indicates no want of penetration; but its range is too limited. It is this defect, which makes his historical romances, or rather the historical part of his romances, any thing but engaging; their characters pass by us, like the busy population in the crowded street; and after having been for some time in their company, we feel the chill of their icy dignity, and take our leave of them with the same frigid tranquillity, with which Johnson dismissed his folio dictionary; inwardly resolving, that it shall not be our fault, if we encounter them again. It is not the business of romance, as it appears to be of history, to paint kings with their crowns and sceptres, and inferior dignitaries in their court-dresses, when, for all the purposes of amusement or instruction, they might as well be lying in state; we wish to look behind the curtain, and to see them by the fireside, in the capacity of men; to hear their familiar conversation, to watch the play of feeling and passion; to know them, in short, as we may, if we will, know those around us. Conversation reveals those sentiments, which indicate, if they do not constitute character; in the drama, it is the only means of disclosing character at all; if we would understand the effect, which acquaintance with the heart is capable of producing, we have only to turn from Irene to king Lear. The field of the novelist is greater, and his colors more varied; but it is not well to attempt to dispense with this dramatic power; for

if he possess it not, and his personages make their appearance with solemn majesty, as if put upon their good behavior, and utter their responses with the wariness of a diplomatist, who is afraid of being circumvented, their strict propriety will not be an effectual antidote for their dullness. These pattern characters are afflicting enough in real life; but in a novel, where there is no escaping from them, they are like the east-wind in spring. The author seems to stand, instructing them, as the Duchess de la Ferté directed her *protegée;* 'Give us a little religion, my dear, in the first place, and then you may talk of something else.' Cowper's idea of a tea-party is but a type of this. Such is the fault of a certain portion of Mr. Cooper's characters; his comic personages, who, as we have already observed, are evidently his favorites, contrive to make themselves heard with a vigor and effect, which might be very advantageously imitated by their betters. So long as he draws from the life, he draws well; but the field of his observation should be more extended, in order to give perfection to his plan.

One of the most prominent attractions of Mr. Cooper's works, is his description of American scenery, and of a variety of incidents and circumstances, which could be found in no other country. This is naturally a merit in our eyes, and, as we have reason to believe, in the eyes of foreigners also. These descriptions wear an air of truth, which mere fancy could not bestow. Poets have a large license accorded to them in this respect; and they occasionally create a world of their own, with climate and scenery of their own making. But it is better for the novelist, to take the world as he finds it; or the result of his labors will be lost. It would have been quite absurd in Johnson, to have transported his Greenland Ajut to the happy valley; and the writer of romance should feel in this respect, like the Highland outlaw. 'The world has not a prospect which could console me for the loss of the rocks and cairns, wild as they are, which you see around us.' The world has not, in fact, a nobler prospect to give, than that which our own country presents to the eye of genius. It may fly, almost with the rapidity of thought, from the abodes of luxury and splendor, beyond the farthest limits of civilization, and the change will be like ascending to some remote period, of which memory hardly retains the tradition; it may contemplate the creations, which are springing up, as if by enchantment, be-

neath the hand of enterprise; or it may watch the infinite variety of character arising from the thousand modes of existence and diversities of condition, which abound where nothing is stationary, and every thing is new and progressive; and our equally varied scenery will make the ample and magnificent back-ground of the picture. It may thus invest itself with a crown of glory, like that which Mr. Irving tells us, is seen at sunset to encircle the mountains that tower above the Hudson; and it may do more than this; it may associate the name of its possessor with the recollection of the headlands and rivers and mountains of his native land, and thus impart to his name an existence as permanent as theirs. Such is the field, on which Mr. Cooper has entered with encouraging success; but he has not accomplished all, which his powers seem capable of effecting; it abounds in richer treasures than any, which have yet been gathered. But the wild scenery of Glen's Falls—the terrific conflagration in the forest,—the sweep of the flame over the vast level of the western prairie,—the distant view of the majestic Hudson, and the Highlands that lift themselves upward from its banks, are examples of his talent in describing the appearances, which his own country presents to his view, that will not soon fade from the recollection of the reader.

The remarks which we have already made, render it unnecessary to enter into a critical examination of Mr. Cooper's style. It partakes of the merits and defects to which we have already alluded. In description, it is copious and animated, and often rises to a high degree of poetical beauty; but when character is his theme, it is very apt to become inaccurate and cold. In consequence of this, his conversations, instead of being, as they should be, the portion of his works on which we most delight to dwell, are the very parts, which we are most willing to hurry over, without the slightest inclination to return to them again. The construction of his story, too, we regard as a matter of inferior importance. There is no standard of interest or probability, by which its excellence can be tested; and the combinations of possible events have been so far exhausted, that it is hard to complain of want of originality. It is enough, that it satisfies the reader.

With these impressions in regard to Mr. Cooper, we need hardly say, that it was with the enthusiasm of Byron, that we welcomed him 'once more upon the waters, yet once more.' But we do not propose to compress the contents of his work

into a few of our pages, or to present a barren outline of its story; for it is more just to the reader, and certainly far more so to the author to suppose, what is doubtless the fact, that the Water-Witch is by this time familiar to all the admirers of romance, and that each has formed his own estimate of its merits. For ourselves, we refer to it rather in confirmation of the correctness of the remarks which we have made, than for any other purpose. Its family-likeness is rather too strong to some of the preceding productions of its author; and we find in it the same want of distinctness and power in the delineation of character, of which we have already complained. Tiller, the 'Skimmer of the Seas,' is a bold, adventurous and skilful seaman, and nothing more; and Alderman Van Beverout and Ludlow, who stand next to him in point of prominence, have no personal qualities which attract and command the attention. In the female department, Eudora and La belle Barbérie have few charms for the reader. But the inexpressive face of beauty, and the stiff jargon of the Alderman and sailing-master are forgotten, when we gaze upon the magnificent harbor of our first commercial city—when we follow the movements of the gallant ships in the chase,—through the perilous channel of Hurl-gate, or the hurry of the evening battle,—or witness, with breathless interest, the spectacle of the burning vessel. These are the scenes, which give Mr. Cooper his superiority to all the novelists of the day, with the exception of one distinguished name; we wish that he might unite with these titles to our admiration, the still higher claim of a dominion over the heart; but these alone will continue to ensure for him an exalted rank among those whose fancy delights, even when it fails to instruct or elevate us.

ART. XII.—*Bank of the United States.**

1. *Message of the President of the United States to the two Houses of Congress, at the Commencement of the First Session of the Twenty-first Congress, Dec.* 8, 1829. Washington.
2. *Report of Mr. Smith of Maryland, from the Committee of Finance, to whom was referred a Resolution of the* 30*th December*, 1829, *directing the Committee to inquire into the Expediency of establishing a uniform National Currency for the United States, and to report thereon to the Senate, March* 29, 1830. Washington.
3. *Report of Mr. McDuffie, from the Committee of Ways and Means, to whom was referred so much of the Message of the President, as relates to the Bank of the United States, April* 13, 1830. Washington.
4. *Message of the President of the United States to the two Houses of Congress, at the Commencement of the Second Session of the Twenty-first Congress, Dec.* 7, 1830. Washington.

The currency, which is always an important, is at this period a particularly interesting topic, in consequence of the discussions, to which the question of renewing the Charter of the Bank of the United States naturally leads. Though the act of incorporation does not expire till 1836, the constitutionality and expediency of continuing a national institution of this nature, already occupy the serious attention of the Executive and Legislative departments of the Government. The President, in his Message at the opening of the First Session of the Twenty-first Congress, presented the subject 'to the deliberate consideration of the Legislature and the people;' declaring, that 'both the constitutionality and the expediency of the law creating this (the present) Bank, are well questioned by a large portion of our fellow citizens; and (that) it must be admitted

* In the article on the Bank, which appeared in our last number, it was intimated, that the subject would be resumed in a future one, by the same writer. It may, therefore, be proper to state, that the present article is by another hand. The sequel of the former one will probably be given in October. There is some divergence between the views of our two correspondents on particular points; but their general objects, those of showing the utility of the Bank, and the expediency of continuing it, are substantially the same.

by all, that it has failed in the great end of establishing a uniform and sound currency.' From the consideration of this Message, resulted the Report of Mr. McDuffie. The scope of the inquiry made by the Committee of the Senate was more extensive, as it embraced the general question of a national currency; but the conclusion from both investigations was the same, viz. that the Bank had fulfilled the great end for which it was created, and that it furnished the country with a uniform and sound currency. On this point, the Legislature is consequently at issue with the Executive.

The constitutionality of the Bank of the United States,—a question which did not occupy the attention of the Committee of the Senate,—is defended with great zeal and ability, by the Committee of Ways and Means; and is established, not only by argument and judicial decisions, but by that authority, which often outweighs them both in the estimation of the community, —the sanction of illustrious names. It is shown, that all or nearly all the distinguished statesmen of our country, not excepting Mr. Jefferson, have, at one time or another of their public career, either supported a national bank, or officially admitted the constitutional power of the General Government to incorporate such an institution. But though it is always satisfactory to have such testimony, that our fundamental charter has not been violated, we are far from deeming it necessary to adduce it on the present occasion. If there be any one circumstance, which pre-eminently characterizes our federal institutions, it is the power of the Supreme Court to determine, in the last resort, on the constitutionality of the acts of Congress and of the State Legislatures, and to carry its decrees into effect, by its action on individuals, without having recourse to the authority of separate States. This high tribunal, to which the decision appropriately belongs, has, after solemn argument, repeatedly established the validity of the law creating the Bank of the United States; and its constitutionality can therefore no longer, without subverting our political system, be considered a doubtful question. The only points remaining for future discussion, are the expediency of such an institution, and the propriety of continuing it on its present basis.

The business performed by the National Bank, may be viewed under several heads. It combines all the various functions of a bank of deposit, of discount and of circulation, deals largely

in foreign exchange, and at the same time facilitates the ordinary fiscal arrangements of the Government.

1. The connexion which individuals have with the mother bank and its branches, as offices of discount and deposit, does not differ from that which exists between the numerous local institutions established throughout the Union, and their customers. According to the system universally adopted with us, banks afford safe and convenient places for the deposit of money, on which they allow no interest, and for taking charge of which they are compensated by the balances of the accounts of their dealers; which, as well as their capital, are employed in the discounting of bills of exchange or promissory notes. As all these institutions, instead of confining themselves to the business of affording facilities to merchants to anticipate the payment of bills and notes created in the course of actual business, are in the habit of making permanent loans, in the form of renewable discounts of accommodation paper, it is evident, that it is not on account of any deficiency, that would otherwise exist in the banking capital, that a national institution is necessary. Receiving deposits and making discounts, are, however, convenient, though not essential auxiliaries, to the exercise of the important duty, with which the Bank is intrusted, of supplying 'a uniform and sound currency.'

2. As it is in its character of a bank of circulation, that the Bank of the United States is known to the public at large, we do not deem any apology necessary, for considering at some length the principles of money, and the rules which it is necessary to observe, in order that paper may retain an exchangeable value, equal to that of the coin which it represents. These are matters, which ought to be clearly understood by all, who are called upon to take a part in the delicate business of regulating the currency of the country,—a subject second in importance to none, which can come before the national Legislature, and in discussing which, we shall also advert to the scheme offered by the Executive as a substitute for the existing bank.

An invariable standard cannot, in the nature of things, exist. A commodity may be selected, which will serve as a measure of value for other articles produced under the same circumstances. But, besides the variations arising from the quantity of labor necessary for production at different periods, and the unequal times required to bring articles to market, the differ-

ent combinations of fixed and circulating capital, and the various degrees of durability of fixed capital, cause great fluctuation in the value of commodities. It is true that, in ordinary cases, labor is the basis of value, and that it is the relative cost of production, which regulates the terms on which one commodity is exchanged for another. We, however, estimate an article, not only by the labor bestowed on it immediately, but by that also which has been expended on the various implements required to give effect to the particular labor to which they were applied. Regard must likewise be had to the greater or less rapidity, with which the returns for different commodities are received by the merchant or manufacturer. Utensils or machinery may not only have unequal quantities of labor realized in them, but they may be calculated to last almost indefinitely, or they may approach to the nature of circulating capital. The theory of rent has shown the extreme unfitness of corn, which Dr. Smith selected as a universal standard, to perform the functions of a measure of value. Agricultural produce is peculiarly subject to change, as its value must alter with every successive recourse to inferior soils, or application of capital to land with diminished returns. The want of an invariable standard is experienced when we attempt to estimate the relative prices of commodities at different periods; but if the same article be uniformly employed as the medium of exchange, the real fluctuation in the cost of its production will rarely be sufficiently rapid to occasion any serious inconvenience in the currency of a particular country. The commodity chosen, should, in its intrinsic value, bear some relation to the labor realized in the ordinary subjects of exchange. Hence, where accumulation prevails only to an inconsiderable extent, the adoption of the baser metals in preference to gold and silver.

The interdiction of the precious metals as a circulating medium, and the substitution of a cumbersome coinage of iron money, are enumerated among the wise enactments of Lycurgus. But, as the energies of the nation were diverted from the production of wealth, and as the Lacedæmonians must, therefore, have had few commodities possessed of great exchangeable value, the banishment of gold and silver was a necessary consequence of their institutions, independent of all positive legislation.

Copper formed the basis of the Roman currency till five

years before the first Punic war, when silver coin came into use. Gold was not introduced till sixty-two years afterwards, or 204 years before Christ. In Russia, copper has always constituted a large portion of the metallic currency; the amount of it coined in that Empire during the last century having been, notwithstanding its great comparative bulk, in the proportion of two rubles of copper to three of gold and silver.* Many modern States have employed small quantities of copper as subsidiary coins; and Sweden, Austria, and other powers, have sometimes resorted to a currency of this and other inferior metals, as a temporary financial expedient.

Gold and silver, which possess many of the qualities required in an article of universal circulation, have been ordinarily used as the money of the civilized world. The copper of different countries is not of the same uniform quality. The mines of Siberia produce metal superior to the German. That of Sweden is better than the Russian; while the copper of Japan is preferable to the Swedish. On the other hand, a pound of pure gold, which issues from the mines of America or the rivers of Africa, is exactly equal to a pound of pure gold from the mines of Europe. Neither the atmosphere nor time alters the quality, and the weight of every part of the metal is an exact measure of its quantity and value as compared with every other part. The precious metals are also ductile, malleable, and divisible into small parts. They are essentially articles of merchandise, the value of which is determined, like that of all other commodities, by the amount of labor requisite to produce them. As in the case of agricultural produce, it is the price of that portion of the metals which is brought to market under the least favorable circumstances, that determines the value of the whole. Owing to their being articles of universal merchandise, and the consequent steadiness of the demand for them, they are exposed to fewer temporary fluctuations than any other commodities. The discovery of America, however, by presenting to the enterprise of Europe the mines of Peru and Mexico, produced, on the value of gold and silver in the markets of the world, effects similar to those which would result from adding to any particular country, where

*The gold and silver coined in Russia between 1762 and 1811, amounted to one hundred and thirty-seven millions of rubles; the copper exceeded ninety millions. Storch. Cours d' Economie Pol. Tom. IV. p. 87.

recourse has been had to inferior soils, an indefinite supply of land of the first fertility.

The whole amount of the precious metals throughout the world, in bullion, coin, and plate, has been supposed by Senior* and other English economists, to amount to £2,000,000,000 sterling, or about $9,000,000,000.† At the commencement of the nineteenth century, the whole annual product of the mines of North and South America, was estimated at forty-three and a half millions of dollars; while those of Europe only furnished a fifteenth part of that quantity. In consequence of the civil wars, it has been conjectured, that the deficiency in the supply from the mines during the eight years preceding 1819, exceeded two hundred millions of dollars. This sum must subsequently have been at least doubled. The difficulties growing out of the revolutionary struggles are not yet terminated, and the speculations of foreigners for obtaining the precious metals, by the application of improved machinery, have in a great degree proved abortive. In 1824, there was actually an exportation of gold and silver from England to the mining countries. Whatever, therefore, may hereafter be the efficiency of the steam-engine, a long time must elapse before the *vacuum* occasioned by the diminished production of the last twenty years is supplied. A still longer period must also intervene, before these metals are sensibly depreciated in the markets of the world, in consequence of the increased demand occasioned by the extension of civilization, and which even the falling-off in the East India demand can hardly counterbalance.

To facilitate the use of the metals, as a medium of exchange, and to prevent the necessity of weighing and assaying them in ordinary transactions, a mark was early placed upon them, to denote their value. 'A coin is merely a piece of metal of known weight and fineness,' and gold and silver, as well after the introduction of the stamp, as when they passed by weight and not by tale, exchanged for other commodities of equal

* Lectures on the Art of Obtaining Money, by N. W. Senior, A. M. Professor of Political Economy in the University of Oxford, p. 44.

† A late writer in the American Quarterly Review considers these statements as grossly exaggerated, and estimates the gold and silver, now existing in Europe, at only four thousand five hundred millions of dollars in value, of which from one third to two fifths is used as currency, the remainder being worked up in plate, jewels, and other manufactured articles.

value. It requires no inconsiderable knowledge of the metals to be able to determine, by inspection, the purity of the coins in circulation; and this, in some instances, is impracticable, without the aid of chemical analysis. That the quantity of gold and silver, in the pieces which form the currency, should be ascertained by an authority in which general confidence is reposed, is of the first consequence in rendering the metals fit instruments of exchange. This office has been generally assumed as a prerogative of sovereignty, and by our Constitution is exclusively vested in the Federal Government.

In England, Russia, and the United States, the same weight of pure metal, that is brought to the mint in bullion or foreign coin, is delivered in the coin of the country. This applies in England only to gold, the sole legal tender, silver not being, since 1816, payable except in small sums, and a seignorage of 6.48 per cent. being imposed on its coinage. In the United States, both gold and silver are legal tenders for debts to any extent. Here, however, as is also the case in England, copper has never been received but as a subsidiary currency, and has been greatly overvalued. The charges at the mints of France and Denmark, are inadequate to reimburse the expenses of these establishments; but the greater part of the European States derive considerable revenues from coinage. A charge equivalent to the expense of fabrication seems to be supported by just principles. There is no more reason why those who use silver and gold as coin, should have the fashion of them furnished gratuitously, than that the Government should generously offer to convert bullion, free of all expense, into articles for domestic use. If the seignorage were only equal to the difference between the labor worked up in the same weight of coined and uncoined metal, it would always lead to the exportation of bullion, in preference to the money of the country. The expense now wasted on the coining of gold and silver, which is merely taken from one mint to be sent to another, would then be, in a considerable degree, saved.

It is scarcely practicable to make two metals indifferently standards of value. If their relative prices be apportioned with the greatest accuracy, they must always be subject to fluctuations, both temporary and permanent. Gold is worth fifteen or sixteen times as much as silver, because it costs fifteen or sixteen times more labor to produce a given quantity of gold, than it does to procure the same weight of silver. Suppose,

however, that machinery should be applied to the extraction of one of the precious metals, which cannot be used for obtaining the other, or that, by the discovery of new mines, an alteration should take place in the comparative abundance of gold and silver, is it not obvious that their relative value must be changed? Nor are variations in the value of these metals altogether unknown. At the period of the discovery of our Continent, they were exchanged for each other at the rate of one for ten; while, according to the existing regulations of Europe, gold, as compared with silver, varies in different States, from one to thirteen and a half, to one to fifteen and a half, and its market price is not far from one to sixteen.

It has been already stated, that the United States have a double standard. This is also the case with France. In Great Britain, as we have seen, gold, with unimportant exceptions, is the only legal tender. In Russia, according to the system established in 1810, the silver ruble is the standard by which all payments stipulated to be made in metallic money, must be regulated; and the Government leaves it to individuals to settle for themselves the value of gold relatively to silver, which of course varies in the market from time to time. The experience of all countries, where gold and silver have been indifferently adopted as standards, has shown, that debtors will pay in the coin which has the highest legal value, compared with its market price as bullion; and that the other, being estimated too low at the mint, will be driven from circulation. By the French law, gold bears to silver the relation of fifteen and a half to one, that is to say, a debtor may indifferently discharge a debt contracted in francs, by paying to his creditor fifteen and a half ounces of silver, or one ounce of gold, they both being coined into money. But, as an ounce of gold is really worth a little more than fifteen and a half ounces of silver, payments are made in preference in the latter metal, which is generally employed in France as money. When, for convenience in travelling, or other purposes, gold is desired, a premium must be given for it. In our system, as their proportional values are fixed at fifteen for one, the advantage of employing silver is still greater, and however much gold might be coined, it would, unless the standard rates were altered, soon disappear from circulation.

In looking into the history of money, we find, that a common error has pervaded the regulations which have been adopted

by governments. They have proceeded on the principle, that the authority of the sovereign, and not the cost of the metal, constituted the value of the coin. They have thus arbitrarily altered the amount of silver and gold contained in pieces of different denominations. They have conceived, that, if the name of the coin were retained, it would exchange for the same quantity of other commodities. In order to enable the State to discharge its debts by a less value than was originally stipulated, every private debtor has had legal permission given to him to defraud those by whom he has been trusted. The Roman *as* or *pondo*, which, in the reign of Servius Tullius, contained twelve ounces, was, 175 years before Christ, reduced to half an ounce. The currencies of most of the States of modern Europe present similar instances of degradation; their pound, *livre*, or other coin, having been at first of the weight of metal corresponding with its denomination. Such, however, has been the effect of successive changes, that the French *livre* of 1103 was worth, in the money of 1789, 78 *livres*, 17 *sols*. In England, a pound weight of gold, of the fineness of twenty-three carats, three and a half grains, was, in 1344, coined into £13.3.4. In 1816, the same quantity of that metal, of the purity of twenty-two carats, made £46.14.6 of the standard coin. In Russia, from the year 1700 to 1762, the money underwent a depreciation of more than fifty per cent. Before the time of Peter the Great, 100 *copeks*, containing 11 *zolotniks* and 40 *dolis* of pure silver, made a *ruble*. In 1704, rubles were coined, containing but 5 *zol.* and 67 *dolis* of silver; and this quantity was, in 1762, reduced to 4 *zol.* 21 *dolis*. But it is not only by depreciating it, that governments have unjustly exercised their power over the currency. History informs us of a Roman emperor, who, when his subjects were bound to pay in taxes, not a determinate weight of gold, but a certain number of *aurei*, increased the quantity of metal contained in the coin; and thus, without appearing to add to their contributions, assumed to himself a command over a much larger portion of the means of the people.

The names given to money are altogether unimportant; and when the alteration of the currency becomes known, and contracts are entered into with reference to the new state of things, it is productive neither of good nor evil. The temporary effects are, however, injurious to the last degree, as will

more fully appear, when we come to speak of a circulating medium, that is exposed to far greater variations than those to which coin can ever be subjected.

In a commercial community, it would be more inconvenient to carry on exchanges by means of gold and silver, than we can possibly suppose it to have been to conduct the limited traffic of Sparta, by the intervention of iron money. Though money be used as the measure of relative value, transactions are constantly taking place, not only between merchants of different nations, but among the inhabitants of the same country, without employing the precious metals. The trader of the interior sends agricultural produce to New York or Boston, where his corn is estimated according to the market price, and he receives in exchange dry goods and groceries, which are also valued in current money. The same thing may be supposed in relation to the trade between this country and England. Cotton is exported to Liverpool, where the American merchant is credited with the proceeds; but instead of gold and silver, foreign fabrics are supplied in return. This is a statement of a more simple case than is likely to occur in practice. But the intervention of the various classes of commercial dealers, to which the division of labor has given rise, does not affect the principle.

It would, indeed, ordinarily occur, that the corn of the interior would be forwarded to the sea-board, or the cotton shipped to Europe, by those who had the occasion to purchase any commodities from the correspondents to whom their property was consigned; and it might even happen, that they did not wish to make any disbursements in the places to which they had transmitted their produce. In such a case, it would be extremely convenient for a creditor to make an assignment of the debt to persons having occasion for funds abroad, or in a distant part of his own country, receiving an equivalent at the place of his residence. Hence the origin of bills of exchange, which is of high antiquity.*

* 'Isocrates mentions particularly, that a stranger, who had brought some grain to Athens, delivered a draft of this nature to one Stratocles, for money due to him in some place by the Euxine Sea. It appears that the dangers of the sea in the first place, and afterwards, the dread of pirates, or declared enemies, induced the merchants of those days to adopt such practices. But as the credit of the Greeks was in little re-

In the same place, articles are often bought, with a view of being re-sold, and in such cases, the first purchaser generally calculates on paying for them by what he receives from the consumer. Instead, therefore, of exchanging at once money for commodities, a note is given, promising to pay the amount stipulated, at the expiration of sixty or ninety days. If this promise be made by a man of undoubted credit, it may be circulated among those, by whom the solvency of the maker is understood, as equivalent to the value which it represents.

Foreign bills of exchange are universally considered a part of the general currency of the mercantile world; but according to the habits of transacting business in this country, inland bills of exchange and promissory notes are discounted or purchased, with a view of obtaining interest for the use of capital, but do not, to any great degree, form part of what may be properly termed the circulating medium. In England, however, they are employed to no small extent as money, of which they perform many of the ordinary functions.*

The average amount of bills paid each day, at the clearing-house in London, is estimated at four millions, and the average period for which they are drawn, at seventy-five days, so that the gross amount of them in circulation cannot fall short of three hundred millions; and deducting those which, from the magnitude of the sums, or the length of time before the bills become due, are ineligible for performing the functions of currency, it may be considered, that 'a sum of one hundred and fifty millions of bills of exchange, (payable in London) is, in the ordinary course of affairs, at all times in circulation, representing the transfer of commodities as much as any other description of currency.' One of the witnesses before the Committee of the House of Lords, on the Scotch and Irish

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pute, this Stratocles took very good precautions; he insisted on having a banker of Athens responsible, in case the bill should be protested in the Crimea, because the drawer had no fixed habitation.'—*De Pauw on the Greeks*, Vol. I. p. 234.

* 'In the great manufacturing county of Lancashire, and in parts of Yorkshire, a bill on London at three months is reckoned a money payment; and by far the largest proportion of the currency consists either of the bills of bankers drawn on their correspondents, or those of the merchants and dealers scattered up and down the country. The same practice is followed, though to a less extent, in other districts, so that the aggregate amount of such bills afloat is enormous.'—*Smith's Wealth of Nations. With supplementary Notes by McCulloch.* Vol. IV. p. 293.

currency, in the session of 1826, in answer to a question respecting the proportion which bills of exchange bear in value to the Bank of England notes and gold circulating in Lancashire, stated, that he should suppose, that on the 1st of December previous, those bills of the value of £10 and not exceeding £30, amounted to four fifths of the whole; and that, if he did not confine himself to bills under £30, he should say that bills of exchange were to gold and Bank of England notes, in the proportion of more than twenty to one. Some country bankers even stated them to be as fifty to one. Another witness, on being asked whether he had not seen bills of exchange of this nature, for the value of £10, with fifty or sixty names upon them, 'Yes,' replied he, 'with twice that number. I have seen slips of paper attached to a bill as long as a sheet of paper could go, and when that was filled, another attached to that.'

The necessity of having recourse to metallic money, was also in a degree obviated by the establishment of banks of deposit. Of these, the most celebrated were the banks of Venice, Amsterdam and Hamburgh. The oldest was that of Venice, which may be traced to the twelfth century. The other institutions were much more recent, not having been founded till the beginning of the seventeenth. One of the causes usually assigned for their creation, was the importance of preserving a currency of uniform value. Small States were much exposed to the introduction of clipped coin, and as the currency was not limited in quantity in proportion as it was debased in quality, great embarrassments were experienced in determining the rates at which this money should be received in large transactions. The money of Venice, as well as that of Amsterdam and Hamburgh, afforded a regular standard of value, and the certificates of these banks maintained an *agio*, or premium, on the current coin of their respective States. As the bank money was only issued to the actual depositors of specie, it was regulated as to quantity; but on the supposition that gold and silver existed in the vaults to the extent of the bank credits, according to the principles on which these institutions were formed, nothing could have been gained either to individuals or the public, in the liberation of unproductive capital.

The same reasons, however, which would give circulation to the promissory notes of individuals, or to those private bills of exchange, to which we have referred, would cause the notes

of an institution or of a company of merchants, possessing sufficiently the confidence of the community to obtain the deposit of their gold and silver, to be much more extensively received. Banks of circulation derive their profits from issuing paper money to an extent far beyond the amount of metallic capital, on which it is based, and as they generally unite the business of offices of discount and deposit with that of emitting notes, they are enabled to give their own paper, not bearing interest, for bills of exchange and the notes of individuals, which are not yet due, and from the amount of which the interest is deducted in advance. Experience soon shows, that where a bank enjoys undoubted credit, little apprehension need be entertained that it will be called on to redeem, in specie, the whole amount of its paper, before an opportunity is afforded of converting into gold and silver the securities on which the loans are negotiated. If, before the introduction of bank notes, there were forty millions of coin in circulation, and a paper, convertible at pleasure into gold and silver, had been substituted as the medium of exchange, twenty millions of the precious metals, and probably a much smaller amount, would have been sufficient to meet every demand. An important saving might thus have been effected. Twenty millions of value would have been sent out of the country and replaced by productive capital, which would greatly augment the nation's command over the comforts and conveniences of life.

The quantity of currency required in a business community is also greatly diminished by the habit of substituting for gold and silver, or paper money, drafts or checks on bankers, drawn against previous deposits. The whole amount, however, of bank deposits cannot be considered as belonging to the circulating medium; for it often happens, that they are not made to be drawn out for further transactions or daily expenditures, but to await opportunities for permanent investments. The difficulty of ascertaining what portion of the deposits, and of the private bills of exchange, perform the functions of money, renders it, therefore, almost impossible to state with accuracy the aggregate of what may properly be termed the currency, or circulating medium of a country.

The prospect of deriving gain from the issue of paper money was too tempting to be resisted by sovereigns, and we find that nearly every power of Christendom has had recourse to it as a financial arrangement. Unrestrained, however, by the checks

that may be applied to individuals only,—the true rules that should regulate the quantity of the currency,—they have made their own necessities the only limits of their issues. But, before illustrating this part of our subject by a reference to examples, it may be well to inquire how it happens, that paper money, altogether destitute of intrinsic value, exchanges for commodities, in which labor is realized.

If the circulation of a country be, for example, $20,000,000, the value of any part of which bears a definite relation to that of any given commodity, according to the amounts of labor respectively realized in the gold and silver, or in the merchandise for which it serves as a measure, and a paper money of the same precise amount and denomination be substituted for the precious metals, what will be the result? It is evident, that the whole quantity of the new currency being equal to the entire amount of the old, while the articles to be measured remain the same, each paper dollar must bear the same relation to any commodity, that the coin previously did. The currency becomes limited in amount, as in cases of monopoly; and the principle of demand and supply governs. If so much paper be issued, as to increase the money of the country beyond the amount of the circulating medium, which would have been employed, had gold and silver continued to constitute the currency, it is equally apparent, that it will become degraded in value. On the other hand, if the paper money be less in amount than the metallic, which it replaces, every dollar of paper currency will exchange for more commodities than the gold or silver, which it replaces, previously did.

If we refer to the monetary system of different States, we shall find, that the depreciation of paper money has always been proportionate to the excess of the issues. Law, whose chimerical projects were adopted by the Government of Louis XV., contended, that the augmentation of the currency had solely the effect of reducing the rate of interest, and that its increased amount would be absorbed by the new channels of industry, to which it would give rise. The attempt to carry these views into practice, soon drove from circulation all the gold and silver coin, and the excessive issues of paper degraded the notes so far below their nominal value, that the Government, in order to give them a forced currency, resorted, without effect, to the most arbitrary measures. By one decree, every person was prohibited from keeping in his possession

more than five hundred *livres* in specie, or any articles of gold and silver, under penalty of confiscation of the excess, and ten thousand *livres*. Making a payment of one hundred *livres* or upwards, except in notes, was also severely punished. After having put in circulation upwards of twenty-two hundred and thirty-five millions of *livres*, and raised the price of every thing to three times its former amount, the coin that had previously served as currency having only amounted to eight hundred millions of *livres*, the operation of Law's schemes terminated in an almost universal bankruptcy. In the words of Sir James Stuart, 'a man with a hundred millions of bank notes might have starved in the street.'

The effects on public and private credit, which were produced at a later period, by the issue of the French *assignats*, were not less calamitous. Some idea may be formed of the consequences of the unlimited emission of this irredeemable paper, when it is recollected, that from the meeting of the Constituent Assembly to the adoption of the Constitution of '95, *assignats* were put in circulation for the sum of forty-five thousand five hundred and eighty-one millions of *livres*,* and that such was their degradation in value, that at the latter period, a note for one hundred *livres* exchanged for three *sous* six *deniers* of metallic money. The effect of the depreciation on individuals, many of whom depended for their subsistence on the annuities of the State, has been thus forcibly described by a continental writer.

'When the *assignats* had fallen more than fifty per cent., when terror had got possession of the public, and when all hope had been abandoned of bringing the paper to *par*, the unfortunate creditors of the State saw themselves abandoned to all the horrors of constantly increasing misery. Every day their revenues became more and more inadequate to furnish the necessaries of life; public charity was destroyed by the universal wretchedness. These unfortunate beings, with haggard eyes, with cheeks hollow from famine, wandered through the streets soliciting compassion; and after vain efforts, threw themselves every evening into the Seine, and escaped by suicide the most frightful of all calamities, —death from hunger.'†

The experiment in France did not stop with the *assignats*.

* The present amount of the French currency is estimated at from two thousand to two thousand five hundred millions of francs.

† Storch. Cours d' Economie Politique, Tom. IV. p. 163.

It was attempted to replace this currency by issuing at once two thousand four hundred millions of *mandats territorieux*, based upon the security of the royal and other confiscated domains, and a part of the old emissions was also absorbed by a forced loan from those who had any property left, to the amount of six hundred millions in coin; in the subscription, one hundred francs in paper being received for one of metallic money. This expedient was the means of withdrawing fourteen thousand millions of francs from circulation. The new bills of credit, emitted without any reference to the principles which regulate the current value of money, soon shared the fate of the *assignats*, and in the course of a few months one hundred *livres* of paper fell to one *livre*, ten *sous* of coin. Such, indeed, has ever since been the feeling of the French nation with regard to paper money, that the National Bank, which alone issues notes for circulation, is restricted to those of the denomination of five hundred and a thousand francs, and these are only current as money in Paris.

Were it necessary, similar illustrations might be cited from the history of the other continental powers; but England and our own country afford sufficient instances of the various experiments that may be made to regulate the currency. The inconvertible, depreciated, and fluctuating currency, which, for the first quarter of the present century, served as the standard of value in Great Britain, was issued under the name of a commercial company; but the restriction on cash payments in 1797, followed up, as it was, by the acts of Parliament, that made Bank of England notes *virtually* a legal tender for all debts, gave to them most of the defects of a government paper money. Though, for the reasons that will be hereafter mentioned, the depreciation was not contemporaneous with Mr. Pitt's Order in Council, to that measure may be traced that degradation of the English currency, which, through the foreign exchanges, was felt in every part of the commercial world.

But it is hardly necessary to have recourse to other nations for an illustration of the derangements to which a government paper may be exposed. Our ancestors seem to have been as intent on the retention of specie, as any of the advocates of the mercantile theory. With this view, the colonists degraded the denomination of the coin, and made given quantities of those metals pass for greater sums than in the mother country. We have here the origin of the local currencies of the different

States, which the decimal money of the Union has not entirely driven from our books of account, and which are still employed in small transactions. As might have been expected, the result of this absurd expedient was, 'that the price of all goods from the mother country rose exactly in proportion, as they raised the denomination of their coin, so that their gold and silver were exported as fast as ever.'*

Most of the Provincial Legislatures also issued notes, which were not payable on presentation, but only after the expiration of several years. This system, for which the expenses incurred by the war against the French in Canada was sometimes a plea, was a favorite measure with the people, and the cause of no inconsiderable disputes between the Assemblies and the Governors of the Colonies appointed by the Crown.

'The rate of exchange and the price of all commodities,' says an American historian, 'soon disclosed the political truth, that however the quantity of the circulating medium might be augmented, its aggregate value could not be arbitrarily increased; and that the effect of such a depreciating currency must necessarily be, to discourage the payment of debts, by holding out the hope of discharging contracts with less than the sum actually contracted for; and to substitute a species of cunning and of speculation for honest and regular industry.'†

It is an ungrateful theme to trace the successive degrees of degradation which the money of our revolution, as well that of the States as of the General Congress, underwent, till it became so depreciated as not to bring in specie the hundredth part of its nominal value. If there be any case which would seem to justify the violation of private rights for the attainment of a general good, it is that of a nation making an effort for its independent existence. Many of the remarks, however, which have been made in reference to the *assignats* of France will apply to our continental money. Indeed, the sense of the people of the United States with respect to a paper currency, not based on any adequate security, may be observed in the extreme caution, that led to the provisions in our Constitution prohibiting the States to 'emit bills of credit,' or 'make any thing but gold and silver coin a tender in the payment of debts.'

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* Smith's Wealth of Nations, Vol. I. p. 232.
† Marshall's Life of Washington, Vol. I. p. 345.

We have dilated rather more on the evils incident to a government paper than we should have considered necessary in the present state of public opinion, were it not for a proposition on this subject contained in the Executive Messages, alluded to at the commencement of this article. The President, in the first of these documents, after expressing the opinion, which we have already quoted, as to the Bank of the United States, 'submits to the wisdom of the Legislature, whether a national one, founded upon the credit of the Government and its revenues, might not be devised, which would avoid all constitutional difficulties; and, at the same time, secure all the advantages to the Government and country that were expected to result from the present bank.'

It has been already stated, that by the substitution of money without intrinsic value, for gold and silver, a gain accrues to the issuers of paper, equal to the amount of the difference between the expense of furnishing the one medium and of maintaining the other. A posthumous tract of Mr. Ricardo contains a plan of a currency, by which the profit of emitting paper-money would be received by the Government.* But, though convertibility into coin was made the security against over-issues, so sensible was this distinguished economist of the danger of abuses, that it was a fundamental principle in his project, that the commissioners, by whom it was issued, should not be responsible to the Executive Government. The views of Mr. Ricardo, as far as we can learn, were never brought forward by any member of Parliament; and the power of making paper-money is one, which, in case of financial embarrassments, could not safely be exercised by the Executive or Legislature of any country in the universe. We should consider the gain that might arise to the nation from the substitution of government paper for the whole of the existing currency, but a poor compensation for the risk that we should thereby incur, of seeing a renewal of the horrible catastrophes attendant on the French *assignats*, or even on our own 'Continental paper.'

The inexpediency of adopting in the United States the measure under consideration, cannot be better shown, than in the language of one of the Reports before us.

'The resort to the issue of a paper money, has been often the

* Plan for the establishment of a National Bank, by David Ricardo, Esq. M. P. London. 1824.

desperate expedient of the wants of a nation. It has then found its justification only in the necessity which created it; yet such are its inevitable evils, that every prudent government has, the moment its pressing exigencies permitted, returned to the only safe basis of a circulating medium, the precious metals, and the private credits attached to the use of them. Such were the expedients of the Government of the United States during its two wars; such its immediate abandonment of them at the return of peace. But, in the present condition of the Treasury of the United States, with a revenue far beyond its wants, with a debt almost nominal, and hastening to its entire extinguishment, such a measure is not needed by the interests of the Government, nor is there the slightest indication of its being demanded by the wants of the country. Of such an issue of paper-money, the Executive at Washington would be the natural fountain,—the agents of the Executive, the natural channels. The individuals, and corporations, and States, who borrowed it, must become debtors to the Government; and the inevitable consequence would be, the creation of a monied engine of direct dependence on the officers of Government, at variance with the whole scheme of our institutions. The limit to which this currency should be issued, the persons to whom it should be lent, the securities taken for its repayment, the places where it should be redeemed, involve great complication and great hazard, regarding it merely in a financial point of view, while, on more enlarged considerations of political expediency, the objections to it are, in the opinion of the committee, insuperable and fatal.' *Mr. Smith's Report.*

We have hitherto considered the proposition of the President as referring merely to the issue of government paper. Supposing it, as Mr. McDuffie does, to have been the intention of the Executive to suggest the establishment of a bank of discount and deposit, founded on the credit and revenues of the Government, the objections to the measure are infinitely multiplied. Without inquiring whether such an institution could afford the facilities now furnished by the Bank of the United States to the Government and the public, it may be remarked, that, while all the arguments against a paper currency remain in full force, the considerations of a political character, against such a course, are quite conclusive.

On the increase of patronage, to which the proposed measure would lead, the Committee of Ways and Means remark:

'The Bank of the United States now employs five hundred agents, in the various parts of the Union where its offices are

established. From this fact some idea may be formed of the very great addition which would be made to the patronage of the Executive Government by the establishment of such a bank as the one under consideration.

'But the patronage resulting from the appointment,—the annual appointment,—of these agents, great as it would doubtless be, would be insignificant and harmless, when compared with that which would result from the dispensation of bank accommodations to the standing amount of at least fifty millions of dollars. The mind almost instinctively shrinks from the contemplation of an idea so ominous to the purity of the Government and the liberties of the people. No Government, of which the Committee have any knowledge, except perhaps the despotism of Russia, was ever invested with a patronage at once so prodigious in its influence and so dangerous in its character. In the most desperate financial extremities, no other European Government has ever ventured upon an experiment so perilous. If the whole patronage of the English monarchy were concentrated in the hands of the American Executive, it may be well doubted, whether the public liberty would be so much endangered by it as it would be by this vast pecuniary machine, which would place in the hands of every administration fifty millions of dollars, as a fund for rewarding political partisans.' *Mr. McDuffie's Report.*

Nor are the objections to the proposed measure materially diminished by the modifications, which it received in the Executive Message at the commencement of the second session of the last Congress.

'It is thought practicable,' says the President, 'to organize such a bank, with the necessary officers, as a branch of the Treasury Department, based on the public and individual deposits, without power to make loans or purchase property, which shall remit the funds of the Government; and the expenses of which may be paid, if thought advisable, by allowing its officers to sell bills of exchange to private individuals at a moderate premium.'

'The States,' he proceeds to observe, 'would be strengthened, by having in their hands the means of furnishing the local paper currency through their own banks; while the Bank of the United States, though issuing no paper, would check the issues of the State banks, by taking their notes in deposit and for exchange, only so long as they continue to be redeemed with specie.'

The power over the currency, delegated by the Constitution to Congress for wise purposes, is here entirely abandoned. The new plan does not profess to hold out any preventive

checks to the excessive issues,—almost the sole possible cause of the insolvency,—of local institutions; but the Treasury Bank is to receive their notes as long as they continue to be redeemed with specie, and only to refuse them after the mischief is effected, and after the failure of the banks, accompanied by the ruin of thousands of innocent victims, has occurred. In the concluding clause of the paragraph from which we have quoted, it is said, that 'in times of public emergency, the capacities of such an institution might be enlarged by legislative provisions;' and we here find means reserved for the renewal of the scheme of the preceding year, with all its attendant consequences. Suppose a war to occur, or the Government on other accounts to be subjected to financial embarrassments, and we shall have at once an irredeemable paper-money, indefinite in quantity, and issued by a 'few officers' of the Treasury; who, it is to be feared, under every administration, will be selected more with reference to their qualities as political partisans, than because they possess the talents appropriate to their stations as Bank Directors. As to the profits which are to accrue to the public from the contemplated establishment, the result of a similar experiment in the State of Tennessee, with which the President is immediately connected, furnishes abundant evidence. How far our merchants would relish a system of banking, which should intrust the dispensing of money accommodations to the postmasters and custom-house officers of their respective towns exclusively, we shall not here stop to inquire.

In the course of the preceding remarks, it has been observed, that the only true means to keep paper-money at the same value with gold and silver, which it represents, is to limit its amount to that of the metallic money that would have otherwise circulated. How to do this practically, is an important question; for as the demands of trade vary, what might be a proper quantity at one period, may be very improper at another. Convertibility into gold and silver is the most effectual mode that can be devised. Agreeably to the principles established above, whenever the redundancy of paper money exceeds certain limits, it becomes the interest of the holder to demand the specie, which being a money not of one particular country, but of the world, has an exchangeable value, independent of that of the local currency. As convertibility is only a means to the attainment of an end, viz. that of regulating the quantity of the currency, it is not necessary that this money should be

exchanged for coin, in order to be free from all fluctuations, which are not incident to the standard itself. On the suggestion of Mr. Ricardo, it was therefore provided by the British act of 1819, commonly called Mr. Peel's bill, that the Bank of England should be required to deliver uncoined gold and silver at the mint standard and price, in exchange for their notes, instead of guineas; and, on the other hand, to prevent the rise of bank paper above the value of bullion, the Bank was to be obliged to receive its paper in exchange for standard gold, at a price somewhat lower than that at which it was proposed to pay gold, when demanded for notes. By this measure, the expense of the coinage and of the wear of the metals, which amount to a large annual sum, would have been in a great measure saved; while the quantity of specie necessary to be retained unproductively, might be greatly diminished. 'In practice,' says an able English economist, 'Mr. Ricardo's plan worked extremely well. While the over-issue of paper was effectually prevented, only a very few bars were demanded of the Bank; and it was generally supposed, that, instead of its operation being prematurely checked, it would have been rendered perpetual, and the farther circulation of gold coins prevented.'

But, whatever may be the mode by which it is effected, it is of the utmost importance, with a view of preventing ruinous fluctuations in the property of every individual in the community, that the circulating medium should have 'a counteracting principle within itself.' The consequence of disregarding this necessary precaution, in the issue of government paper money, has been sufficiently discussed, and it is hoped, that enough has been said to prevent the adoption of the Executive recommendation, replete as it is with the most serious evils, both political and economical, and now repudiated even by its author.

The embarrassments growing out of a currency, inconvertible into the metals, of which it is the nominal representative, and unrestricted as to quantity, though issued on the credit of private corporations and individuals, formed, at the period of its establishment, one of the most efficient motives for chartering the present Bank of the United States. A recurrence to the monetary system of that day, and a comparison of the state of the currency in 1814–15 with its present condition, will best enable us to judge how far the anticipations of the founders of the institution have been accomplished.

The annals of the Bank of England, whose paper became in 1797, as we have seen, by the interference of the Executive, and subsequently of the Legislature, a compulsory government paper currency, rather than a money of confidence, will show that, by restricting its quantity, it was kept for many years nearly on a par with specie, and, indeed, for three years its notes even bore a small premium over gold. Though the directors professed to be governed by principles, that would have authorized their discounting the notes of all solvent dealers, they seem for a long time to have disregarded the great gains that they might have obtained from issuing their inconvertible paper to an indefinite extent. But, as they did not keep in view the relation which the price of their paper bore to that of gold, they gradually extended their issues, so that between 1809 and 1814, the notes of the Bank of England fell from ten to twenty-five per cent. discount, and they were at one time thirty per cent. below par. In 1810, there were forty-six millions of paper-money in circulation in England, twenty-three millions of which were notes of the National Bank, while in 1797, the whole currency did not exceed thirty millions, of which ten millions were Bank of England notes, and twenty millions coin, there being then no country paper.

The effect of the fall in the real value of bank paper was of course apparent in the nominal prices of exchange in every part of the world. Being but imperfectly understood, it had a great influence on the currency of other countries, where paper-money served as the ordinary medium of exchange, and contributed to induce with us, in the absence of a National Bank to supply a salutary check, that improvident augmentation of bank notes, which resulted in 1813–14, in the suspension of specie payments every where, except in the Eastern States. In the other parts of the Union, scarcely any two towns had the same currency. In the Southern and Western States, the depreciation in some instances even exceeded twenty-five per cent.

Not only was an accurate knowledge of the nominal exchange of the day necessary, before making purchases at a distant place, but a traveller, proceeding from the South or West towards the North or East, even if he were so fortunate as to have his money received at all, could not adjust his reckoning at an inn, till an abstruse calculation was made of the discount, to which his bank notes were to be subjected, or till he had had recourse to the interposition of a broker.

In 1813, when gold and silver were paid on demand, the currency of the United States, without including specie in the vaults, was about seventy millions, of which sixty-two millions were in bank notes. Such was its rapid increase after the withdrawing of the salutary check,—the liability to pay gold and silver,—that in 1815, only two years afterwards, it amounted to one hundred and ten millions.* The currency was probably augmented during the ensuing year, and as, owing to the great demand for specie growing out of the general war, it rose in value relatively to these commodities, the redundancy of paper was even still greater than it nominally appears to have been. As in case of the derangement of the currency, the evil is two fold, viz. 1st. that arising from the depreciation, and, 2dly. the equally great one resulting from the subsequent appreciation, a change from an unsound to a healthful state is attended with nearly the same consequences as the first degradation. If, on account of the diminished value of the circulating medium, a creditor be compelled to accept one half of his debt; when the fluctuations are of an opposite character, twice as much in value may be exacted from the debtor, as he ever received or promised to pay. We may, then, judge of the embarrassments, which must have been occasioned by the reduction of the currency of the United States in the three years between 1816 and 1819, from one hundred and ten millions to forty-five millions.† As it was all important to debtors to pay in a depreciated currency, and was furthermore the interest of the local banks, as evinced by the high dividends

*We have followed in our estimates the statements given by Mr. Crawford, in 1820, and adopted as the basis of the calculations of the Committee of Ways and Means. It must, however, be admitted that the *data* furnished by the Secretary of the Treasury will hardly warrant his conclusions, and since preparing this article, we have seen a paper drawn up by an authority whose accuracy cannot well be questioned, in which the sums in the text are considerably diminished. Mr. Gallatin considers the bank notes in circulation in 1811, to have been less than $30,000,000, in 1816, about $70,000,000, and in 1820, about $45,000,000. It is also to be observed, that, in stating the amount of the currency at these several periods, we are to add to the first and third sums the coins which circulated concurrently with them, all of which were of course excluded from use, except in the Eastern States, during the depreciation of the bank notes. In adopting, however, even the lowest estimates, we assign ample cause for the depreciation of our paper currency.

† Or, according to Mr. Gallatin, from $70,000,000 to $45,000,000.

then made, to put in circulation as much paper as possible, for the redemption of which they felt themselves under no obligation to provide, it was very apparent that no voluntary resumption of specie payments would have taken place. The stockholders, it is true, received their profits in a depreciated money, but when the dividends were raised from six to twenty per cent., even the degradation of the currency to one half of its nominal value was, under that point of view, a minor consideration.

Such indeed were the consequences to individuals, as well as to the institutions themselves, of the resumption of specie payments by the banks, that numerous schemes were suggested both here and in England for the establishment of permanent paper currencies. The House of Representatives called on the Secretary of the Treasury, by a resolution of March 1st. 1819, to report such a plan; but it is due to Mr. Crawford to state, that, although he complied with the directions referred to, and presented a view of the least obnoxious mode in which a paper-money could be issued, he conclusively showed the superiority of a metallic currency convertible at pleasure into specie. He also expressed his entire conviction, that a paper-money under the authority of Government would have no effect in relieving the embarrassments of that section of the country, which called most loudly for such a measure. Congress refused to interpose in the case, and thus left to the Bank of the United States, which they had incorporated in 1816, and which, from the provisions of its charter and the expectation of the nation, was necessarily a specie-paying institution, the burden of raising a depreciated currency to the value of gold and silver.

Many of the early measures of the Bank were not, it is certain, of the wisest character; but the stockholders themselves suffered severely by the improvidence and fraudulent conduct of their first agents, and at no time since this institution went into operation, have its notes been dishonored. The expense and difficulties incurred by the Bank of the United States in establishing and upholding a specie currency, are clearly shown in an 'Exposition,' made by Mr. Cheves in 1822, a short time before resigning the Presidency, of which we shall freely avail ourselves.

When the National Bank went into operation, branches were placed in several States, whose currency did not sustain an

equality with gold and silver. Its notes were every where received in payment of duties and taxes to the Government, without reference to the place of emission, and were redeemed in specie, at the banks, or any of its offices. It labored under the disadvantage, not only of issuing notes at a time when the currency in the specie-paying districts exceeded the coin, which would have circulated, and of being, therefore, constantly called on for gold and silver; but it sustained the still greater inconvenience of circulating notes, payable at pleasure in gold and silver, at places where a large portion of the medium of exchange was composed of inconvertible paper. This constituted the foundation of the suspended debt in the States of Ohio and Kentucky, which, at one time, exceeded six millions of dollars; though a considerable portion of it has been gradually liquidated by the sale of real estate, taken as security.

The notes issued in the Western States were immediately returned to the offices of the sea-board, and specie was rapidly drawn from the Bank; the Bank and the great Northern offices were constantly drained of their metallic capital, and only eighteen months after the institution began its operations, it was obliged 'to commence a rapid and heavy curtailment' of its business. Though the Bank enjoyed a government deposit of eight millions,—though specie had been imported at an expense exceeding half a million of dollars,—though curtailments of upwards of six millions and a half were made, between the 30th of July, 1818, and of April, 1819,—it was further obliged, in order to continue specie payments and maintain the metallic currency of the country, to sell between two and three millions of its public debt, and in various ways to attain the command of disposable means by reductions of its productive capital, within eight months, to the amount of upwards of eight millions of dollars.

In addition to these financial difficulties, the curtailments at the West rendered the Bank unpopular in that part of the Union, and subjected its operations to all those embarrassments, which the hostility of State authorities is capable of interposing. Yet, in spite of all the various obstacles with which it has had to contend, the *Bank has*, in the language of one of the Reports before us, *actually furnished a circulating medium more uniform than specie.* Funds may be removed from one part of the Union to another, through the aid which the Bank affords, at an expense not exceeding one half, and frequently

less than one quarter of the cost of carrying silver. While, by the discretion of its present managers, no inconsiderable portion of the property supposed to have been sacrificed by their predecessors has been secured for its stockholders, the benefits of the institution are now most fully appreciated in those States, where every expedient, a few years since, was resorted to in order to expel its offices from their territorial limits. In Ohio, Kentucky, Indiana, Illinois, and Missouri, the Bank of the United States enjoys, with unimportant exceptions, a monopoly of the circulation; and their present prosperous situation, compared with the incessant bankruptcies attendant on their former condition, is, after the equalization of the currency, the best commentary on the good that the Bank has effected. Even since this institution has been placed under the ban of the Executive, Mississippi has repealed a law adverse to the National Bank, and invited a branch within the State, a course in which Tennessee had led the way.

The natural rate of exchange between two places, is the expense of transporting specie from one to the other, and this would exist, supposing the circulation of both to be equally well supplied, and their currencies estimated at the true par. For the Bank to undertake to redeem indiscriminately, at all its offices, the notes issued by the mother Bank and its various branches, would be to assume the expense of transporting silver and gold from one point of the Union to another, for the accommodation, not of the Government or the public in general, but of any individual who might choose to command its services. Its not undertaking this burden, to which it is not subjected either by the terms of its charter or the expectations of its founders, is supposed to have been the basis of the Executive charge against it.

What it has accomplished on this head, however, may be learned from the statements of the Congressional Committees.

'These notes (the notes of the National Bank) are receivable for the Government, by the nine thousand receivers, scattered throughout every part of the country. *They are in fact, in the course of business, paid in gold or silver, though they are not legally, or necessarily so paid, by the branches of the Bank in every section of the Union.* In all commercial places they are received, in all transactions, without any reduction in value, and never, under any circumstances, does the paper, from the remotest branches, vary beyond a quarter of one per cent. in its actual ex-

change for silver. Here, then, is a currency as safe as silver, more convenient, and more valuable than silver, which, through the whole Western and Southern, and interior parts of the Union, is eagerly sought in exchange for silver; which in those sections, often bears a premium paid in silver; which is throughout the Union equal to silver in payments to the Government and payments to individuals in business, and which, whenever silver is needed in any part of the country, will command it, without the charge of more than a slight fraction of a per centage. By means of this currency, funds are transmitted at an expense less than in any other country. In no other country can a merchant do what every citizen of the United States can do—deposit, for instance, his silver at St. Louis, or Nashville, or New Orleans, and receive notes, which he can carry with him a thousand or fifteen hundred miles, to the Atlantic cities, and there receive for them an equivalent amount of silver, without any expense whatever; and in no possible event, an expense beyond a quarter of one per cent. If, however, a citizen does not wish to incur the anxiety of carrying these notes with him, or to run the hazard of the mail, he may, instead of them, receive a draft, payable to himself or his agent alone, so as to ensure the receipt of an equal amount, at an expense of not one half, and often not one fourth, of the actual cost of carrying the silver. The owner of funds, for instance, at St. Louis or Nashville, can transfer them to Philadelphia for one half per cent.; from New Orleans, generally, without any charge at all—at most, one half per cent.; from Mobile, from par to one half per cent.; from Savannah, at one half per cent.; and from Charleston, at from par to one quarter per cent.'—*Mr. Smith's Report.*

'If the whole circulating medium were specie, a planter of Louisiana, who should desire to purchase merchandise in Philadelphia, would be obliged to pay one per cent. either for a bill of exchange on this latter place, or for the transportation and insurance of his specie. His specie at New Orleans, where he had no present use for it, would be worth one per cent. less to him than it would be in Philadelphia, where he had a demand for it. But, by the aid of the Bank of the United States, one half of the expense of transporting specie is now saved to him. The Bank, for one half of one per cent. will give him a draft upon the mother Bank of Philadelphia, with which he can draw either the bills of that Bank, or specie, at his pleasure. In like manner, the Bank and its branches will give drafts from any point of the Union to any other where offices exist, at a per centage greatly less than it would cost to transport specie, and in many instances at par. If the merchant or planter, however, does not choose to purchase a draft

from the Bank, but prefers transmitting the bills of the office where he resides to any distant point, for commercial purposes, although these bills are not strictly redeemable at the point to which they are transmitted, yet, as they are receivable in payment of all dues to the Government, persons will be generally found willing to take them at par; and if they should not, the Bank will receive them frequently at par, and always at a discount much less than would pay the expense of transporting specie.'

'It may be confidently asserted, that no country in the world has a circulating medium of greater uniformity than the United States; and that no country of any thing like the same geographical extent, has a currency at all comparable to that of the United States on the score of uniformity. The Committee have seen the statement of an intelligent traveller, who has visited almost every part of Europe, exhibiting the great variations of the currency in different parts of the same empire or kingdom. In Russia, the bills of the bank of St. Petersburgh have a very limited circulation. At Riga, and throughout Courland, Livonia, and all the southern parts of the empire, the currency is exclusively of silver coins. In Denmark, the notes of the Bank of Copenhagen are current only in Zealand, the other islands, and Jutland, but will not pass at all in Sleswick and Holstein, which constitute the best portion of the kingdom. Since the Congress of Vienna, Germany has been divided into thirty-nine separate States, each having a distinct currency, though represented in the Diet at Frankfort. Out of the territory in which these several currencies are issued, they are mere articles of merchandise; which circumstance has given rise in every town to a numerous and distinct class of tradesmen, called money-changers. How far those separate and unconnected currencies have a tendency to embarrass commerce, may be inferred from the fact, that a traveller going from St. Petersburgh to Calais will lose upon the unavoidable changes of money an average of six per cent. In France, the bills of the bank are of such large denominations as to be adapted only to the greater operations of commerce, and are principally confined to the bankers and extensive traders in Paris. The general currency is silver; and to avoid the trouble of carrying this to distant parts of the kingdom, gold pieces, or bills of exchange, which are preferable, are purchased at a premium of from one and a half to four per cent. After this brief review of the currencies of Europe, the Committee will barely state, as a conclusive vindication of our currency from the imputation of unsoundness, that there is no point in the Union, at which a bill of the United States Bank, issued at the opposite extremity of the country, is at a discount of more than one fourth of one per cent.'—*Mr. McDuffie's Report.*

It is within the recollection of the writer of this article, that even at Havre, within a day's journey of the capital and its principal port of entry, the notes of the Bank of France are not received in ordinary transactions, but are sold at a discount.

It can, however, hardly be necessary to insist further on this point. The President, it is true, in 1829, considered the charge of a small commission for the transmission of the funds of individuals from one part of the Union to another, of sufficient importance to authorize him to declare, that the 'Bank had failed in the great end of establishing a uniform and sound currency;' but inasmuch as the sale of bills of exchange is made the most prominent feature of the Treasury Bank, as new modelled in 1830, we have a right to conclude that the Executive has been convinced by the discussions of the last year, that he had previously fallen into an involuntary error respecting the nature of such operations.

The benefit, which we derive from the Bank, does not stop with its supplying a sound and uniform currency; it exercises a most salutary influence in restraining the excessive issues of local institutions,—the effect of whose overtrading must always recoil on their unfortunate dealers. A currency, it is true, cannot be, for a long period, excessively redundant. When paper is the circulating medium and is convertible on demand into specie, it becomes the interest of the bullion-merchants to export the coin, whenever it has a higher value than the notes with which it is concurrently employed; in the same way as when one metal is estimated higher than the other at the mint, the one which is comparatively underrated is withdrawn from use as money.

It was from overlooking this principle, that Mr. McDuffie was induced* to suppose, that when paper money became so redundant as to expel gold and silver from circulation, the depreciation from the excessive issues would affect the specie as well as the inconvertible paper. It is obvious, that in the case stated, gold and silver are no more parts of the circulating medium than precious stones or other merchandise, and that their only connexion with it, is to serve as a measure of its depreciation.

The consequences of an over-issue being the exportation of bullion, the banks are obliged, in order to avoid a drain of

* McDuffie's Report, p. 10.

their metallic capital, either to curtail their discounts or to suspend their specie payments. The experience of the last war, in all the States South and West of Connecticut, shows that when there is a common agreement among the issuers of money, the power of demanding specie is but a dead letter. By law, most of our State institutions were liable to be called on for coin; but what was the popular feeling towards those few individuals, who resorted to their rights and asked the banks to fulfil their promises? The conduct pursued by these institutions, was, probably, unavoidable. No one of them possessing a controlling influence over the others, there was no means of regulating the quantity of paper put into circulation, and while every thing that purported to be money was indiscriminately received, the redundancy affected all notes alike, and even the specie, as long as it circulated concurrently with them.

But, even when an over-issue does not lead to the extreme measure of suspending specie payments, the embarrassment, caused by an excessive curtailment to all commercial enterprises, is frequently of the most calamitous nature. Such are the revulsions to which communities are exposed where paper circulates with coin, and such is the liability of all institutions of limited means to be destroyed by the panic, which is too likely to attend a reduction of discounts and a demand for specie, that it has often been made a question, whether the economy arising from a paper currency is not more than counterbalanced by the fluctuations in trade, which its use occasions. In illustration of the truth of this position, the greater stability of French commerce, as compared with that of England, has frequently been cited. But, without entering into an examination of this point, it may be confidently asserted, that to sustain a system of paper currency and afford relief for the imprudence of minor institutions, that salutary superintendence, which is virtually exercised by great banks like those of England and the United States, is essentially necessary.

Of the benefit that resulted from the interposition of the Bank of England, we have an example in 1825. The country bankers had engaged in such wild and extravagant speculations, that they had fifty per cent. more paper in circulation than in 1823. To this great redundancy, necessarily succeeded heavy drains of bullion, terminating in the failure of seventy establishments. How ruinous the reduction of the cur-

rency attendant on these transactions would have been, without the application of the resources of a great institution, may be judged of by the fact, that the *vacuum*, caused by the withdrawal of these country notes,* absorbed from eight to ten millions of additional issues of the Bank. Had there not been such resources at hand, applied as well to the relief of the bankers themselves as of the merchants, the difficulty of procuring accommodation, under so extraordinary a contraction of the currency, must have ruined hundreds of commercial houses of the most undoubted solvency. Similar instances of the judicious interposition of the Bank of the United States, by affording relief to State institutions in various parts of the Union, will readily occur to all, who are conversant with our banking operations.

Not only has the power of the Bank been employed in remedying actual evils, but what is still more beneficial to the community, it has been applied, in innumerable cases, to prevent their occurrence. The statement of the mode in which the Bank regulates its dealings with the State institutions, as pointed out by the enlightened gentleman, now at the head of its concerns, has not been, as far as we are aware, questioned in any competent quarter.

'The great object, says Mr. Biddle, 'is to keep the State banks within proper limits; to make them shape their business according to their means. For this purpose they are called upon to settle; never forced to pay specie, if it can be avoided, but payment is taken in their bills of exchange, or suffered to lie occasionally until the bank can turn round; no amount of debt is fixed, because the principle we wish to establish is, that every bank should always be ready to provide for its notes.'

That the banks in our principal cities, and even those of the Eastern States severally, would continue the payment of specie, though the Bank of the United States should cease to exist, may well be admitted, without impairing the importance of that institution, as a check against the ruinous consequences of extravagant issues in those parts of the country, where the nature of paper-money is less perfectly understood. But not only have the rules, which control the monetary system, been disregarded in Tennessee and Kentucky, but we find in the

* The London and Lancashire bankers do not issue their own paper, but circulate that of the Bank of England.

legislation of the largest and most commercial State of the Union, a project, evincing scarcely less ignorance of banking, than the chimerical schemes of our fellow-citizens at the West, so often held up to general animadversion. Our readers will understand us as alluding to the *Safety Fund*, introduced in 1829, in the State of New York, during the administration of Governor Van Buren. By the act referred to, all the banks are made, to a certain extent, partners and guarantees for one another, though in their management they are separate and independent. This system not only confounds frugality and providence with careless and extravagant speculation, but, as the contributions to the funds, on which insolvencies are chargeable, are regulated by the amount of the respective capitals, not of the circulation of the banks, the scheme carries unfairness on its face. It is obvious that it is much less probable that a bank of one million, issuing paper to the extent of one hundred thousand dollars, will fail to meet its engagements, than a bank of one hundred thousand dollars issuing notes to the same amount, and yet the latter pays for the privilege ten times the tax of the former.

The time has not yet arrived for the full developement of the effects of this measure. It may, however, be predicted, that, as it will give the same or nearly the same credit to the banks of the smallest capitals, as to those of the city of New York, the former institutions will be induced to issue their notes to an inordinate extent, not on regular business paper, the repayment of which would meet the calls for the redemption of their notes, but on loans on doubtful security and of indefinite duration. But while these excessive issues will degrade the value of the whole currency, as well specie as paper, and by rendering the exchange unfavorable, lead to the exportation of gold and silver, the institutions in good credit will be afraid to apply the efficient corrective,—a demand for specie, lest it should produce a declared insolvency, which they, not the culprit banks, would in the end be obliged to make good. Prudent banks finding that they are taxed for the improvidence of their neighbors, will also take the chance of profiting by fortunate speculations, the hazards of which they must, in any event, necessarily incur, and thus, especially if the United States Bank should not be rechartered, the whole monetary system may be thrown into inextricable confusion.

This topic is here introduced, to show that, even where

there is apparently the least danger, we have much to apprehend from hasty and prejudiced legislation. What has occurred in New York, may well happen in Connecticut or Massachusetts; and when we reflect on the injury that may result from twenty-four districts and unconnected bodies operating through three hundred and fifty banks unchecked, on the currency, and varying its value, by incessantly altering its quantity, we may be disposed to admit the wisdom of placing it, even at the sacrifice of some State pride, under one general authority.

3. The dealing in foreign exchange is a business, which has excited much hostility against the Bank in some of our commercial cities; but, though transactions of this sort are not essentially requisite to enable the institution to support 'a uniform and sound currency,' it is believed, that while they are powerful auxiliaries to that end, they are also productive of many direct benefits.

We have already seen, that where paper is convertible into specie on demand, an excessive issue degrades not only the bank notes, but also the coin circulating concurrently with them, which leads to a drain of the metallic money and its exportation, till such time as, by the contraction thus produced, the currency re-assumes its former value. Indeed, the occasional exportation of specie cannot be prevented by the best regulations which can be adopted. Even when the quantity of the currency remains the same, the vicissitudes of harvests, and the political and other causes, which affect the state of the exchanges, must lead to the exportation of gold and silver, when they can be sent abroad more advantageously than other commodities. It is, therefore, evident that the metallic basis for the circulation, must vary according to the demands for specie to which a bank is liable. The statements made by many of the local institutions of our country, do not represent their specie as exceeding in amount the sixth or seventh part of their circulation, and in many cases, it is even less than in the proportion of one to ten. The present entire circulation of the United States has been estimated by Mr. Gallatin, at $73,500,000, including $10,000,000 in silver coins and bank drafts, issued by the United States Bank and its branches, and excluding deposits and private bills of exchange. The bank notes are sustained by specie in the vaults, and which is not comprised in the above calculations, to the amount of $22,000,000. To an establishment, which, like the Banks of

England and the United States, is the ultimate regulator of the currency, and which, without possessing the monopoly of circulation, is liable to have specie demanded in consequence of the over-issues of other banks, a large amount of gold and silver is absolutely requisite. Even the Bank of France, which is exposed to but little inconvenience from the redundancy of the currency, as paper does not form a part of the ordinary circulating medium, had, in 1828, a specie reserve of from one hundred and eighty to two hundred millions, to sustain an emission varying from one hundred and ninety to two hundred and thirty millions. The Bank of England generally retains specie in its vaults to one half the amount of the notes which it is liable to be called on to redeem, and when, in consequence of the continued run upon it, its metallic capital was reduced so as to be equal only to the one seventh part of the bills in circulation, a suspension of payments was deemed necessary. The published statements of the Bank of the United States will show a still greater proportion of specie, as compared with notes, than is possessed by the English institution. But as, when specie is drawn from the vaults, it must be because it is more in demand abroad than at home, our National Bank is enabled, by dealing in foreign exchange, to dispense with some portion of the gold and silver, which would otherwise be kept in an unproductive state. It appears from the papers before us, that the Bank had on April 1st, 1830, $9,043,748 in specie, and funds in Europe to the extent of $2,789,498, which are justly considered in the estimate as equivalent to specie; for in case of a depreciation arising from a redundancy of the currency, no one wishing gold or silver for exportation, would refuse to take a draft from the Bank of the United States on its correspondents in London and Paris; nor would the relief from this source be limited to the mere extent of its actual balances abroad. Its credit would, and often has enabled it to draw bills vastly beyond the amount of its deposits with Baring & Hottinguer, to the great assistance of the commercial interest, when laboring under temporary embarrassments from overtrading. Thus a great amount of capital, otherwise necessarily unemployed in the vaults of the banks and its offices, is made efficient for the advantage of the institution, and of course for the increase of the productive resources of the country at large.

If it be important to have a sound and uniform domestic currency, it cannot be immaterial to preserve something like stability in the bills of exchange, which form, in a certain sense, the general currency of the world. Merchants are thus enabled to make more accurate calculations as to the operations in which they engage, and are, in a great measure, relieved from the fluctuations in the price of the paper by which they meet engagements contracted in other countries. Though it be true, that the real exchange is ultimately regulated by the expense of transporting specie from one country to another, yet the greater or less demand and supply of bills produce considerable oscillations from this central point.* Not only are these variations restrained through the influence of the Bank in preventing an export of specie arising from a redundancy of currency, but that institution being always able to go, with its great resources, into the market both as a buyer and seller, the fluctuations are reduced within the smallest limits. From the peculiar situation of our country, the exports being to a very considerable extent made from the South, and the importations received at the Northern ports, this branch of business is attended with great convenience to the planters, who would otherwise be subjected to the expense and risk of circuitous transactions, accompanied with all the charges of double commissions. Again, as there is no re-exchange in Europe on this country, it contributes, in no small degree, to the convenience of Americans, who have occasion for the remission of funds to Europe, to have an office to which they can apply, with the certainty of obtaining bills universally entitled to the same confidence as the precious metals. The only objection that we can conceive against the Bank's continuing to deal in exchange, must arise from its interfering with the profits of a few capitalists in the large towns. But as they are the individuals who have the deepest interest in upholding a sound currency, we can hardly expect from them an opposition to those transactions of this national

* It is important to distinguish the real from the nominal exchange. Owing to the errors in the original calculations at the Mint, and to the employment of silver *practically* as our standard, while gold is that of England, the true par is $4,75 to the pound sterling, instead of $4,44, as assumed by law. Thus there is a difference of seven per cent. between the real and nominal exchange; that is, exchange on London is really at *par*, when it is nominally at seven per cent. premium.

institution, which, while they promote the general convenience of the country, are particularly acceptable to that portion of the Union, which is dissatisfied, (with what reason we shall not now inquire,) with the legislation of Congress on another most important subject. But, though we do not go so far as to suppose with Mr. McDuffie, that the whole *nominal* exchange between two places, which during the last war sometimes amounted to twenty-five or thirty per cent., is gained by the brokers,—a mistake clearly pointed out in our last number,—we cannot consent that the general good shall be sacrificed to the particular interest of the dealers in exchange.

4. The advantages of the Bank in facilitating the fiscal operations of the State are either direct or indirect. Among the former, the most prominent are the receipt and disbursement of the public revenue; and we have the testimony of the venerable Senator who presides over the Committee of Finance for saying, that, although nine thousand persons are employed in collecting this revenue, which, during ten years preceding January 1st, 1830, amounted to an aggregate of $230,068,855, it was, through the agency of the Bank, received and distributed without an expense or loss to the Government of a single dollar. Besides transferring the public funds from place to place, without any allowance for commissions or exchange, its officers gratuitously perform the duties of Commissioners of Loans, and render services of the same nature with those, for which the Bank of England is paid by the Government of that country an annual sum of £270,000 sterling.

But the benefit of the Bank does not stop here. From its capital and extensive resources, it is always able to afford Government any temporary loans, which the country may need, and on terms far more advantageous than individuals or private corporations can supply them. In time of war, by lending to the contractors on a pledge of public stock, until there is an opportunity for distributing it among the capitalists of the country, it extends the competition for government loans, and thus raises the price of these securities, to the great advantage of the nation. By frequently repeating this operation, it enables the State to borrow to an extent infinitely beyond the capital of the Bank. The benefit constantly derived by the Government of England from its bank, though frequently managed on erroneous principles, is to be found in every page of the financial history of the last century. Without its aid, it is

hardly probable that England would have been able to cope, during a quarter of a century, single-handed, with the coalesced forces of the world. And it is here proper to remark, that, though modifications have been suggested in its charter, which will expire in 1833, there is great unanimity among the statesmen of that country as to the importance of continuing it on a basis, not essentially different from that on which it at present exists. Even before the achievement of our independence, and under the imperfect confederacy of the revolution, a bank was established and rendered essential service to our embarrassed treasury. On the adoption of the Constitution, Alexander Hamilton considered 'a National Bank, an institution of primary importance to the prosperous administration of the finances.' One was accordingly formed under the sanction of Washington, and was not a little instrumental in relieving the country from the overwhelming embarrassments to which our credit had been subjected by the suspension of all regular industry during the revolutionary war, and the improvident issue of irredeemable paper money. Had not this bank been suffered to expire at the termination of the period for which it was originally chartered, we have the deliberate opinion of the able and experienced financier,* who presided over the Treasury department at the commencement of the war of 1812, that 'it would have prevented the suspension of specie payments.' Certain it is, that the facilities, which the capital of this institution might have given to the operations of Government and of those with whom the Government dealt, and which, necessarily, were but imperfectly supplied by the local banks, would have prevented the national credit from falling to the degraded condition, in which the treaty of Ghent found it.

We have concluded all that we proposed saying on the operations of the Bank. There are two points, however, on which we would beg leave to make a few remarks before closing our article.

1. If we suppose, with Mr. McDuffie, that the power 'to coin money, and regulate the value thereof,' implies an authority to regulate the currency, even when it is composed wholly or principally of paper, it is the duty of Congress not to omit to legislate on the subject. We do not mean to assert, that there can never be a concurrent authority vested in the

* Albert Gallatin.

General and State Governments. But we are to remember, that, beside the power delegated to Congress by the clause of the Constitution already cited, there is an express prohibition on the States to 'emit bills of credit.' By virtue of this provision, an act of Missouri, to authorize the issue of two hundred thousand dollars in certificates of denominations not exceeding ten dollars, nor less than fifty cents, and receivable in taxes and other debts due the State, though they were not a legal tender, was last year declared unconstitutional.* We think that bank notes, not guarantied by a State, may be distinguished from the certificates under consideration; but this was not the opinion of the judges who dissented from the majority; and it is, at all events, evident that, consistently with the opinion of the Supreme Court, the States are not competent to furnish a sound currency, even if the other difficulties to which we have alluded, did not present insuperable obstacles.

2. The other point, to which we would allude, is a suggestion that we have sometimes heard, that Congress would decline renewing the charter of the present Bank, with the intention of incorporating a new one on similar principles. In favor of such a proceeding, we cannot discover a single valid argument; while the destructive consequences to the dealers with the Bank, of the sudden withdrawing of the ordinary accommodations, must be obvious to all; and as an interval, more or less considerable, must occur between the termination of one institution and the commencement of the other, there will be sufficient opportunity for a recurrence of those derangements in the currency, of which the preceding pages furnish but too many illustrations. Our respect for the two houses of Congress forbids our entertaining, for a moment, the idea that the Legislature would sanction such a course, for the mere purpose of promoting speculation. It has, indeed, been stated, as a pretext for opposition to the Bank, that a large portion of the capital is owned abroad, and that neither the foreign nor other stockholders are entitled to a continued monopoly. This remark reminds us of the reasons usually assigned for rotation in public employments. It proceeds on the ground, that the Bank and the offices of Government are not established, because certain services are required to be performed for the good of the community, but are created for the sole benefit of the stockholders

* 4 Peters, 410.

or incumbents. But if we are to try the question of re-chartering the Bank on the merits of its stockholders, we should recollect, that its present proprietors are composed of original subscribers, and of persons who purchased stock at the market price of the day. When the books were first opened, no favor was shown, and, so far from any person's being deprived of an opportunity to become a stockholder, there was not a subscription adequate to the proposed capital. Those who subsequently made themselves stockholders, gave for their shares a price which was fixed by the probable profits, stability, and permanence of the institution. If Congress should decline to continue the Bank, there will be no violation of any contract, but neither the original proprietors nor subsequent purchasers will have much cause to congratulate themselves on their investments. The average dividends of the United States Bank, from its establishment to the 1st of January, 1820, were only 4,88-100 per cent. per annum; while those of the Bank of England, excluding twenty-five per cent. added as capital in 1816, and *bonuses*, which, between 1799 and 1826, amounted to £3.783.880, were, from 1767 to 1781, five and a half per cent.; from 1781 to 1788, six per cent.; from 1788 to 1807, seven per cent.; from 1807 to 1823, ten per cent.; since 1823, they have been eight per cent. With respect to the existence of a foreign interest, which has been urged against the Bank of the United States, we will only remark, that all persons, except citizens, are prohibited from participating, even by their votes for directors, in the government of the institution; and until we determine to proceed in opposition to the policy of every enlightened government that has ever existed, we cannot consider it a serious objection to the National Bank, that it attracts to the country capital, to be employed in accommodations to our Government or its citizens, and thus liberates an equal amount of domestic resources, which may be directly appropriated to the promotion of the great interests of AGRICULTURE, MANUFACTURES, and COMMERCE.

Note. Since the article on the Origin and Progress of the French Language was printed, we have received from the learned and elegant correspondent, to whom we are indebted for it, the following note, which was accidentally omitted by him in making up the copy. The passage to which it refers, is on the 308th page.

'A controversy has existed in regard to the authenticity of the poems attributed to Clotilde de Surville, which were published recently from manuscripts received as ancient, but supposed by some critics to be forgeries of the same description with those of Chatterton. The following remarks on the subject, are by the Editor of the *Poëtes François jusqu' à Malherbe.*

"Les poésies de Clotilde offrent l'entrelacement des rimes masculines et féminines, règle à laquelle Marot, qui vécut cent ans après elle, ne se conforma jamais. La naïveté, la vérité des sentiments, la propriété des expressions, la liaison toujours naturelle des idées, beaucoup d'art dans les transitions, un style aussi élégant que correct, voilà ce qui frappe le plus dans les poésies de Clotilde; et ce sont aussi toutes ces qualités, qu'on ne retrouve dans aucun écrivain du temps, qui ont fait mettre en doute si elle en étoit véritablement l'auteur.' In a note, he adds; 'On peut voir dans l'édition des poésies de Clotilde, publiée par M. Vanderbourg en 1802, in-8°, et réimprimée en 1804, in-12, les faits parfaitement établis de cette intéressante critique littéraire."

'Bouterwek thinks that there is "no well grounded presumption" against the authenticity of these poems. If they be forgeries, the author was considerate enough to imitate, not only the ancient orthography of the age in which Clotilde lived, but the orthography of the south of France, where she was born and educated. Her mother was attached to the court of 'Gaston Phœbus, Comte de Foix et de Béarn;' and we find, on examination, that the orthography of Clotilde coincides precisely with that used in the poems of the abovenamed Gaston de Foix. They have pre-eminently the nasal *g*, which is seen also in the writings of Montaigne, and *heard* even at this day in the mouths of Southern Frenchmen. This *ung*, for *un*, and *besoing* for *besoin*, etc. etc. occur in both these authors; whereas Alain Chartier, who imputes to Clotilde a rustic air, and who was a Norman, and studied at Paris, has a very different orthography in this and other respects.'

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